CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONCORD IN THE CIVIL WAR.

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The Democratic party opened its campaign of 1860 with the following declaration:

That we reaffirm our steadfast adherence to the great principle of popular sovereignty, subject only to the limits of the Constitution and to the wise and salutary rule of non-intervention by Congress in the local and domestic affairs of the states and territories; . . . that all attempts by agitators to create and continue sectional strifes and animosities on the subject of slavery, whether by the doctrine of the "irrepressible conflict" avowed by the Republican leaders at the North, or by the odious proposition to reopen the slave trade announced by co-workers for agitation at the South, deserve the condemnation of all friends of the Union, and all who, knowing "no North or South or East or West," desire to cultivate that fraternal spirit by which alone its blessings can be perpetuated.

The Republican state convention of the same campaign resolved:

That under the Federal Constitution as expounded by its framers, freedom is the rule and slavery an odious exception, and that the Government of the United States, in the exercise of its legislative powers, whether executive, legislative, or judicial, can no more extend slavery than it can establish a monarchy; . . . that the territories of the United States are the property of all the people of the United States; that the Constitution has expressly conferred on Congress the power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting such territories; and that it is, therefore, the right and duty of Congress to protect them against all political and social nuisances, and particularly against the debasing and unchristian institution of domestic slavery.

The Democratic state convention of 1861 had the following as its cardinal principles:

That the only safe and lasting foundation for the Union is in the spirit of conciliation and of mutual regard and good will between the people of the different states which secured its formation; and in a faithful observance, in letter and spirit, of all the requirements of the bond of union, the Constitution; . . . that we utterly repudiate the idea of any "irrepressible conflict" between one section and another, as necessary or unavoidable.

At this convention, a salute was ordered in honor of the battle of New Orleans and "the gallant Major Anderson [of Fort Sumter

fame], whose soldierly conduct and wise forethought we fully approve and admire."

The Republican state convention for this campaign resolved:

That the Federal Constitution having been formed by a general convention of the people of all the states, and ratified as a perpetual bond of union and government by the people of each of the states, it can only be abrogated in the same manner and by the same power which established and ordained it; . . . that secession from the Union and resistance to the laws, whether under the forms of State authority or otherwise, is treason and rebellion.

The call for this convention was addressed to "all the people of the State of New Hampshire in favor of sustaining the present National Administration in the vigorous and effective prosecution of the war," etc.

The Democratic convention for the campaign of 1863, resolved "that we unqualifiedly condemn the late proclamation of the President relative to emancipation, as unwarranted by the Constitution, in violation of the solemnly plighted faith of the Administration at the commencement of the war, and, if persisted in, fatal to all hopes of a restored Union."

Per contra, the Republican convention of the same month said of the president that the emancipation proclamation "enrolls his name with imperishable renown upon the records of time."

So far as pole-star principles are concerned, the foregoing words express the position of the two political parties at the opening of the Civil War and during the superheated days of strife which immediately followed. They are as clear-cut as it is possible for words to be. They are as intrinsically antagonistic as two modes of thought ever were, or ever can be. If history is past politics, the foregoing is its briefest, simplest statement, as far as that history was enacted in Concord. By these two standards, the parties stood during the epochal days of the early sixties. There was no evasion, apologizing, flinching, compromise, or retreat. The contest was formally joined, continued with all the vigor of which body was capable, mind admitted, time allowed, and spirit inspired, to that bitter end in which the two ideas could not both survive and one principle must triumph and abide triumphant. Fought to the finish though it were here, it was on the field of blood, by the arbitrament of the sword, that the basal states' rights question and its no less evil twin, human slavery, were eventually tried, sentenced, and consigned to reprobation. But it is of the home scenes which grew out of these fierce trials that this article is now dealing. From the times of George Thompson's advent in Concord to the masterly

efforts of Abraham Lincoln in Phenix hall and Stephen A. Douglas in the state house yard, the main issue and its fellow were debated, in homes, in press, in lyceum lectures, in neighbors' casual meetings, in formal assemblies, legislatures, Sunday sermons, and all the conceivable situations into which articulate speech can be said to enter, and often with an acrimony of which those born since those days have but a faint conception.

The presidential campaign of 1860 had been fought with an intensity which by no means failed on the election of Mr. Lincoln. Both sides had reasoned with a sharpness, earnestness, and thoroughness which had left their believers utterly convinced of the complete justice of their cause. During the remainder of Buchanan's term, during the gathering of the clouds and the breaking of the storm, Buchanan was savagely attacked for inaction, while the Confederate states were organizing and fateful events were centering around Fort Sumter. And he was no less determinedly defended. Upon Lincoln's accession, heat was raised to the boiling figure. *The Patriot* earnestly deprecated the use of force, saying (April 17) that "wisdom and statesmanship dictate that when rebellion becomes too strong to be conquered, it should be submitted to and compromised with."

On the call for troops *The Patriot* offered each man who left the paper his position upon return, and provision for his family during absence. Among the volunteers were printers from more than one newspaper office. The community was divided into two hostile camps during nearly the whole war, and only the element of armed physical aggression was lacking to reproduce here scenes of grave description. This was the case in brief.

Governor Goodwin had laid particular emphasis in his proclamation on the need of a genuine Fast Day this year. The tone of the discourses preached was more sombre. Nor were any occasions of public worship about this time wholly cheerful. Coming events were casting their long shadows before. The air itself was brooding. Heavy apprehension held full possession, expecting something. And that something came, and upon a Sunday, when it was generally known that Fort Sumter had been attacked. The thoughts of such as met were not on the subjects of their assembly. Pastors but formally performed the expected duty. The street was unlike that of the usual Lord's Day. Agitation was evident everywhere. Gloomy forebodings, soon to be realized in a density then not even guessed, held full possession. Each sought the fullest news of the then scanty telegraphic service; discussed it, carried it home, and there discussed it further.

