

Gettysburg COLLEGE

The Samuel E. and Clara Turner Papers, 1861-1865 A report on content, with historical notes



Gettysburg College, Musselman Library
Special Collections & College Archives

Written, compiled, and transcribed by Devin McKinney
January 2012



Table of Contents

Provenance	1
Corrections and clarifications	1
Biographical notes	
Samuel Epes Turner	2
Clarinda Swallow (Miller) Turner	2
Samuel Epes Turner (Jr.)	2
Mary Holyoke (Ward) Nichols	3
Mehitable Ward	3
The Baltimore riot	3
Synopsis & transcription of letters, with historical notes .	4
Letter 1 (Monday, April 29, 1861)	5
Letter 2 (Tuesday, January 21, 1862)	7
Letter 3 (Sunday-Monday, March 2-3, 1862)	9
Letter 4 (Sunday-Monday, June 1-2, 1862)	12
Letter 5 (Thursday-Friday, September 11-12, 1862)	13
Letter 6 (undated fragment)	14
Letter 7 (Tuesday, June 14, 1864)	15
Letter 8 (Wednesday-Thursday, June 15-16, 1864)	17
Letter 9 (Wednesday-Thursday, October 5-6, 1864)	19
Letter 10 (Wednesday, January 11, 1865)	21
Letter 11 (Friday, January 13, 1865)	23

Provenance

This collection was purchased from Alexander's Autographs of Stamford, Connecticut, and accessioned by Special Collections on May 11, 2011.

It is described in the original seller's catalog as "10 letters (84 pp.) about Civil War Baltimore and the Riots of 1861 written by Clara Epes to cousins in Salem, Mass., April 29, 1861, to January 13, 1865."

Corrections and clarifications

"Clara Epes" is actually Clarinda Swallow (Miller) Turner. Evidently "Clara" was her diminutive, as she signs herself and is referred to thus by her husband. The husband's full name is Samuel Epes Turner, but he seems to have gone by his middle name. Some of the letters are written by Clara, others by Epes.

The cousins to whom they write are Mary Holyoke (Ward) Nichols and Mehitable Ward, daughters of Samuel Epes Turner's aunt, Judith (Holyoke) Ward. In the letters they are referred to as "Cousin Mary" and "Cousin Hitty."

Most letters are headed "Balto," an archaic abbreviation for "Baltimore."

Contrary to the catalog description, there are 11 letters, or more accurately, 10 complete letters and one fragment. Some are two letters in one—that is, a letter from Clara is followed on the same sheet by another from Epes, or vice versa. Sometimes their letters are written on different days, though intended to be mailed together. Here, they are considered a single letter if the first is ended and the second begun on the same sheet, even if they were written on different days. If the date is different and the second letter is begun on a different sheet, they are considered separate letters even if they were mailed together. Thus the letters are dated:

- Letter 1: Monday, April 29, 1861
- Letter 2: Tuesday, January 21, 1862
- Letter 3: Sunday-Monday, March 2-3, 1862
- Letter 4: Sunday-Monday, June 1-2, 1862
- Letter 5: Thursday-Friday, September 11-12, 1862
- Letter 6: undated fragment, perhaps autumn or winter 1863
- Letter 7: Tuesday, June 14, 1864
- Letter 8: Wednesday-Thursday, June 15-16, 1864
- Letter 9: Wednesday-Thursday, October 5-6, 1864
- Letter 10: Wednesday, January 11, 1865
- Letter 11: Friday, January 13, 1865

Biographical notes

Samuel Epes Turner (“Epes”) was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 8, 1809, son of William Turner of Boston and Judith Holyoke of Salem, and great-grandson of Edward Holyoke (1737-69), ninth president of Harvard College.

In 1833, Epes co-founded the paper manufacturing firm of Turner and Wheelwright (later Turner, Wheelwright and Mudge) at 2 South Charles Street in Baltimore. This firm is noted as “the first concern engaged in the jobbing of paper in the monumental city.”¹

Epes married Clarinda Sparrow Miller in Wareham, Massachusetts, on July 8, 1845. They made their home in Baltimore’s Ninth Ward. Their first child, Samuel, was born on September 9, 1846. A second child was born on October 24, 1852, but lived only five days.

Around 1850, Epes founded his own paper company, advertised as a “wholesale and retail dealer in staple and fancy stationery, writing, printing and wrapping papers, printers’ cards, &c.” It was located next door to his old firm, at 3 South Charles Street.

Epes died in Baltimore on June 17, 1875, at the age of 65.

Clarinda Swallow (Miller) Turner (“Clara”) was born on December 4, 1824, in Middleborough, Massachusetts. The only child of Darius Miller and Clarinda Sparrow, Clara was a descendant on her father’s side of John Alden, legendarily the first pilgrim of the *Mayflower* to set foot on Plymouth Rock.

She married Baltimore paper manufacturer Samuel Epes Turner in Wareham, Massachusetts, on July 8, 1845. They made their home in Baltimore’s Ninth Ward. Their first child, Samuel, was born on September 9, 1846. A second child was born on October 24, 1852, but lived only five days.

