

WAYLAND AND THE CIVIL WAR

There are probably few communities in the United States that are not pausing to consider the effect of the Civil War on their lives today. Most of the excitement seems to be in the south. It has been said that "the south may have lost the war, but it's sure going to win the centennial."* The Civil War too has long been the fascination of an ardent group of buffs but now the amateurs like myself are studying the histories of those five years. Why this interest? this allure?

The Civil War is a true melodrama. It was a "big war; yet peculiarly a personal war".** Many a soldier kept a diary. The history of each regiment has been recorded. Matthew Brady was on hand with his camera. War artists such as Alfred Waud and Frank Vizetelly made sketches. Newspaper correspondents followed in the battle's wake. All of these documents help to stimulate interest in the war.

But perhaps most important of all, the Civil War marked the turning point in our history. As Allan Nevins has said "the war gave the nation form or system." We can surely gain encouragement and faith in ourselves as Americans when we think what the United States survived a 100 years ago--a broken Union, a bankrupt treasury, a divided nation.

It is not too difficult to imagine what Wayland looked like a 100 years ago. Many of the same buildings are in the center today. To name a few...The painting shows the old Red Store, Collin's Market which was the library and the Town Hall then. The First Parish church. The Pequod Inn. The Andrew's house. Judge Mellen's former home. And this house of Uncle Newell Heard's was of course back on its original site. The Bent shoe factory was functioning in Cochituate.

There was no railroad of course. The Sudbury, Wayland and Weston stage coach still came to and from Wayland once a day bringing passengers to the Pequod House and bringing the mail and the weekly newspapers to Uncle Newell Heard's Red Store.

Wayland was a farming community--population 1,188 in 1860. However, there was a variety of other business too as may be seen from the kinds of occupations of the Wayland soldiers. There were as many shoemakers as there were farmers. Butchers, expressmen, a machinist, an organist, carpenter, blacksmith, brakeman, students, school teacher and clerks--all these trades made up the army from Wayland.

100 years ago from this very date tonight Lincoln had been President but a month. Seven states had left the Union with four more to go by the end of spring. The Confederate States of America had been proclaimed with Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander Hamilton Stephen, Vice President. All federal funds and property in the south had been seized. Fort Sumter was to be surrendered on April 13, 1861 and on April 15, 1861 Lincoln was to issue a call for the militia of the states to serve for three months "to repossess property seized from the Union."

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts was the only northern state somewhat prepared for this call. In February of '61 the Legislature had passed a bill to permit the organization of volunteer militia upon petition to the Commander-in-Chief, the Selectmen or Mayor. Aid was voted for families of volunteers up to \$12 a month per family.

Governor Andrew inherited a state militia of but 155,000 men with but 71 field

* Karl Betts - National Civil War Centennial Commission

** "A Real Good Hearty War Dies Hard." T.H. Williams

pieces and about 10,000 muskets, half of which were Springfield rifled muskets with a muzzle loading arm. (A soldier with this gun had to open the cartridge, pour in the powder, ram a bullet in the muzzle and put a firing cap in place in order to shoot once.) The Governor sent an agent to England to compete with southern agents in buying more military supplies.

For a country town far from the center of excitement, Wayland's reaction was prompt. On a "beautiful spring evening"* one week after Lincoln's call a meeting of the citizens was held in the First Parish Church "to consider the state of the country and consult upon measures to be taken in the present crisis."** Rev. Adin Fletcher of the Trinitarian Church led the group in prayer. This was followed by singing by the Cochituate Glee Club. James S. Draper was elected President of the meeting.

A committee was appointed to prepare recommendations for action and on April 25 -only three days after the first meeting the Committee proposed:

1. that a military company made up of all able bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45 be organized and drilled;
2. that another company of Minute Men be formed to practise the use of weapons;
3. that a Town Meeting be called to raise supplies for the volunteer company; and
4. that the women of Wayland organize to prepare garments for the soldiers and their families.

The actions of the Citizen's Committee were approved at a Town Meeting on May 1, 1861 where it was voted that a military company be formed "at the tap of the drum."