With the rising emergency rose up men, likewise. The first in the city, and the state, also, who responded to the president's call of April 15, was Edward E. Sturtevant (familiarly known as "Captain Crane" to the juveniles of Concord). He was a printer by trade, but had long served as a policeman. At that time he was captain of our little guardian night force. He, along with Jesse A. Gove, had served as captain of the Granite Guards. Somewhat over medium height and weight, intensely dark complexion, with a slight cast in one eye, of proven strength and courage, he had long been an ideal hero in the mind of every Concord lad, and soon indubitably proved himself a real one. Aroused from his sleep and told the news, he at once obtained the adjutant-general's acceptance of his services as a volunteer and recruiting officer. Before night had come, he had the nucleus of a company of three-months' men, ahead of formal orders. Before a week was over, more than a hundred and seventy men had been enlisted.

There is not unanimous agreement as to the first place of Sturtevant's work. It is likely that pledges to go were signed on the 15th. It is probable that he used a small tent pitched in front of the state house, and there received informal but morally binding promises in writing, to be regularly completed when he should receive authority and proper papers for the purpose. This tent could not have stood there longer than a half day. It is generally conceded that none enlisted before Sturtevant himself, and it is of open record that he did this on the 17th. Then, for the first time, he could authoritatively enlist others. On the 16th there was a heavy fall of snow and the two following days were raw and foggy. At noon on the 17th formal enlistments were begun in the northwest, second-story room in Phenix block, long known as the Dr. Gallinger office, secured for that purpose by Mayor Humphrey. Here he was assisted by Ai B. Thompson, Leonard Drown, and others. When Sturtevant recruited his company for the Fifth regiment, he used a round tent pitched on the south side of the state house yard principal entrance, on Main street, close in front of the chain fence, and well to the south, near the corner entrance. It was then a grass patch, where now is concrete. This tent was made of heavy linen and was captured in the War of 1812. It bore the royal crown and monogram and was brought to town by the Keene Light Infantry, under its famous commander, James Wilson, at the time of the Jackson celebration. The tent used so briefly for First regiment recruiting was an A tent.

The exhibition grounds of the Merrimack County Fair, now included in the property used for the purposes of the National Guard, were hurriedly adapted for use, under the name Camp Union. A space of

about thirty acres was already enclosed by a high, close, board fence and fairly supplied with rough buildings. The field and staff were placed on the west side, and the guard-house on the left of the present principal gate, while considerably north of the middle were the main barracks, the former general display building, to whose capacity were soon added two lesser structures. These were fitted with high tiers of bunks. But such was the excess of demand that the overplus was accommodated in the cattle-sheds on the south and part of the southwest of the enclosure. There were also some minor buildings for office purposes. The cooking department was provided with fair accommodations near the main barracks. In this domain the experienced Joseph G. Wyatt reigned, and provided just such food as hearty men desire. Two ancient field-pieces were posted near the grand stand, where old flannel, whiting, and labor made them glorious objects. The mustering officer was Major Seth Eastman, Fifth Infantry, U. S. A., afterwards lieutenant-colonel of the First Infantry, a Concord native. Colonel Eastman served in this capacity, generally without a helper, in the mustering of every regiment, except four, which left Concord.

To view the situation clearly, consider that the enforced muster of all able-bodied men in a state militia had ceased long since. Some privately maintained and voluntary organizations, such as the Columbian Artillery and Granite Guards, excepted, there had been no military bodies "armed and equipped as the law directs." And while raw material was abundant, who could teach the willing pupils? The tactics known to most men of military spirit had been, for a decade and a half, superseded. Warren Clark, later judge of probate and postmaster, was pressed into service. He had studied at Norwich (Vt.) university, the school of Partridge and of Ransom, fertile in brave men on land and water, from its first opportunity to this hour. Heavy drafts were also made on the undergraduates of Norwich, at this time and later, for drill masters. And they did great service, especially in creating more and good drill-masters.

By dint of hard work this crude hero-stuff was soon in measurable military form, arrayed in caps and suits of red-trimmed gray (coats cut swallow-tail), armed with ponderous, Springfield smooth-bores (pattern of '47), made for "buck and ball," and, on May 25, was rushed to the scene of contest.

That date thus became a day of thick-clustering memories to many now old or middle-aged. A train of sixteen baggage-wagons and an ambulance made at Abbot's, with harnesses by Hill, had been sent ahead on a special freight, when the regiment was drawn up near the race course, and addressed by Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Bouton, who

concluded with prayer. Considerably before 9 o'clock the command appeared on Main street. The escort was Company A of the Governor's Horse Guards, Captain John H. George commanding, and Engine Company No. 2, Charles S. Wilson, foreman, with Abner C. Holt and Benjamin F. Roby as assistants. The Concord band (Gust. W. Ingalls, leader) furnished music for the escorting bodies. At the head of the volunteers was the massive form of Colonel Mason W. Tappan, all but technically a citizen of Concord, followed by Fife-Major "Saxie" (F. H.) Pike in the redundant attire of his office, handling his baton with a skill twice right-handed, accompanied by Drum-Major William Carr, a long-time teacher of his especially sonorous branch in our city. These in the forefront, with the band, E. T. Baldwin, master. This band, all enlisted men, furnished its own instruments, uniform, and entire outfit. Later, among the most military figures, appeared Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas J. Whipple, a Mexican War veteran, with a worthy mount for such a superb rider, and Adjutant E. Q. Fellows, a West Point man. As each company came along in platoons, through the densely crowded streets, with side streets no less crowded, it was greeted by its friends with cheers which joined with the roar ahead, and behind as well, to make long-drawn acclaim, from swarming sidewalks, from wooden awnings, from packed windows, from roofs and every possible point of vantage. The most voiceful tribute was reserved for Captain Sturtevant and Company I, which had the colors, Henry C. Sturtevant proudly bearing the stars and stripes. And thus they passed between the decorated buildings, beneath the flags and streamers, with handkerchiefs and hats waving in ovation from men, women, and children, all more than half tearfully enthusiastic.