For more than twenty years, Clara was a homemaker and devoted wife and mother. Following her husband’s death in 1875, she moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where her son had begun his own family after graduating from Harvard. After his death, Clara continued living with her daughter-in-law and grandchildren.

She died in Cambridge on June 18, 1903, at the age of 78.

Samuel Epes Turner (Jr.) (“Sam,” “Eppy”) was born in Baltimore on September 6 (or 9), 1846. He was home-schooled by his mother until the age of 11. In 1865 Sam entered the Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire, enrolling in Harvard College as a sophomore the following year. He took a bachelor’s degree in History in 1869.

Sam then studied law at the University of Maryland, earning a degree in 1871. Soon after, he joined the Baltimore firm of Hinkley and Morris. He left the profession in 1874 to establish the Samuel Epes Turner School, a private academy for boys; he left the school two years later.

He married Mary Louise Moore of Waltham, Massachusetts, on September 14, 1878. They would have four children.

Having reentered Harvard, Sam earned a doctorate in History in 1880. Three years later, he returned as a post-graduate, and in 1888 published *A Sketch of the German*

¹ *Memorial Biographies of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society* (Volume VII: 1871-1880), 1880, p. 343.

Constitution from Early Times to the Dissolution of the Empire. For several years he taught, wrote, and lectured throughout New England.

On May 15, 1896, Sam was bicycling in Cambridge when a horse-drawn “emergency wagon” raced up behind him. He was struck by a horse and thrown into the street, where the wagon ran him over. He died the following morning at the age of 49.

Mary Holyoke (Ward) Nichols (“Cousin Mary”) was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on May 2, 1800, to Joshua Ward and Susanna Holyoke. Susanna was the sister of Judith Holyoke, Samuel Epes Turner’s mother. Mary was the first of her seven children, the others being Mehitable, Elizabeth Holyoke, Joshua (died at two months), Joshua Holyoke, an unnamed son (died at birth), and Susanna.

Mary wed Andrew Nichols, a doctor from Danvers, Massachusetts, on October 8, 1833.² They had four children, one of whom did not survive infancy. Mary gained local renown in later years as a portrait painter.³

After Nichols’ death on March 30, 1853, Mary returned to Salem to live with Mehitable. She died there on April 15, 1880, at the age of 79.

Mehitable Ward (“Cousin Hitty”) was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on February 14, 1802, second child of Joshua Ward and Susanna Holyoke.

Virtually no record is found of Mehitable beyond her birth. It would seem she never married or had children. All we presently know is that she lived with Mary at the corner of Essex and Summer Streets in Salem in the 1850s and ‘60s. It is almost certain that she died there as well, sometime in the late 19th century.

The Baltimore riot

The secession of seven Southern states from the Union in 1860; South Carolina’s demand that the US government vacate its main military installation near Charleston; and the refusal of newly-elected President Abraham Lincoln to do so—these led to the Battle of Fort Sumter on April 12-13, 1861. Outnumbered Union forces, under barrage from the Confederate Navy in Charleston Harbor, were forced to evacuate the fort. Though there were no casualties on either side, this was the event that began the Civil War.

In the days after the battle, Lincoln issued a call for volunteers to recapture Southern forts. As a result, four more states seceded, and officials of some border states refused to raise volunteers. Maryland was a border state, and the sentiment in Baltimore, its largest city, was predominantly anti-Union; its mayor, George William Brown, and police marshal, George T. Kane, were strong secessionists, and the state’s governor, Thomas Holliday Hicks, was pro-slavery. So the stage was set for conflict on Friday, April 19, 1861, when the 500 soldiers of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, under the command of Colonel Edward F. Jones, attempted to pass through Baltimore on their way to Washington, D.C.

² Dr. Nichols was a prominent Northern abolitionist. This anti-slavery movement is mentioned often in the letters, and it is clear that Epes, Clara, and their families were abolitionist in sentiment.

³ See *Who Was Who in American Art, 1564-1975*, ed. Peter Hastings Falk (1999).

Upon arrival at the President Street depot, the troops began a convoy of horse-drawn cars to Camden Station in southern Baltimore. Their way through the streets was blocked by what one historian called “an excited and ignorant mob” which forced the soldiers to march half a mile through “showers of missiles, and a scattered musketry from the houses which they hastily returned as they advanced.”⁴

The Baltimore riot had begun. By the time it was quelled several hours later, four soldiers and as many as 12 civilians were reported killed, with dozens more wounded on both sides. It was the first bloodshed of the American Civil War.

In the aftermath of the rioting, Mayor Brown and Marshal Kane moved to cut off Baltimore by destroying several railroad bridges from the north, a plan authorized by Governor Hicks. Telegraph lines were also disconnected to disrupt communications.

On May 13, martial law was declared, enforced by the Union troops of General Benjamin Franklin Butler. Marshal Kane, found to be a conspirator in armed plots against the Union, was imprisoned at Fort McHenry on June 27; soon after, his underlings in the police department were likewise sent to Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor, as prisoners of war.