Officers were chosen: Captain, Wiliam Dudley; First Lieutenant, Asahel Sherman; Second Lieutenant, James S.Draper; Third Lieutenant and Sergeant, Charles Hodges; Fourth Lieutenant and Orderly Sergeant, Jacob Ulman; First Drummer, Edward Rice; Second drummer, William Heard; Fifer, J.F.Heard and Key Bugler, Ira Draper.

This group was to drill every Wednesday. They were to wear black felt hats with a Union badge, dark frock coats and dark pants. Officers bought their own sword and sash. Everyone brought his own musket. The voters of Wayland then pledged themselves to be ready to respond to any emergency and to give their lives and property "that we may perpetuate our glorious liberties as the richest legacy we can bequeath for our children." A week later and a day after the Confederate States of America formally declared war on the Union, a second Town Meeting matched its high resolution with practicality. It voted to pay \$20 bounty and to furnish material for a suit of clothes and underclothes for each Wayland inhabitant who enlisted, guaranteed that the families of the soldiers would not want during their absence.

Eighteen men left Wayland in '61, mostly in the spring and summer. The distinction of being the first Wayland man to go to war would probably belong to 26 year old Joseph Damon who volunteered as a seaman in January 1861. However, seamen were not included in the quotas assigned the states until 1864; a situation which was hard on New England

* Letter from Thomas Wade-"Memorial"

** Town Meeting minutes April 22, 1861.

who had so many men at sea. Sumner Davis and James Rice were the first infantry volunteers; both were dead before the end of the war. George Dickey, grandfather of Mr. Dickey of Concord Road, was Wayland's first war casualty. The town voted to pay his widow \$60 to bring his remains home for burial.

Massachusetts was one of the first state militias to arrive in Washington in May. It was quartered in the U.S. Senate Chamber with its field hospital in the Supreme Court Chambers.

By July Washington was overflowing with eager troops. The militia's three month term was expiring when the soldiers fought their first battle-Bull Run. The North was routed. No doubt Lydia Maria Child best expressed Wayland's mood when she wrote: "July 26. One can't think about anything else but the war. These last battles with all their terrible incidents have made me almost down sick."*

The rest of 1861 and 1862 was a mixture of victories and defeats for the Union. Due to the leadership of Ulysses Grant, Forts Henry and Donelson were taken, opening up the Tennessee and Cumberland River area.

The Union blockade of coastal ports was effective. In addition, the Union's combined naval and military expeditions were capturing these ports. For example, although New Orleans was guarded by two forts at the mouth of the Mississippi, it was dramatically captured under the daring leadership of Admiral Farragut. Captain Thomas Wade of Wayland took part in this dash past the guns of the forts.

But Union hopes were dashed when McClellan failed to capture Richmond and was pushed off the Peninsula. Pope was beaten in the second battle of Bull Run and Lee came into the North as far as Antietam. Finally Burnside's Union army was slaughtered at Fredericksburg, Virginia.

McClellan repeatedly called for more troops claiming that Richmond could be taken if he had more men. In order to avoid panic Lincoln let it be known indirectly that 150,000 men were needed for three years.

Everything possible was done to stimulate enlistment. In Boston shops were closed at 2 PM to enable employees to go forth and encourage enlistment. Congress assigned a quota based on population for the northern states, and in turn the state determined the quota for each city and town.

On July 21, 1862 Wayland's Town Meeting voted to pay \$100 to those three-year enlistees who would make up Wayland's quota of 19. Mrs. Eunice Heard rose to offer \$5 each to the first five volunteers. A like sum was offered by William Heard to the second five who enlisted. William Grout offered \$5 to the third five and then Harrison Shorey offered \$6 to all nineteen. Twenty-six men volunteered.

Half of these recruits went to the 35th Regiment, Company D. It might be interesting to follow the career of Company D's men. They were a good example of how the northern soldiers were suddenly thrown into an entirely different environment. "I wish you would send me a map of Pennsylvania or a small map of the U.S.," said a soldier. "I feel lost without one." These men tramped through Virginia, went by railroad to Kentucky and Tennessee, down the Mississippi River to Vicksburg and then back again to Virginia. They

* Letters of Lydia Maria Child

experienced heat, disease, insects, pain such as they could not conceive of back in Wayland.