But the scene of all was in Depot square. This ample space was jammed with the throng which had come by train on the day before and in the morning, with the emptying of towns near by, with the city people who had chosen this spot very early, and the tide of humanity which followed the passing of the soldiers. Each one of this eager, swaying mass was alive with acute personal concern. The triple color was worn in some form, or borne in hand, and not to show it was to incur comment. As the column of fours changed into single file to admit boarding the cars, a wild rush was made to get near the track. Here were transferred refreshments for the journey and final tokens. Adieux were passed, tears shed, blessings given, last advice, serious and jocular, imparted, and brief prayers audibly offered.

The foregoing can be applied to the departure of any regiment from our city, without material variation. Of course excitement was

at its highest and the occasion completely novel when the First left us, but none was sent away without tributes. The patriotic dismissals of the Third and Fifth were wholly worthy. Up to the very last, neither weather nor hour could be so unfavorable but that the assembly was large and its frame of mind an offset to all conditions. The earliest forces were sent away excellently prepared, relatively speaking, ready with a few days' rations, and provided with means of transportation, a week sufficing Downing to make the baggage-wagons of the Third, and as little time for Hill to provide harnesses and all accoutrements of leather.

The total of those offering themselves for three months' service was much more than double the quota asked. The larger number of these now enlisted for a period of three years, under the new call, overflowing from the First into the Second regiment. The most of these went into Company B, known as the Goodwin Rifles, a company more famous than any other borne on our state's roster. This company was provided with Sharp's improved rifle, procured for it by popular subscription in the city. The captain chosen was Simon G. Griffin, who had studied law in the office of Flint & Bryant and been very recently admitted to the bar, taking the place of Mr. Bryant on his retirement, under the firm name of Flint & Griffin. After admirable service Captain Griffin was promoted into the Sixth regiment as lieutenant-colonel, came to its full command, and finally won the double stars of major-general by brevet, the only volunteer officer from this state who attained that high distinction. Company B was drilled in the manual and evolutions in city hall and the yard behind, in which space skirmish drill was given particular attention, to be effectively put in practice, as it proved, at the opening of many an eventful hour.

At this time Miss Harriet P. Dame kept a boarding-house on the northeast corner of Main and Montgomery streets. Among her boarders were a number of students from the Methodist Biblical institute. Some of these students enlisted here and some went to their Southern homes and became members of the Confederate army. Besides these there were Ai Baker Thompson, who had enlisted April 17, in the First, but who went into the Second as a lieutenant, and W. E. Buntin, who went out with the Fourteenth as captain. Thompson became a captain in the Eighteenth U. S. Infantry, and brevet major, as well as secretary of state from 1877 till his decease in the fall of 1890. Miss Dame had shown a most helpful spirit in sending delicacies and articles of use for the men sick in camp, during the First regiment's time of making ready. She next received five soldiers sick with measles into her house, provision for such cases not having

then been made at the new camp ground. There was also a soldier kinsman there with rheumatic fever. Indeed, the house was not free from such invalids until the time of Miss Dame's entrance on larger duties in the same direction. These cases had been cared for at the urgent request of Dr. Charles P. Gage. One day Thompson had come back from Portsmouth and was lying down, not feeling well. In her nurse's round Miss Dame came to him. In the course of the talk Thompson said, referring to the general situation in the household, "Supposing we get sick or wounded, who will take care of us?" Then upon the instant came an inspiration and the answer, "*I* will!" This, resolutely followed out, made that slender woman a power indeed for relief, for comfort, for cheer, for the pouring in of oil, for the binding up of wounds, for the Christian commendation of the soul departing, for the tender preparation of the dead, and the gentle, loving service which woman's hand alone can render. Among those of our people whom the Civil War made known, none is crowned with ampler benedictions; no name surrounded with sweeter odors, and none to be mentioned more reverently.

Miss Dame was twice taken prisoner. A twelve-pound shot went through her tent at Fair Oaks. In his inaugural message to the legislature of 1901 Governor Jordan suggested the fitness of having a portrait of her hung in some of the halls of the state's buildings, as a fitting tribute to her memory and a deserved compliment to the pure and self-sacrificing womanhood of the state.

The funeral of Miss Dame at St. Paul's church, April 28, 1900, was an assembly of soldiers, wives of soldiers, children of soldiers, and friends of soldiers, such as the state never saw before. Full military honors were accorded. As the sacred words of the church's service were begun at the cemetery, the lowering clouds broke away and light flooded the assembly. On the first volley of the firing squad a flight of white doves occurred, the birds circling round and round near by till all was over.

On April 19, 1861, the people came together in public assembly in response to a call, as follows:

> The citizens of Concord and vicinity, without distinction of party, who are in favor of sustaining the National Government against treasonable combinations to resist laws and destroy the Federal Union, are requested to assemble in the City Hall on this Friday evening, at 8 o'clock, to consider and give expression to such sentiments as the present perilous condition of the country may seem to demand.

This call was signed by Ira Perley, Thomas P. Treadwell, Henry A. Bellows, J. D. Sleeper, Asa McFarland, Nathaniel

White, Josiah Stevens, Asa Fowler, David Davis, A. C. Pierce, Henry P. Rolfe, Richard Bradley, Ebenezer Symmes, Jonathan Kittredge, Anson S. Marshall, William Kent, Eleazer Jackson, George Hutchins, Joseph H. Mace, Samuel Coffin, William P. Foster, Joseph A. Gilmore, John V. Barron, A. B. Holt, George A. Pillsbury, Isaac Danforth, John P. Johnson, Charles Smart, Oliver L. Sanborn, J. T. Underhill, Jonathan E. Lang, E. G. Moore, True Osgood, Edward H. Rollins, Joseph French, Moses T. Willard, Charles P. Gage, Isaac A. Hill, A. H. Robinson, B. F. Gale, Calvin Howe, John Abbott, Josiah B. Sanborn, Thomas L. Tullock, B. F. Dunklee, Sylvester Dana, Charles S. Eastman, Moses Humphrey, John L. Tallant, D. E. Smith, H. E. Perkins, James Peverly, W. H. Allison, P. S. Smith, and others, being from both political parties.