Order had been reestablished in Baltimore, albeit tenuously, as secessionist feeling continued to seethe in the city for the remainder of the war.

Synopsis & transcription of letters, with historical notes

Following is the summarized content of each letter. Passages detailing the war and the Turners’ impressions of it are transcribed in full, with spelling, underscoring, and errors retained. All direct quotations are in italics. Footnotes are provided for historical, political, and geographical context.

⁴ James Schouler, *History of the Civil War 1861-1865* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1899), , pp. 42-43.

Letter 1

Monday, April 29, 1861

From Epes to “*Dear Cousins*” Mary and Hitty, responding to Hitty’s letter of March 30. “*I intended doing it more than a week ago, but our troubles here have unfitted me for about every thing—I am now getting calmer though.*” Reference to receiving information from Hitty about “*Gray’s Mill*” and “*Richardson*”⁵; expected fall of “*Stocks*” and the wisdom of not lending money “*under the circumstances*”; current run of “*uncomfortable*” warm weather in Baltimore; and other matters.

Epes gets to the matter of the riot 10 days earlier:

You ask “What I think of this great country now?” Well I must say I am almost ashamed of it. That in this age of the world, enough men could be found to break up such a government as ours, seems almost incredible— We know however, and it is humiliating to think of, that it is not the people, but the Politicians and Newspapers who have brought us into this present state.*

** for such a trifling cause comparatively*

...

If we get along without [unreadable] we shall indeed, as you say, be an example to the world. I must think that the “abolitionists” will have to alter their opinions about “non-resistance”— for they must now see that resistance can alone save us, and it may do so yet.

...

Clara has given Mary a slight [unreadable] of our excitement etc. since the “Baltimore massacre” for it was nothing short of that, but in your good orderly state you can notice but little about it. So sudden and unexpected was it, that it appalled us— The mischief had been “brewing,” but our city authorities thought these would be no trouble, and that a few policemen would be sufficient for the emergency, and it might have turned out so, but for some unlooked for circumstances— I sent you a paper yesterday which gave quite a fair statement of the affair, the only one which I have seen since it took place, for I am inclined I think that some of the papers have thought best to keep “mum.” They have not, it is true, blamed the “Northern troops” for the course they pursued, but they should have come out boldly and denounced our “mob.”

⁵ Gray’s Mill is a historic mansion near the Patapsco River, west of Catonsville, Maryland. It dates from the early 1800s and was named for Edward Gray, a local cotton manufacturer.

Sunday the 21st was an awful day and can never be forgotten here⁶—our churches were just about to commence when a report was circulated that the troops from Penn &c were within about eight miles of us and were determined to [unreadable] through our city— This at once caused a panic—a few persons were gathered at our church, and it was put to vote whether we should have a service—some voted one way, some the other and so many not at all, that it was finally decided to have a proper and [unreadable] the congregation— Dr. Bothup [?] of Boston was to preach for us, as he had done the previous Sunday, so that we lost his good sermon, and all for nothing. The troops were in the spot supposed, but having heard of the state of things here, did not attempt to come through— In fact, the poor fellows were almost starved and our Martial [sic] of Police sent them provisions— The excitement kept up until about Wed last when we elected members of Legislature to meet for the good of our State. They were supposed to be "Secessionists."— The whole vote cast was but little over nine thousand!—while at our previous election we cast over "thirty thousand"— There was but one ticket and of course they were elected, but there was no excitement and such a small vote when such a large one was expected, cowed down our violent [unreadable] considerably and we have been growing better ever since.⁷

But what a time we have had—many of our good Northern men were threatened and left the city and many more left through fear of bombardment the week before last I felt somewhat humbled for the safety of my family, and house and what with the care about my [unreadable] we could hardly eat. But I got over it pretty much the first of last week, and have been improving ever since. Clara has been very calm through all and at my suggestion, that she and Sam could go to [unreadable] and leave me, declined doing so thinking that we had better hold together, for which I am now very glad.— I can assure you though that my blood boiled to hear some of our citizens talk—and some natives of your old Mass. too, shame upon them.— But I had sense and forbearance enough to keep from boiling over.— Though I have cast my lot here, I have never, I am happy to say, abused my native state, and could I get a good foot hold there, I would never leave her again, I believe, except perhaps to go to Washington to see Jeff Davis hung of which I think now there is a fair chance yet.⁸— We are under martial law now and our city very quiet—and no business doing—*

** from our own "mob" mostly though*

⁶ On Sunday, April 21st, according to the Baltimore *American*, "the news was received that troops were at Cockeysville, marching steadily towards the city. The number was originally stated at two thousand, but it rose rapidly in the mouth of rumor to five, eight, ten thousand. Instantly the street was in an uproar; the cry to arms rang out ...

"A second report [said] that another body of troops were marching on the city by the Reisterstown road, and were already at Pikesville, seven miles distant. The throng rushed curiously and excitedly about. The armed men gathered in squads and were formed into companies. The unarmed clamored for weapons and rushed to the gun shops on Baltimore Street, which were quickly broken open ...