A poster may have attracted their attention to the 35th. It read in part: "Men are wanted to fill up Captain Andrew's Company, Fort Warren Battalion. This battalion will probably be increased and make the 35th Regiment so that there will be a chance for actual service. \$25 of the \$100 bounty in advance. \$13-one month's pay-in advance. \$12 per month State Aid for families.

Upon signing enlistment papers the 13 men from Wayland were at Camp Stanton in Lynnfield by the first week of August. There they were given a physical, such as it was. Then each man was led to the quartermaster's office where a gray woollen blanket marked "U.S." was spread on the floor and his army uniform dumped in it. (There were four sizes only.) His shoes were probably distinguishable between left and right. Knapsack, haversack, canteen, cartridge box, tin dipper, plate, knife, and fork represented his equipment.

Finally the men took the oath of allegiance and were organized into companies. Two days before the regiment left for Washington some somewhat defective Enfield rifles were issued. No ammunition was distributed and indeed in the first day of battle at South Mountain several men were found who had never fired a gun.

The 35th arrived in Washington in time to see the beaten Federal troops straggling back into the city after being defeated at the second battle of Bull Run. One of the Butterfield boys of Wayland had been in this fight. He had stayed on after the retreat to nurse a friend from Natick and was made a prisoner of war. He later escaped.

The 35th had arrived at a vital time. The way to the north was now open for Lee. Lee's battle plan, which contained a detailed account of the location of every division was found by a Union soldier but McClellan seemed unable to move fast enough to catch the southerners when divided. Lee crossed the Antietam Creek and turned to face McClellan.

McClellan sent in his men piecemeal instead of making one big push. Thus the bloodiest battle of the war took place in a cornfield-1200 men killed or hurt in four hours. Company D went into the final stage of this battle. They fought their way across the bridge and up the bank on the other side. They held until they ran out of ammunition. George Spofford (Uncle of Mabel S. Draper), was struck by a fragment of shell and was helped to the rear by John Morse (father of Miss Amy Morse of Weston). Mr. Spofford stayed in a Washington hospital and returned to his regiment at Fredericksburg. Shoemaker William Jameson fought through the thick of battle without harm only to blow off a finger the next day while cleaning his musket. He received a disability discharge. Edward Carter, father of Mis Ethel Carter and Mrs. Helen Wheeler, carried a wounded friend to the rear.

The 35th Regiment lost a third of its men and two-thirds of its officers at Antietam. This ended Lee's first attempt to drive north.

The battle offered Lincoln his first opportunity to issue a preliminary emancipation proclamation to become effective January 1, 1863. He felt the proclamation would be misinterpreted if issued after a defeat. Mrs. Child, though thankful for it, recognized the proclamation as "done reluctantly - merely a war measure."

Five weeks passed after Antietam before McClellan started to follow Lee. During this pause Mr. William Heard, sent by the Soldiers's Relief Society of Wayland called on the

town's boys at the front with gifts from home. He found his son, Samuel Heard in poor health. Through the efforts of Frank Draper who was working in the regimental hospital Samuel was sent home with a disability discharge. Frank Draper was the great-uncle of Harold and Marion Draper.

In the hopes of getting some action Lincoln removed McClellan and turned desperately to Burnside. The army was moved to Falmouth across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg. A week passed while the Federals waited for pontoons to get across the river. The Rebels thus had a chance to fortify Marye's Heights beyond the city.

The 35th crossed the river on the 12th of December. Charles Campbell (grandfather of Mal Campbell), John Morse and George Spofford happened on the body of Rev. Arthur Fuller, former Chaplain of the 16th Mass. Regiment, who had many personal friends in Wayland. They found a coffin and buried him while the shells burst overhead.

The assault was then made on Marye's Heights into the mouths of the Rebel guns. Three attempts were made but they got to 30 yards of the ridge and were driven back. Frank Draper, Ambrose Page, and Edward Carter were working in the hospital and watched the battle from across the river. James Draper, a Wayland farmer, received a slight wound in his hand. He ended up in a Convalescent Camp where he became so sick from diarrhoea that he received a disability discharge. Lewis Swan, shoemaker, had a severe cut on the head but he wisely avoided convalescent hospitals and fought to the end of the war.