The meeting was called to order by Judge Perley. T. P. Treadwell, a former Democratic secretary of state, was chosen president, with Francis N. Fiske, Josiah Stevens, and Lewis Downing as vice-presidents, and William E. Chandler, J. W. Robinson, and J. E. Lang as secretaries. After prayer by Rev. Dr. Bouton, Mr. Treadwell spoke, with these words as the soul of his address:

That Union is in danger. Who or what caused this danger is not now the question. How can the Union be preserved and perpetuated? This is the all-absorbing question of the day. The only answer to this question is—it must and shall be preserved; peaceably, if we can; forcibly, if we must.

Judge Perley offered the following resolution and briefly advocated its adoption:

Resolved, That in the present crisis we, as American citizens of the State of New Hampshire, acknowledge our fealty to our National and State Governments, to the Constitution of the United States and of the State of New Hampshire, and that we will support them in every required capacity.

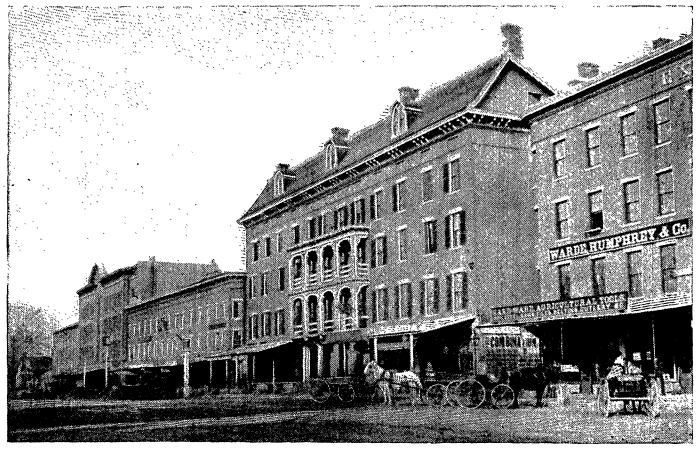
The resolution was seconded by H. P. Rolfe, who was followed by Messrs. William L. Foster, John H. George, Anson S. Marshall, Edward H. Rollins, Nathaniel S. Berry, Ai B. Thompson, Joseph B. Walker, W. H. Rixford, Reverends Henry E. Parker, C. W. Flanders, E. E. Cummings, and Dr. Bouton. After the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" by George Wood, further speeches were made by Josiah Stevens, Rev. Dr. S. M. Vail, and R. R. Meredith, then a Methodist student here, since a clergyman of eminence.

While the speeches showed differences of opinion, and while opposition to "coercion" was asserted, notably on the part of Mr. George, all were intensely patriotic and stirred the depths immensely,

giving a most powerful impulse to recruiting. Captain Sturtevant and his force were in attendance. The attack made on the Sixth Massachusetts on its way through Baltimore, and the death of one of its men, Luther C. Ladd, a native of Alexandria, which occurred on that day, were announced at the meeting and intensified its feeling.

The resolution of Judge Perley went through with a rush and also one offered by Joseph B. Walker, "to take measures in concert with the City Government, or otherwise, for rendering aid to the families of our patriotic citizens, during their absence, who have enlisted, or may enlist, in the military service of their country." On this latter subject the president appointed Joseph B. Walker, George Hutchins, Josiah Stevens, John L. Tallant, Daniel Holden, Nathaniel White, John V. Barron, and Woodbridge Odlin.

Ex-President Pierce was absent from the city on the day of the citizens' meeting. But he addressed a large assembly, by request, from the balcony of the Eagle hotel, on the following evening. Even at this time, by far the larger part of our people thought the threatenings from the South, grave as they indeed were, a burst of passion which would soon be over. The address of General Pierce, as he was familiarly known, agreed with this impression, and he was hopeful that the collision imminent would be averted. The central sentence of his speech was this:



Eagle Hotel during the Civil War.

> Should . . . a war of aggression be waged against the National Capital and the North, there is no way for us, as citizens of one of the old thirteen states, but to stand together, and uphold the flag to the last, with all the rights which pertain to it, and with the fidelity and endurance of brave men.

Among those present at this speech was George G. Fogg, editor of *The Independent Democrat.* In the next issue of his paper, Mr. Fogg said of this speech that it "had no heart in it," "deals in gen-

eralities," "altogether too delicate, as well as evasive in its treatment of the subject." The same number also bitterly characterized the remarks of Mr. George at the citizens' meeting as the "speech of a traitor."

These comments were the cause of a warm street controversy between Mr. Fogg and Judge Perley, the latter taking the ground that such drastic criticism was injudicious. While the precise details of this episode must go unchronicled, there is no doubt that Judge Perley urged that this speech might be considered sufficient for the present, and that it was not the part of wisdom to attack, thus soon, the very head and front of a large class of citizens whose aid was needed and had been invited, under a broad summons.

It is wholly certain that Ira Perley, a man of intense feeling, of rooted and grounded conviction, and of no doubtful position on any debated point, was notably conservative in all speeches to the public, though not in private utterances, throughout our heated controversies. While it cannot be said that Judge Perley regarded Pierce as a friend, it is a most certain fact that Pierce highly valued the opinion of Perley as that of a man of sincerity, directness, and integrity, and repeatedly sent for and consulted him on public matters.

At about this time the banks came to the government's help with war's sinews, the Union bank providing twenty thousand dollars, and the State Capital thirty thousand dollars. The display of flags evinced the general feeling.