"The bells of the church on Second Street rang out a startling alarm, communicating the excitement to every part of the city. In the churches in which services were at the time in progress, of course the wildest apprehensions were created ... Services were interrupted, ladies shrieked and fainted, congregations dismissed themselves, and terrified women hurried to their homes. From all sections of the city throngs of men poured toward the centre, seeking information as to what had occurred, and adding to the general alarm by repeating the rumors that were caught up, magnified to the utmost extent ..."

Two days later, martial law was declared in Baltimore.

⁷ Governor Hicks had called for a meeting of the Maryland legislature, to be held in Frederick on April 26. On the 24th, ten Baltimore delegates, all secessionist, were hastily elected to attend the session.

⁸ Jefferson "Jeff" Davis (1808-1889), formerly a senator from Mississippi, was President of the Confederate States throughout the Civil War.

Letter 2

Tuesday, January 21, 1862

Letter from Epes. He asks the cousins what has become of them, if they have “seceded.” Recent letters have gone unanswered.

We sincerely hope that this will find you all well, and that we shall soon hear that you have not forgotten us— We are good “Union” people here now you know, and have no idea of seceding— And that reminds me of a conundrum which Sam put forth the other night, (don’t know where he got it,) perhaps you have heard it. Why is “Maryland” like a blind bird— because she can’t “See-Seed” (Secede)—

You must therefore respect us more, than you did in April last, and take some notice of us— We are really doing a great deal for the “Union” and it is more to be a “Union” Citizen here, than in Masstts for you can’t always tell who you have at your elbow.

Reference follows to the recent battle injury of the nephew of Mr. Upham, a friend of the cousins:

I have no particular news to tell you— We are all anxious waiting to hear from “[unreadable]’s Expectation.” Where is your friend Mr. Upham’s nephew now? You may remember the night we called on Mrs. U, that she showed us his Photograph? — I could not help thinking of it, when I heard that he was wounded at “Ball’s Bluff”⁹— I believe it turned out that he was not very seriously hurt—did it not? That fight was really a “Murder” for which I suppose Col. Baker was responsible tho “Uncle Abe” declines to tell us yet whether he was or not—for private reasons I suppose.¹⁰ We do not hear much about “Secesh” now, though of course a strong feeling exists here but the “Rebels” have sense enough to hold their tongues.

When you write, please say whether Robert Osgood rec’d the receipts I sent him after I left Salem from Wareham and Balto. We rec’d a very interesting letter from Maria in that time since, giving us the particulars of their trip to Minnesota—they appear to be pleasantly situated. They told us that Augustus and wife had been in Salem—are there now perhaps—¹¹ We saw Geo Mamiore [?] in the [unreadable] but have never been honored with a “card” Perhaps he intends to “cut” his old relatives and friends—but I hope he has more sense than to do so.

⁹ The Battle of Ball’s Bluff was fought on October 21, 1861, near Leesburg, Virginia, between the Union forces of Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone and the 17th Mississippi Infantry. Originating from the mistaken perception of a Union scout that the Confederates had set up a camp across the Potomac, the battle was a minor but significant defeat for the North. See Ted Ballard, *Battle of Ball’s Bluff* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, 2001).

¹⁰ Edward D. Baker, a Union Colonel and senator from Oregon, had given the order for Stone’s men to cross the Potomac, leading to their defeat. He was himself killed in the battle, becoming the only active senator to die in the Civil War. “Uncle Abe” was a popular nickname for the US president.

¹¹ “Maria” must be Maria (Bassett) Holyoke, wife of Samuel’s nephew, Edward Augustus. “Augustus” in the letters appears to refer to this nephew.

I enclose you for your centre table a "Reminiscence" of Balto which may interest you.— The [unreadable] on the envelope is "Federal Hill" of which you will remembering hearing doubtless— Gen. Butler encamped his soldiers there quite suddenly one night— There is a strong fort there now, and they can "shell us out" in short order whenever we refuse to behave ourselves¹²— I also send some "Union" calendars &c by which you will see that we have spank enough to "own up."*

** Baltimore in the distance—*

¹² Maj. Gen. Benjamin Franklin Butler's Union troops had occupied Baltimore since May 13, 1861, guarding routes of passage and communications to and from Washington. Troops were encamped on Federal Hill, an elevated spot within the city, and supported by munitions stocked at nearby Fort McHenry.

Letter 3

Sunday-Monday, March 2-3, 1862

Letter from Clara to “*My Dear Cousins.*” She describes writing the letter at a small dining room table as son Sam writes a school composition about what it means to be a good American, while nearby “*sits our little ‘contraband,’ looking at pictures.*”¹³

Reference is made to the cousins’ “*long silence*” and the visit to Salem of “*Augustus and wife*” the previous December. Clara feels as if she has “*accomplished absolutely nothing— A new season comes before I am prepared for the one that has gone.*” She refers to the recent bad weather, and to her consideration of purchasing a “*Balmoral*” (a Scottish hat similar to a beret) before rejecting the idea. She refers then to regular visits to a local hospital to visit patients, despite her “*lame foot.*”

There is a certain kind of pleasure in it— You become very much interested in cases, that you have watched for weeks, perh. a few months—from extreme illness to convalescence— The patients are so glad to see you, and so gratified for the delicacies, or the clothing which you provide too—

...