This attack on Fredericksburg came to nothing. General Burnside withdrew his troops. Charles Campbell said that "It was the only time that I ever felt really depressed in the hopes I had cherished for the speedy overthrow of the Rebellion."* James S. Draper was sent by Wayland citizens to Fredericksburg to help dispel the gloom that Christmas.

As happened most every winter of the war the two armies were forced into camp for a month or two because of the impassable, muddy roads. The 35th was glad to leave the monotony of the winter camp of '63 for Newport News. In March they were travelling across Pennsylvania by train, riding mostly on top of the cars because it was more comfortable than inside. They settled in Kentucky to a comfortable guard duty. The blue grass, the fence posts made of black walnut, the food-chicken and squirrel pies, roasted goose-all made a favorable impression on the Wayland men.

But their stay was short. Grant needed more troops for his siege of Vicksburg so in June they sailed down the Mississippi. They passed Island No. 10. Three months earlier the rebel guns on this island has been silenced by a fellow townsman, John Searl, who donned a rebel uniform and by pretending to be part of a relief guard, helped spike the guns of the battery.

The 35th landed four miles above Vicksburg to the sound of the bombardment. A few weeks later, July 4th, Vicksburg was captured. But there was no time for celebration by the 35th for they were sent east to Jackson, Miss. to drive the Rebel leader Johnston away.

As soon as this was accomplished the 35th received orders to return immediately to Kentucky. They made a forced march in the July heat, back to the Mississippi river boats. Strong men fell overcome with thirst and the thick dust. Frank Draper, sick from dysentery and fever, went by ambulance. He was too sick to sit up and there was not room enough to lie down. Ambrose Page caught malaria. Edward Carter came down with typhoid fever. Charles Campbell worked frantically in the hospital caring for those sick with

fever. During twelve days he could only snatch sleep while leaning against a tentpole.

It might be well to pause and catch up on the activities of other Wayland men. During the siege of Vicksburg, Lee invaded the north in the hopes the Federals would call off the siege and rush their troops north to defend Pennsylvania. But this never happened for three days before the formal surrender of Vicksburg came Gettysburg where Lee's hopes for further fighting in the north were shattered.

Six men from Wayland were in that Gettysburg battle. James Rice and Oscar Balcom left no written record of their share of the fighting. During most of the three-day contest shoemaker Edson Davis fought on Cemetery Ridge. 600 men were killed there but he escaped with but several bullet holes through his uniform. Sumner Davis was not so lucky. He seized the flag staff from the hands of the dead color bearer of the 11th Regiment and crying "I'm not a coward" led his comrades to a charge. He was killed almost immediately. Charles May was fortunate to witness Gettysburg from afar. He was at division headquarters as a wagoner. Alpheus Wellington, a farmer, fought "the hardest battle of the war" those three days. He later fell before Richmond.

It is difficult to know exactly what was going on in Wayland in the summer of 1863. The high school was closed and the school board complained of a cut in its budget. It received \$1000 to educate 250 children that year.

Close contact was maintained with the men at the front by visits from townsmen and even wives and by letters which were read aloud at the Soldiers' Relief Society meetings once a month. The Soldiers' Aid Society of Wayland was also meeting once a month. Their total output was large: 14 blankets, 53 bed quilts, 88 bed sacks, 79 sheets, 109 shirts to say nothing of underwear, lint, bandages and food.

When news of Gettysburg came back to Wayland, Mr. Child borrowed a flag and climbed to the top of the 60 foot high ash tree in front of his house, lashed the staff to the tree and loudly sang the "Star Spangled Banner".

The manpower problems of the northern army in 1863 affected Wayland in several ways. The supply of men was beginning to decrease. Four men were signed up in Wayland; two of whom were drafted. Massachusetts was opposed to using the federal draft law and filled its quota by volunteers as long as they were to be had. In July of '63 a state board was established to enroll all men between the ages of 20 and 45. Roughly 32,000 names were drawn in the first draft. Of these only 700 actually joined the service. 2,000 paid \$300 each and were exempted from duty; 2,000 found substitutes; 3,000 failed to appear; and 22,000 were exempted.