The relief committee named at the citizens' meeting, with other helpers, went to work and circulated subscriptions with substantial results. One of these lists was signed by thirty-seven persons. Of that total number, only Joseph B. Walker and Moses H. Bradley are living. Two concerts of patriotic and standard music, the talent of the city participating, were given before large audiences and added to these resources.

Sunday, April 21, 1861, was largely occupied by the theme which was in every mind. To use the *Statesman's* words, "In the churches the Union and its perils, its destiny, with the duty of all to labor in the strength of God for its rescue, were the themes of devout contemplation in every church, so far as we hear; made so by the prayers, or the discourse, or both." At the morning service at the South Congregational, Reverend Henry E. Parker, who became chaplain of the Second regiment, closed his sermon with an address to Sturtevant and his men, who were present as a body. *The Independent Democrat's* last number said: "Concord is full of the war spirit. The news from the South has completely raised the patriotism of our people." As the next issue of the *Statesman* put it, "The over-

whelming sentiment of the Capital is that the Government must and shall be sustained." Indeed, it was so.

At this time began a movement which developed largely. As early as April 22, after notice in the various congregations, a large number of ladies came together to prepare flannels and other necessaries. This soon grew into a general state organization, called "The Soldiers' Aid Society," with Mrs. Nathaniel G. Upham as president; Mrs. Onslow Stearns, vice-president; Miss Eliza Whipple, treasurer; Mrs. Moses H. Bradley, recording secretary, and Mrs. Ira Perley, corresponding secretary. A gentleman's committee was added as follows: Penacook, H. H. Brown; East Concord, Cyrus Robinson; West Concord, Daniel Holden; with Herbert A. Bellows, Onslow Stearns, James Peverly, John M. Hill, and Nathaniel White from the city proper. A generous sum was raised by this committee to be used in material for manufacture. This committee did long and earnest service. Mr. Hill was its main factor in money raising.

Out of this, under the favor of the governor, with Concord as a distributing center, grew a most helpful general organization, which provided socks, towels, lint, bandages, old linen, "comfort bags," wines, jellies, and every variety of tempting home delicacies for use in field and hospital. Its scope was enlarged from time to time, as experience suggested, to include visiting hospitals, returning lists of the wounded and their condition and the care and forwarding, as well as the recovery, of bodies for home interment. United States Senator Daniel Clark was president of the New Hampshire Sons at Washington, working in connection with these helpers, with Stephen S. Bean and John C. Wilson as secretaries. The state itself lent large authority and discretion to the work, and on several occasions sent from among our citizens as commissioners, especially after great battles in which New Hampshire troops were engaged, A. B. Holt, George Hutchins, Reverend J. H. Gilmore, Parsons B. Cogswell, D. K. Foster, S. G. Sylvester, George W. Grover, John H. Blodgett, E. W. Abbott, and probably others, of whom no record is found.

The spirit of the times was such that a Home Guard was formed composed of those who were exempt, by reason of years, from liability to more active military service. But on the rolls were some who found themselves of such youthful strength that they declined to stay exempted. The officers of this force were: Captain, Josiah Stevens; lieutenants, Asa McFarland and J. B. Smart; ensign, R. G. Wyman; surgeon, Timothy Haynes; surgeon's mate, B. S. Warren; chaplain, Nathaniel Bouton; sergeants, Hamilton E. Perkins, James S. Norris, Ephraim Hutchins, G. C. Robinson; corporals, J. L. Jackson, M. B. Smith, R. Lake, S. Wallace, William Kent, Asa Fowler,

J. S. Kittredge, and Isaac A. Hill; clerk, George H. H. Silsby; drummers, William Carr and Luther Tracy; fifers, N. W. Gove and R. P. Kimball. Penacook was by no means to be left behind, and her command was headed by Captain J. S. Durgin, supported by Lieutenant H. H. Amsden, Ensign J. A. Coburn, Surgeon S. M. Emery, Chaplain J. C. Emerson, with I. W. Drown, T. O. Wilson, L. B. Elliott, and H. D. White as sergeants, and N. Rolfe, C. Gage, H. H. Brown, and W. H. Allen as corporals. The only name recorded of the company at West Concord is that of Charles H. Clough, captain. The Guards were armed with that most effective of close-range weapons, the smooth-bore Springfield. The uniform consisted of a dark coat and pants and a glazed cap. Their first high function was on election day, at the inauguration of Governor Berry. Amid alternate showers and sunshine they bore themselves with true martial mien, and may be said not to have been eclipsed in this respect even by the gorgeous Horse Guards.

The Third regiment camp was named after Governor Berry. It was located across the Free bridge, far to the south of the carriage road and near the river. The mustering-in was done a company at a time, in the state house yard. The officers had wall tents, but the A variety was that seen in the company streets. While blue blouses were provided for undress, the uniform was gray, trimmed with blue, with knapsacks of gray and a cap of grayish waterproof, having visors in front and behind, like the sun helmet. The arm carried was the Enfield rifle. This was the first regiment to receive the ten dollars gratuity from the state. The band was considered particularly fine, and had German silver, bell-back instruments. There were twenty four-horse teams and one two-horse team in the baggage and ambulance service. When the regiment left, on September 3, the field and staff were on foot. The escort was the Concord Zouaves, Captain C. T. Summers, who became a member of the Sixteenth and also of the Heavy Artillery. With this regiment's departure, "The Girl I Left Behind Me" became the standard marching air of exit from the city. When the train pulled out, "Auld Lang Syne" was the send-off tune, with "Sweet Home" sounding back as an answer.

As this band contained a large number of Concord men the names of its members may well be inserted: Bandmaster, Gustavus W. Ingalls, together with D. Arthur Brown; Samuel F. Brown, Joseph A. Dadmun, John W. Plummer, Carl Krebs, Henry S. Hamilton, John W. Caswell, Charles H. White, Phineas Parkhurst, James A. Baker, L. Henry Stark, Francis M. Hughes, Henry F. Brown, Cyrus E. Burnham, John C. Linehan, John W. Odlin, Jacob R. Sanborn, George E. Flanders, John C. Mitchell, George L. Lovejoy, Philip

Welcome, and Nathan W. Gove. The members of this band joined as actual fighters in the battle of James' Island, taking the rifles of those who were killed or wounded, and staying by as long as did anybody.