What glorious news we have been having!! I was so excited at the taking of “Donalson” [sic], that I liked to have gone crazy. You don’t have the “Secesh”he’s [sic] to contend with, that we have— I rarely give them a thought, but I felt so anxious for the fate of “Donalson,” where desperate fighting was expected, that the “surrounding of it—by Beauregard with ninety thousand men and the recapturing of it—” though I would not believe, I could not help thinking of—and longing for news—¹⁴

I have never had but one opinion—never been disheartened or discouraged by reverse, defeat or misfortune of any kind—never impatient for the army to arrive, believing that those in command knew better than I what should be done—felt—never felt that “government was slow: that “nothing had been done.” On the contrary, that never was there so much done in so short a time! Not-yet-eleven months, since the fall of Sumpter [sic], when we had neither army, navy, money or anything but traitors; now we have the amazing spectacle of half a million of volunteers, armed and equipped; an efficient navy; plenty of money; and it is to be hoped, a deficit of traitors; though their number seems still, “legion”— I trust McClellan will not allow either people, press, or Congress to force him to risk a battle on the Potomac at present, if it is contrary to his own judgment.¹⁵ Secretary Stanton I have great confidence in though.¹⁶ His appointment shows the honesty (and wisdom too) of the President— Mr.

¹³ “Contraband” was a term for a freed slave who had escaped or been released to Union custody.

¹⁴ Presumably the reference is to the Battle of Fort Donelson (February 11-16, 1862), in which Union troops had captured the Confederate fort protecting the Cumberland River, thereby securing passage to the South. The battle was Gen. Ulysses S. Grant’s first significant victory. Confederate Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard was in fact not responsible for reinforcing the fort with additional troops, but only advised Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston to do so. The figure of ninety thousand men is greatly inflated.

¹⁵ Maj. Gen. George Brinton McClellan (1826-1885) was in charge of the Union’s Army of the Potomac.

¹⁶ Edwin M. Stanton (1814-1869) was Abraham Lincoln’s Secretary of War.

*Lincoln is I believe the right man in the right place—[unreadable], the loss of his son must be a great trial amid his many other cares and anxieties.*¹⁷

*The 22nd was a regular holiday here¹⁸— Streets crowded with people, carrying flags and waving them at the passing soldiers, while from the public buildings and many of the private residences, they were only thrown to the breeze— The “Monument” was beautiful in its garb of flags, flowers and evergreens¹⁹— I will ask E. to send you an “American” with an account of it, as I cannot attempt one²⁰— We had two flags out but neither of them large— E. looked at some on Thursday, but did not decide on the kind, size &c and went on Friday to find them all gone, except at extravagant prices; so our banner was not so imposing as we intended to have it, but it proved our loyalty and good sense. There were not-quite-so many flags out in the vicinity of the Monument as I expected to see—that is the hotbed of Secesh’s though. Mrs. Streeter had eleven, one for each rebellious state. She offered one to a neighbor of hers, if she would put-it-out. The neighbor said, she must wait till her husband come home before she could decide, so Mrs. S. took her flag and departed. She will never enter her house again probably. She cuts her secession friends without any ceremony.*²¹

...

The “Zouaves” are a [unreadable]-regiment here—all fine-looking men and well-behaved.²² Have been encamped at “Federal Hill” a long time. The officers gave a ball there two or three weeks since— There have been two “soldier balls” in the City— We did not attend because of the expenses. Left it to those who have plenty of money for everything— A very pleasant thing to be sure— Don’t you think so?

Clara refers to lectures being given in Salem and laments the lack of good lectures locally: “*Baltimore has not a literary taste.*” Compares the chamberlain of her church to the minister in the cousins’ Salem church.

Letter resumes the following evening. Sam is in bed, while Epes is at a “*Union meeting.*”

¹⁷ Lincoln’s 11-year-old son, William Wallace, nicknamed “Willie,” had died on February 20, 1862, probably from typhoid.

¹⁸ On Saturday, February 22, 1862, Jefferson Davis was inaugurated to a six-year term as president of the Confederacy. On the same day, George Washington’s 1796 farewell address was read on the floor of the US Senate for the first time. Tennessee Senator Andrew Johnson urged that Washington’s message—a warning against the threat of factionalism to national unity—be read into the record, “in view of the perilous condition of our country.” The reading became an annual tradition that continues to this day.

¹⁹ The Washington Monument, completed in 1829 and located on North Charles Street in the Mount Vernon section of Baltimore, was the first national monument erected in honor of the first president.

²⁰ The Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser* was one of the city’s prominent newspapers.