The two Wayland draftee's life in the army was miserable. One of the two, James Moulton, became stiff with rheumatism on Long Island in Boston Harbor, where all draftees were sent so they couldn't escape. Marshall Garfield who had a son at the front, was nevertheless sent under guard to the Virginia battle front. He was wounded, sent to a hospital and then returned to the war though his right arm was nearly useless. He was in to the end of the war, returning home a month after his son.

Governor Andrew had long wanted to employ colored troops. Upon receiving federal permission, he moved cautiously for he was determined that his experiment must succeed. He sought officer material of the highest quality. He chose Robert Gould Shaw as Colonel of the colored regiment-the 44th. Mr. Shaw was a cousin of Francis Shaw whose

estate is now called Woodridge. Mr. Shaw's father was a close friend of Mrs. Child and together they had done much to aid the contrabands-negroes who had escaped from the south. Colonel Shaw died leading his troops in an attack on a fort in Charleston, South Carolina. A letter of condolence from Mrs. Child to Mrs. Shaw is in the next room.

At his own request Frank Draper left the 35th Regiment to take command of a company of colored men as their Captain. Capt. Draper was to fight side by side with his old regiment at Petersburg.

After Vicksburg fell, and while the 35th was returning to the north, troops were sent from New Orleans to capture Port Hudson so that in the words of Lincoln-"The father of waters again goes unvexed to the sea." John Mellen and Elias Farmer were killed in the attack. John Bullard and Elbridge Carter attacked the fort under the broiling sun and were present at its surrender on July 9th.

But to return to the 35th. In the words of Campbell the men were all "nearly used up" by the Mississippi campaign; one half were allowed to rest at Covington while the remainder went on duty in Kentucky. They built fortifications around Knoxville in preparation for an attack by Longstreet. The charge was repulsed. Campbell, Morse, Spofford were in this fight. Page and Draper were hospitalized from the Vicksburg campaign.

In the spring of 1864 the big push was on. "Never say die" Grant was now in charge of the Army of the Potomac. The 35th was brought east to fight until the end of the war in Virginia. On May 4 Grant crossed the Rapidan River into an area appropriately named the Wilderness. Lee chose to fight there in a tangle of underbrush and scrub trees. Company D was not directly involved in this battle though in the words of Edward Carter "the stray bullets often paid us visits." Joseph Moore, who had enlisted in Wayland only ten days before, fought this one battle. Then the heat followed by drenching showers brought on such a painful attack of rheumatism that he was hospitalized.

The Wayland men saw much fighting that summer as Grant would attack and then sideslip around Lee's right. Although the losses were high Grant stated he would "fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." Two acres of wounded men without water, blankets, or medical care was not an uncommon sight for Charles Campbell as he worked in the hospital corps.

Grant attacked Petersburg which was an important supply depot for Lee and Richmond. Here the troops settled in for a bloody siege. In desperation Burnside permitted a Pennsylvania regiment, composed of miners, to dig a 500 foot tunnel and place a mine under Confederate fortifications. It had been originally planned that a colored regiment (among which was Frank Draper's company) would make the first assault after the explosion, but Meade and Grant feared adverse public opinion and disapproved at the last minute. The mine went off like an earthquake leaving a huge crater 60 feet across and 30 feet deep. The northern troops had difficulty getting out of their trenches and they poured into the crater where they milled about for two hours not knowing exactly what to do. By this time the Confederates had come to their senses. Guns were brought up to attack the flanks of the Federal troops. The two officers of Company D were wounded and John Morse took command and kept three guns going until he ran out of ammunition. Finally Draper's brave troops were allowed to go in when it was too late. As he stated: "We were

defeated; sadly defeated. Somebody had blundered and rendered severely useless a plan which was well conceived and should have been eminently successful. "Charles May was shot in the foot and waited nine days before a doctor saw him. The result was amputation.

In Wayland this summer of '64 the Town Meeting had to vote a bounty of \$125 per man to fill its quota. They had to compete with some northern towns that were offering bounties of \$500. The town deposited money with the state treasurer who in turn hired agents to recruit men in the southern states.

That July Lincoln had sent Congress a new draft or enrollment bill. In this, exemption could no longer be purchased so if a draftee wished to escape service he had to find a substitute; if not in the north then either among aliens or among negroes.