The Fifth regiment encamped on Glover's hill, across the lower bridge, and to the left of the highway. The Sibley tent was first seen among us at Camp Jackson. In spite of frequent rain, no regiment was put more quickly on a working basis or subjected to sharper discipline from the beginning. From the time Company A went into camp with Sturtevant, drills were constant. The men of this regiment were of exceptional size. Each company practically represented a county. The arms for actual service were not received till the front was reached. The date of departure was October 29, and the last night's quarters were our public buildings. The citizens furnished hot coffee and a hearty lunch in the morning.

The habit of attending guard mount and dress parade became general with the presence of the Fifth, owing partly to the popularity of Sturtevant and his company. This custom grew with the formation of other bodies on the more conveniently reached grounds once occupied by the First. When a full brigade was in camp, these ceremonials were of the keenest interest, pride, and enthusiasm, none of which feelings seemed to experience abatement to the very last of such events. At the time of the encampments of the Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth, the camp, with its stirring scenes, became the show place of our people, to whom great crowds of kindred and other visitors were added.

Among the drills in the rear of the city hall was that of a part of the First regiment's material, a band of those who had not responded as promptly to tuition as had some others. That squad was the delight of the youth of Concord, and its drill under a hard master-will is now vividly recalled, when so many larger things have been forgotten. In this little force was one conspicuous figure, who, under the name of "Lady Washington," attained celebrity. In all three dimensions he was a man of ample make-up. His patience gave sure promise of a genuine soldier. His good nature was unfailing. But his voice! It was one which rent the lower clouds. When uplifted fully it could be heard above an alarm of fire, the roar of a gale, or the cheers of a procession. It made its possessor famous. This brave and faithful man served two full terms, attained the rank of sergeant and died, through an accident, in 1878. Mention the name of Samuel H. Runnels to any veteran of the First or Fourth and see if a tear does not follow.

The first military funeral was that of Arthur Cline, a native of

Lyme, enlisted from Nashua, which took place May 18 from Camp Union. The body was placed in a receiving tomb for a short time, a battalion from the First doing escort duty. Great wonderment was caused by the contrast in the music coming to the city and the lively notes which made the return steps speedy.

This was followed, June 29, by the funeral of Lieutenant Charles W. Walker, of the Goodwin Rifles, who had fallen from the cars near Westfield, N. J. The body was received by the men who had enlisted for three months' service but did not go for a three years' term, Captain H. C. Tuttle, afterwards of the Fourth, commanding, together with the Zouaves. The body laid in state in Doric hall, at the state house, for two hours, and was viewed by a constant stream of people. The hall was clad in mourning, as were many buildings of the city. Flags were at half-mast and draped colors were displayed everywhere, especially on the line of journey. The body having been taken in charge by the ex-members of Company B, before alluded to, the long procession, under the marshalship of John M. Hill, took up the march for the North church, where services were conducted by Rev. Dr. Bouton. This procession included the mayor and city government, the governor and council, the senate and house of representatives, the Governor's Horse Guards, and every secret fraternal society in the city, without exception, all in full regalia.

As Lieutenant Walker had long been a very active Mason, the long cortege was greatly swelled by the craftsmen of the city. Mt. Horeb Commandery of Knights Templar, and Trinity of Manchester, with representatives from every commandery in the state, escorted De Molay commandery and Winslow Lewis lodge of Boston, of which the deceased was a member.

The stately procession, the tolling bells, and the moving strains of the Dead March in Saul, together with the salute of musketry over the grave, made the burial of New Hampshire's first war victim more than memorable to the vast numbers who poured into the city. Although the day was one of sadness, it gave a mighty impulse to recruiting all over the state and augmented the war spirit generally beyond its limits, and should not be forgotten as largely influential in those directions.

Among memorable military funerals during the early part of the war, were those of two officers of the Second, both of whom were men whose memory should be held in honor. Captain Leonard Drown was killed at Williamsburg, May 5. He originally enlisted in the First, but was not mustered, going, with many in like case, into the three years' service. His funeral took place in the Baptist church at Penacook, May 20, and was attended by the governor,

mayor, and city government, Captain George's company of the Horse Guards, the Masonic fraternity, and the firemen. A. Rolfe acted as chief marshal, assisted by Messrs. H. H. Brown, T. O. Wilson, I. K. Gage, B. F. Caldwell, John Batchelder, H. H. Amsden, John Whittaker, and Nathaniel Rolfe. The attendance was very great, and deep feeling was shown by the people. Letters from members of the Second were read at the funeral, speaking in the most affectionate terms of this gallant soldier, who was killed outright at the head of his men.

Captain A. W. Colby died of fever May 13. His body was placed in the state house May 20, and was viewed by many. The burial office was read by Rev. Dr. J. H. Eames in St. Paul's church on the 21st, at which time a memorial address was made. Captain George's company once more did escort duty, followed by a long procession of citizens to the Bow line, by way of South street. Here the remains were delivered to the authorities of the captain's native town, after appropriate remarks by William L. Foster in behalf of Concord, Reverend F. Damon responding for the citizens of Bow.

Frequent as such reminders of strife soon became, each was reverently conducted. Together with the coming home of sick and crippled men, the graver side of war was brought most painfully to attention and set in contrast with the glitter and the pageant with which people had become familiar. The times now called for staying power and demanded sacrifices. Terrors and pains were by no means the exclusive lot of those of the front. There were gentle ones at home whose trials were not one whit less bitter.