²¹ Clara probably refers to Mrs. Elizabeth M. Streeter, a Union supporter who originated a number of Baltimore women’s associations for the relief of soldiers’ families, refugees, and other victims of the war. See L. P. Brockett and Mary C. Vaughan, *Woman’s Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism and Patience* (Philadelphia: Ziegler, McCurdy & Co., 1867), pp. 659-663.

²² “Zouaves” were members of volunteer units, named after the light-infantrymen of the French Army.

*Are you interested in Mr. Pierce's project—the education of the “contrabands”?*²³ *I am assisting him, by teaching mine—ha-ha—I believe I told you about our little darky.* To think of Gen. Lander's dying so suddenly!* He was truly brave and patriotic I believe, in spite of the self-laudation, which is an heirloom of the family— His loss will be felt I am sure. The papers say, he was beloved by his men, which is to his credit certainly— Was his wife a Salem lady?*²⁴

** in a previous letter*

Clara goes on to talk about the death of a Mrs. Wheatland; the lack of adequate local sporting over the winter; flowers; and a local preacher who is considered both a bigot and a strong Unionist, despite having a secessionist congregation.

²³ This may refer to the well-known George Foster Pierce, a Methodist Episcopal bishop from Georgia who was controversial for advocating literacy for slaves. Pierce owned slaves and was firmly pro-secession, rendering Clara's tone decidedly ironic: she is “assisting” Pierce's project, but in no way he would approve. See George G. Smith, *The Life and Times of George Foster Pierce* (Sparta, Geo.: Hancock Publishing Co., 1888), pp. 473-474.

²⁴ Gen. Frederick West Lander died March 2, 1862, at Camp Chase in Virginia, from complications of pneumonia; see Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge, Lou.: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), pp. 274-275. Lander, a Salem native, had published several well-regarded war poems, including one about the Battle of Ball's Bluff. His wife, Mrs. Jean Margaret Davenport Lander, was not a “Salem lady” but an Englishwoman well-known in New England theater; see Thomas William Herringshaw, *Herringshaw's National Library of American Biography*, Vol. III (Chicago: American Publishers Association, 1914), p. 466.

Letter 4

Sunday-Monday, June 1-2, 1862

Letter from Clara to “*Dear Cousins.*” First mentions regret at hearing of the death of Augustus. Recounts description of his death received in another letter.²⁵ Other matters related and commented on; nothing bearing on war.

Epes adds a letter to “*Dear Cousins*” (mistakenly heading it *Tuesday*, June 2, 1862), expanding on Clara’s remarks regarding local hotels before mentioning the war.

*We have had considerable excitement here in consequence of our “Rebels” rejoicing over the defeat of our first Md Reg—and it resulted in a few of the scamps being knocked down &c bit contrary from usual custom, but few pistols were used and therefore very little [unreadable] harm done, since most of us very honorable citizens (oppressed [unreadable] generally) thought they (the “Rebels”) got their just deserts.*²⁶

²⁵ Epes’s nephew, Edward Augustus Holyoke, known as Augustus, died on May 20, 1862, at the age of 34. See <http://www.bassettbranches.org/tng/getperson.php?personID=I11350&tree=1A>.

²⁶ Samuel refers to the Battle of Front Royal, fought in Virginia on May 23 between the 1st Maryland Regiment of the Confederate States of America and the 1st Maryland Regiment of the Union Army. The Union troops, under Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, were badly defeated and forced to retreat by the Confederate cavalry of Colonel Turner Ashby.

Letter 5

Thursday-Friday, September 11-12, 1862

Letter from Epes to cousins, dated September 11, describing a trip taken following the Turners' recent visit to Salem. They went to Norton, then Epes went alone "over to Roxbury" to visit "George" and to see a "new niece." Describes George's wife as "quite pretty, though her complexion is not very good." Expresses regret at not having been able to meet a Mr. Putnam when they were in Salem.

"A change in Public Affairs" has indeed taken place since we left you, and one I never dreamed of— I have never supposed for a moment, that our army would be driven back again to Maryland, and there must have been some great blundering or something worse, somewhere. It is certainly almost enough, [unreadable] us, but it may be that the audacity of the "Rebels" has led them into a position from which they cannot escape—I hope with all my heart that it may prove so.— Washington, as you say, must indeed be in a crowded state— I can hardly believe that they (the Rebels) will undertake to enter Baltimore—though it will not surprise me if they do. Should they attempt it the doom of our City is sealed, and "Jeff" will "take" nothing but "ruins." Am glad to hear that [unreadable] consider "Cincinnati" safe, though the news to day is rather serious—Hope Clara and Robert will have a pleasant trip.*

** or northern Washington.—*

Clara continues with separate letter on same sheet, dated September 12. Notes that she has little to say since "Epes has spun such a long yarn,"

except that this is the Anniversary of the battle of "North Point"²⁷—and I wish the "Yankees" would celebrate it by whipping the rebels most thoroughly and driving them back to their dislocated country— I don't see how any one can be discouraged. Disasters should not so affect the descendants of the heroes of '76. The movements of our Generals are kept very quiet. Perhaps it will be easier to conquer ~~them~~ on our own soil, though I shall feel very sorry for Maryland to be the battlefield— I scarcely think Baltimore will be disturbed— Should the rebels attempt its capture, I would gladly [unreadable] destroying the city, beautiful as it is and as much as I feel attached to it.