The 35th immediately noticed the effect of this new law. Their depleted ranks were filled with Germans who could not speak English. Many a German claimed he had been offered free passage to America and a job, but upon landing in New York, had found himself marched off to fight. The Rebel pickets liked to tease the 35th about their new recruits and when some of the Germans were captured the Rebels called out: "We have caught some real life Yankees this time. They can't speak a word of English!"

These men were surely better than the bounty jumpers who enlisted for the bounty money but escaped the army before they ever got to the front. The first duty of Charles Dean of Wayland upon his enlistment in August '64 was to guard convalescents, substitutes and recruits on their way to Virginia.

Morale was low among the civilians that summer of 1864 in the north. Grant had not taken Richmond, but the daring southerner Early had all but entered Washington. This was election year and there was much opposition to Lincoln's reelection. The Democratic party chose McClellan as their candidate. But by the time the November election day arrived, there had been a series of victories: Admiral Farragut captured Mobile Bay; Sherman telegraphed Lincoln "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won" and in mid-September Sheridan opened up the Shenandoah Valley.

Lincoln received 212 electoral votes as against 21 for McClellan. Mrs. Child's comments on the election are interesting. "Lincoln has his faults and I have sometimes been out of patience with him, but I will say of him that I have constantly gone on liking him better and better."

The north was also feeling the effects of inflation. "With milk at 10c a quart, bread 10c a loaf, meat at 25c a pound, a breakfast, it was said, cost as much as a substantial dinner before the War." Wages were higher. A mechanic who before the war earned \$10 to \$12 a week in gold now made \$15 to \$18 and was paid in paper. But despite the increase in wages, costs of material, heavy taxes, business of every sort prospered.

Company D of the 35th had little Wayland representation by the end of the battle of Petersburg-three men. Though as Grant gathered his brigades together to encircle Lee, eleven of our townsmen were in this group. The 35th had some short but severe fights that fall: Weldon Railroad, Poplar Springs Church where 150 of its German recruits were taken prisoner, Hatcher's Run fight, and finally the taking of Petersburg in April 1865. James Rice, a member of the cavalry, was killed. Charles Butterfield, whose father and brother had served in the war, was captured and eventually sent to Salisbury prison in North Carolina. So was Edward Carter.

Their suffering there was unfortunately typical of prisoners of war. 10,000 men on six acres of land. Little food or clothing or shelter. A day's ration was a 1/2 pound of bread per man with a small piece of meat or rice soup once a month. There is a cane in the next room which Mr. Butterfield carved during his imprisonment. They were released in February 1865. Mr. Carter came home sick with typhoid and was unconscious four weeks before he eventually recovered.

Lee could hold Richmond no longer and he evacuated it April 2. He dragged his hungry army south hoping to join General Johnston, but Grant steadily grabbed all railroads which might supply Lee. By April 9 all hopes had gone and the two generals outlined terms of surrender at Appomattox Court House village. Lincoln was killed five days later. And on April 26th Johnston surrendered to Sherman in North Carolina.

The rush was on for home. Each corps tried to be the first to reach Washington. Hence William Garfield and Oscar Balcom called it the hardest march of the War.

On the fourth of July 1865 Wayland held a general reception for its soldiers. The dead were remembered and thanks given to God for peace and freedom. A program of this service is on display. It would be a happy thought if all the Wayland men agreed with one soldier who wrote in his diary the day he mustered out: " Found everything as it should be. Am glad to become a citizen once more. Intend to remain one as long as possible."

At a Town Meeting in November 1866 a committee was voted (Edmund Sears, Lafayette Dudley, James Draper) to compile from letters and other sources a sketch of the military history of each of the Wayland soldiers as a memorial to their service. This is the book.

In summary 72 men went to war from Wayland or according to some records-78. 12 were killed. 5 were made prisoners of war. 15 received disability discharges-more because of ailments they had when they went into service than from wounds of battle.

One more statistical comment. More American soldiers were killed in the Civil War than in both World War I and II combined. Thus we might remember these Wayland men with renewed respect for they surely fought well in a hard and bitter war.

Written and presented to the Wayland Historical Society by Mary Trageser, 1961.