During the first year of activity, recruiting began for a company of sharpshooters, with Amos B. Jones as captain; to which were added two other companies under W. D. McPherson, and H. M. Caldwell. These qualified on the interval, south of the road, at two hundred and fifty yards. The ranges ended at the foot of a bluff. Jones and Caldwell were just from Dartmouth, where the war fever was on. A considerable number of Concord collegians, nearly all from Dartmouth, took service in a students' battalion of cavalry, playfully known as "The College Cavaliers," which was credited to Rhode Island.

The target rifle used by the candidates for Berdan's sharpshooters had a telescopic sight, with crossed hairs or spider lines, and varied from eighteen to thirty pounds weight, as each man brought his own pet weapon. One was produced which scaled full fifty, and won the name of "the baby cannon." In these trials, wind flags were disallowed. Each rifle was loaded with a most precisely-measured charge of loose, quick-burning black powder, Hazard's or Dupont's

best. The caps were double-heavy copper and waterproof. The missile was conical, slightly flattened at the business end, and wholly flat at the rear. It was made of the softest lead, that it might "mushroom" (spread) on contact. It weighed upwards of an ounce and a quarter, and was set in on a round, oiled patch of fine linen, by means of a guide, starter, and loading muzzle. This muzzle was about an inch and a half long, set in the barrel with dowel pins. Originally a part of the barrel, the rifling exactly corresponded. The loading muzzle was slightly countersunk, to receive the patch, whose folds should be precise duplicates of each other, all around the slug, on reaching the barrel. The usual rifling was one turn for about thirty inches, the twist gaining towards the muzzle. The bore was somewhat larger at the breech than at the muzzle, with the idea of starting the bullet freely, filling the grooves and giving a steady, rotary motion. The ramrod had a detachable worm on the top, and was made of selected hickory, while the lower end was fitted to the bullet. A cleaning rod, holding the linen by means of notches, was also used. There was a set and pull trigger, for which latter a very slight touch sufficed. The firing was done from a rest, after most deliberate reflection. The number of shots was ten, on a twelve-inch target-circle. Measurements were always from the mathematical center of the target to that of the bullet hole.

This weapon was used at the front effectively, under favorable conditions, as at Yorktown, but Sharp's rifle was preferred for general service. The stocks of these huge affairs were of the choicest woods, carved as finely as use admitted, and often elaborately inlaid with silver, one of the ornaments opening, most likely, to provide some convenience for the gunner. The oil used was the finest sperm. Watches or horses never were compared more critically than were these arms, between generous and manly rival experts, whose string of ten shots, in some cases, would run as low as seven and a half inches off exact center. The barrel of one of these guns (a very light one) which survives disuse is thirty-two inches long, provided with various gauges and screw telescope-elevator, and was made with the most minute fidelity by that veritable fine-art workman, John I. Eastman, who superintended these tests, calling to his aid his kinsman, Lowell Eastman, another superb marksman. The only maker of this kind of rifle now living in Concord is James E. Gage. When firing was over, the weapon was most carefully wiped out at once, as always after every discharge, preliminary to further cleansing, and then cradled in a handsome wooden case, with all the care bestowed upon a pampered infant.

June 28, 1861, was a day on which there was a historic debate in

the legislature. The subject was a bill entitled "an act to aid in the defence of the country." This bill contemplated the raising of one million dollars for the state, should so much be called for by the exigencies of the times. The first amendment was offered by Aaron P. Hughes of Nashua, and named five hundred thousand dollars as the gross sum. This was defeated, one hundred and twelve to one hundred and seventy-six. The second amendment, offered by Thomas J. Smith of Wentworth, was to insert the word "lawful" before the word "call" in the following phrase: "In order to answer any call for troops from this State." This was defeated, eighty-seven to one hundred and fifty-nine. The third amendment was offered by Harry Bingham of Littleton, thus: "*Provided* that such military force is not employed in the work of subjugating and holding as a conquered province any sovereign state now or lately one of the United States." This was defeated, ninety-two to one hundred and sixty-five.

Three roll calls, in addition to the main question, with full discussion, occupied morning, afternoon, and evening. The flow of oratory corresponded with the fervor of the season. All space which the floor admitted was jammed with hearers. The galleries were packed, and all approaches half available for seeing or hearing were thronged as soon as the sessions began.

The line of argument pursued can be inferred readily from the nature of the amendments. The vigor and directness of the speeches cannot be doubted, with keen participants in the struggle. By reason of personalities, sharp replies, charges and countercharges, the gavel of the speaker, Edward Ashton Rollins, was well occupied in keeping the debate within limits which might be called parliamentary, till the late hour when a vote of one hundred and sixty-nine to ninety-four, on the passage of the bill, made relief and fresh air possible.

On July 3, "an earnest and solemn protest" against the passage of the bill, bearing ninety-one names, was presented and spread upon the record. In its terms, the state's rights question was indubitably present.

A special session of the legislature met in August, 1864. On the 24th, a bill allowing soldiers to vote for presidential electors and congressmen, subject to the supreme court's opinion, was about to become a law, without the governor's signature, having been passed by both houses on the previous week. About this bill there had been general rumors of a veto. On the afternoon of the 24th John G. Sinclair of Bethlehem arose and presented a document purporting to be from the governor. Speaker William E. Chandler declined to

receive the paper at his hands. Mr. Sinclair said that it had been enveloped and sealed by himself, and opened and proceeded to read the paper, but the speaker ruled that such reading was not in order. After various proceedings and amid the wildest disorder, a motion to adjourn was made, upon which the yeas and nays were demanded. During the calling of the roll, Secretary of State Tenny appeared and laid upon the speaker's desk a document which he stated to be a message from the governor. The uproar was such that members were obliged to go to the clerk's desk to record their votes. The aim of one side was to get the paper before the house; that of the other, to adjourn. The adjournment was declared effected, one hundred and forty-two to eighty-eight, the communication not having been received. This was probably the most riotous occasion ever known in our legislative halls. During the interval between the laying of the bill on the governor's desk in the council chamber and the appearance of the supposed vetoes, Governor Gilmore and Secretary of State Tenny had vanished. A curious chapter of political history, worthy of enlargement, is suggested by the *Statesman's* comment that "there has, all along, been a degree of intimacy, in and out of the legislature, between the governor and certain Democrats, which created a degree of suspicion in the minds of Republican members, and put them upon the watch for the fate of a bill which, if it become a law, will exert a material influence upon the approaching and subsequent elections." The supreme court decided that the bill was constitutional and had become a law by limitation of time.