²⁷ The Battle of North Point was a key engagement in the War of 1812, in which the British attempted to capture Baltimore but were repulsed by American skirmishers, despite heavy losses on the American side.

Letter 6

undated fragment, perhaps autumn or winter 1863

First part is missing; letter begins on page 5, in Clara's hand.

Begins, "*My ink is thick. I must stop and replenish, or you will not be able to read what I write.*" She addresses the question of whether "Eppy" (son Sam) will be attending Harvard in the fall, refers to a photograph of a Miss Anderson that was ruined, and then addresses the war:

Did you hoist your flag, when Vicksburg was really ours? You are too credulous in New England. We hear so many rumors all the time, that we believe nothing until confirmed. Are not you glad that victory is at last ours?²⁸ The rain has been falling in torrents the last twenty-four hours. We hope it will help us punish Lee. The Potomac is so fordable a stream and the Rebs know its every shallow so well, that I expect nothing else than their retreating across, if they are so disposed—though all the newspapers say it is impossible. Things look encouragingly all around now, don't they? Did you celebrate the Fourth with flags and powder and fireworks? We did. There was a great display of bunting, but it was not very satisfactory, as Secessionists as well as [unreadable] put flags out. For what reason, we cannot tell—but it must have been agreed upon, because it was so general—among prominent people too.

Clara refers to hearing firing outside the city.

We expected a [unreadable] from the Rebels a couple of weeks ago and began to fortify the city. We did not feel frightened though. One night the alarm was given of their approach and the bells were all rung. That was terrible. So mournful—made me feel sick and homesick and I cannot tell you how. If Lee should succeed in conquering Meade, we should then be at his mercy, but I presume there is no much danger of such a result. Cannot believe there is. The wounded are constantly coming in from the scene of the late battle—and Baltimore men and women are working nobly for the poor sufferers. [Unreadable] goes on duty tomorrow night. All day and all night, last Sunday week, he was down at the house, where the men are taken for refreshment and rest.

²⁸ The Battle of Vicksburg occurred between May 18 and July 4, 1863, suggesting this letter was written in the latter part of that year.

Letter 7

Tuesday, June 14, 1864

Letter from Clara to "My dear cousins." She regrets the lapse of time since her last letter. She notes the formation in Baltimore the previous November of a "ladies society ... whose object was the relief of the families of the Maryland soldiers, no provision having been made for them by the Legislature."²⁹

*I joined it and was made Treasurer. Twas a laborious work, and required an [unreadable] amount of writing. The rooms were open every day from ten till three, certain members agreeing to be there certain days. We took the names of the applicants—names, regiments and companies of their husbands and their places of residence. We visited every one's home rendering our assistance. If reported [unreadable], they came again to the rooms and we gave them food and groceries and shoes. We visited over eight hundred families and distributed over five thousand dollars. We have one thousand in hand, which we keep for extreme cases, but we've given up our room and meet once a month, because there is no need of active service now. The soldiers are getting bounties, the weather is warm and the City is giving something. The City gave us five thousand dollars of our fund, "the *American Office," one thousand and citizens the rest, about four hundred dollars I believe. There were only twenty-five ladies engaged in it and only half of them active, so you perceive somebody had to be busy. Mrs. Streeter was at the head of it and was at the room every day. She did more than all of the rest of us together. I did not visit much. All of it was disagreeable work. Not nearly so satisfactory as going to the hospitals. Then our Fair occupied the whole of the thoughts of every man, woman and child in the State. "Sanitary on the brain" was the prevailing disease. I did not work for it, but was very much interested in its success, and didn't we do well.³⁰*

* newspaper

There follow references to a Mrs. Donalson or Donaldson, and the arrival of summer. "The weather is perfectly delightful—a little too cool in your latitude I reckon." Reference to the visit of "Mr. Ware" and his wife, along with their participation in church services; Clara anticipates "a great deal of pleasure and profit from their presence among us in the Fall."

I feel a little uneasy about his health— There seems to be a sluggishness about one of his lungs—and his father and mother both died of consumption—did they not?³¹

²⁹ This is probably the relief society founded by Mrs. Streeter (see footnote 21).

³⁰ For the "Fair" reference, see footnote 37.