In February and March, 1864, parts of the Second, Fifth, Twelfth, and Fourteenth came back to recruit, and, incidentally, to vote. The Sixth was already at home. The gubernatorial vote of this spring was Gilmore, thirty-seven thousand and six; Harrington, thirty-one thousand three hundred and forty; scattering, seventy-nine. In the fall, the highest Republican presidential elector had thirty-four thousand five hundred and twenty-nine; Democratic, thirty-two thousand three hundred and forty-four; Soldiers' vote,—Republican, two thousand and sixty-six; Democratic, six hundred and ninety.

The First regiment arrived home August 5, 1861, at 7 a. m., and was received by the Horse Guards and a goodly assemblage of citizens. As this early arrival was unexpected, the Zouaves and Home Guards did not appear. A substantial collation was provided in the state house yard, after a speech by Governor Berry, and two days off duty were given all. The men were brown, rugged, and ragged. For new troops, they had had some severe marches and a large amount of guard and picket duty in a comparatively uneventful term of service. The regiment had performed well the chiefest

duty of every soldier—obedience to orders. There had been four deaths from various causes, and five had been captured. While but little can be said of the regiment as a whole, the later service of many of its members shows it to have been a most worthy school, whose effects were felt immensely in the membership of all other forces which went out from this state; indeed, it may be added, to no small extent, in every New England state, New York, and the regular service. It was most literally a lump of leaven, and many of the First attained high distinction in other bodies. They were equal to the opportunity and laid firm hold on it. When they came back to civil life it was with a new sense of personal power, duty, and responsibility which counted to the public benefit and enrichment.

It was now more than a quarter of a century since the public peace had been marred by a riotous outbreak and the good name of Concord sullied by lawlessness. But 1861, under heated conditions of war times, saw its repetition. The cause of offence was *The Democratic Standard*, a weekly, whose office was in the third story of Low's block, almost opposite the foot of School street, on a passageway leading to the rear of the buildings on the east side of Main street and towards the railroad. John B. Palmer was the publisher, and the practical work was wholly performed by Brackett Palmer and his sons. The editor was Edmund Burke of Newport, formerly congressman from this state and also commissioner of patents,—a man of ability and intense convictions. Mr. Burke's writings were of the most aggressive, acrimonious, and excoriating nature, and were so intemperate as to be the moving cause of the most remarkable breach of law and order which has ever happened in Concord. *The Standard* had supported Breckinridge as a presidential candidate, and was in the keenest opposition to *The Patriot*, which latter had championed the cause of Douglas, and was in moderate opposition to the war. *The Standard* sharply criticised the conservative stand of ex-President Pierce and his friends, and even printed a half double-column caricature of William Butterfield, editor of *The Patriot*, whose height and leanness made him a subject peculiarly suited for pictorial exaggeration. *The Standard* was so rank in its handling of all war themes that the Republicans pointed to it as an honest sample of how the entire Democratic press felt, at heart, on burning public issues; while the Democrats spoke of it as a subsidized sheet, maintained by the enemy to scandalize the party and furnish the opposition with texts for editorial preaching. George Hutchins, owner of the building, had more than once warned the Palmers out and told them of their danger, but they had availed themselves of their legal rights to remain. As Concord was the very heart of New Hamp-

shire's relations to the Civil War, it is hardly to be wondered that *The Standard* establishment and the persons connected with it were denounced and threatened publicly and frequently, to their faces, and were not without admonitions from friendly people. Indeed, the attack on the paper had been freely advised, directly and indirectly, and long before the riot it was an open secret that the paper was to be "cleaned out." As a matter of fact, this event was inevitable from the manner in which the publication exceeded the limits of discussion, both in tone and language. One cannot find, in a complete file, many words and phrases attributed to *The Standard*. But of most objectionable matter there is no lack, from caustic leaders down to verses of semi-satisfaction at the Bull Run defeat, under the sting of which so great a share of the populace was smarting, even many of those who did not support the administration. A number of the Second regiment, including citizens of Concord, had met the fate of soldiers in that opening fight, and to do anything but lament over that defeat was to incense the people.

It was August 8 when the event not dimly foreshadowed came to pass. The First regiment had returned, had two days off duty and was in camp on the Plains, to be paid off and mustered out on the following day. Soon after business opened the office was visited by a soldier delegation, who made inquiries and remonstrances and said much, the exact terms of which are not essential to this record. The outside of the paper had been printed and a large part of the inside was in type, August 3 being the last issue circulated. This committee reported on the street; doubtless at the camp likewise. The knots of people increased until a crowd of a thousand or more had gathered and then became a mob, partly owing to the appearance of two of the Palmers, armed with a gun and axe, at the windows.

At this time John M. Hill, treasurer of the Gas Light company, with an office on the present site of Durgin's factory on School street, had noticed the ferment and informed City Marshal John Kimball of what was in the air, and was immediately called on by the marshal to assist him. About this time High Sheriff Nehemiah G. Ordway was engaged in reading the riot act to such as would give attention, from the vantage point of an awning on the west of the street. Messrs. Kimball and Hill at once went to the office, the latter gaining entrance to the composing-room, and found John Palmer armed with a revolver, Charles with an axe, and Frank with a gun of ancient date. In behalf of the city marshal protection was offered, conditioned on surrender of the weapons. This was accepted after quite a parley, and some of the weapons were given up. Meanwhile, Mr. Kimball was at the head of the stairs, trying to control the