³¹ The Turners most likely attended the First Independent Unitarian Church, located at Franklin and Charles Streets. Completed in 1818, it was the first Unitarian church built in the United States, and was the church of choice for many Northern emigrants. "The Rev. John F. W. Ware, of Cambridge, Mass., was invited on Jan. 12, 1864, to become the pastor of the church, and accepting the call, he, without any formal installation, began duty on May 15, 1864. He was a forcible and able pulpit orator, but becoming dissatisfied with his situation, he resigned his charge on June 29, 1867." See J. Thomas Scharf, *History of*

Last week, we had our Convention. I hope you are pleased with the nomination. I will distress the spirits of [unreadable] if Grant leaves them any, after his campaign, to find us unanimously re-electing Mr. Lincoln. They hoped much from divisions and dissensions among us in the regard to our next President.³² I trust Grant will succeed in destroying Lee's Army. What he has already done should entitle him to our entire confidence, even though he fail of doing all we wish. We do not appreciate the difficulties of the undertaking. Neither Banks, nor Butler have quite equaled our expectations of late—³³

Clara expresses her anticipation that Sam will attend Harvard this year, talks about the high price of food, and laments the lack of a machine “to supply the place of a servant in a house, whose body and soul we are expected also to keep together with a pretty liberal supply of food.” She references the cousins’ recent loss of Katy, presumably a servant they had to let go. Clara asks if the cousins have heard any news from Syracuse, and regrets the lateness of a reply regarding the marriage of “Maria.” Maria and her mother are expected to be pleased by the upcoming expiration of the service of Dr. Bartlett.³⁴

Clara says she and Sam will be leaving “northward” the first or second week in July, leaving Epes “to bachelorhood.”

Clara refers to the German Opera being in town. Epes and Sam will go tonight to see *Martha*, the following night to see *La dame blanche*, adapted from Scott’s *The White Lady of Arenal*. Sam saw *Faust* on a recent night.³⁵

Clara says her health has been good. Sam appreciated the letter from Mary and will respond soon. He has been very busy lately and is taking piano lessons.

Give my love to Mary and Andrew and the Osgoods. The baby is growing up fast, isn't he? Babies always do.

Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), p. 590.

³² At the National Union Party’s convention in Baltimore on June 7-8, 1864, Abraham Lincoln was nominated for his second presidential term.

³³ Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks (see footnote 26), after a poor showing in the Red River campaign, was removed from duty by General Grant on April 22, 1864.

³⁴ Maria (Bassett) Holyoke was the widow of Edward Augustus (or “Augustus”), Samuel’s nephew. He had died on May 20, 1862, at the age of 34; Maria was 29 at the time of his death. It would appear that she remarried soon after, to a Dr. Oscar Bartlett (see http://www.ynotamac.org/genealogy/wc01/wc01_409.html). (Some online sources claim that Dr. Bartlett married twice—firstly to Maria Bassett, secondly to Maria Osgood Holyoke. These women were actually mother and daughter-in-law.)

³⁵ The Concordia Opera House (operated by the Concordia Society for citizens of German descent) was constructed in the 1860s at the corner of Eutaw and German Streets. A contemporary report says it was “most generally occupied by the German opera and drama.” See John F. Weishampel, *The Stranger in Baltimore* (1866), p. 144.

Letter 8

Wednesday-Thursday, June 15-16, 1864

Letter from Epes to “*Dear Cousins.*” Clara has written her letter (the previous one), and now Epes must write his. He and Clara were glad to hear through a letter from his nephew Robert Osgood that the cousins are well, and he hopes that their loss of Katy will not force them to overdo housework. He refers to papers he sent Robert about the recent fair, and relates a joke involving “*Tim Pickering*” and “*Mr. Donaldson,*” the latter named in Clara’s letter. Epes refers to Donaldson’s granddaughter, who he and Clara recently met for the first time.³⁶

She is a very pleasant woman and strong “Union” tho she has a Rebel son who goes to school with Sam—

Epes wishes the cousins could have attended “*the Fair.*”³⁷

It was a very pretty show and quite successful for us, as C. has told you, considering the number of “Rebels” in our midst—but small compared with New York Norton &c— We were greatly indebted to other States for their liberal contributions.— Massts in particular. The Philadelphians say, they mean to eclipse us all, I believe, and I do not know but that they will, as the papers say they have already relayed [sic] “one millions”— This is certainly a great country when money can be poured out so freely in times like these, and I should think the “Rebels” would begin to think by this time, that there is no end to our “Money” and “Men,” and that they might as well give up at once.— News has come to day that “Grant” is on the “South” Side of “Richmond”—and I hope we shall soon hear that he has annihilated that vile place. I want him [unreadable] only the Statues of “Washington” and “Clay” which are there.— I understand the “Secesh” say today, that “Lee” will be in Washington by Saturday night, but as he has been three years in getting there, we do not yet feel frightened.³⁸— When will this war end? I don’t believe you really realize its

³⁶ Timothy Pickering (1745-1829), a Salem native, was Secretary of State under both George Washington and John Adams. His great-granddaughter, Elizabeth, married one Thomas Donaldson of Baltimore. See Charles W. Upham, *The Life of Timothy Pickering*, Vol. IV (Boston: Little, Brown, 1873), p. 398.

³⁷ The Maryland State Fair for US Soldier Relief, popularly known as the Baltimore Sanitary Fair, was held between April 19 and April 30, 1864. Organized by leading relief activists Ann Bowen and Annie Turnbull, the widely publicized effort (one of several being held in Northern states, the most grandiose occurring in Philadelphia) raised money for humane relief through the sale of donated items, raffles, and direct cash donations. President Lincoln delivered the opening address; there were parades of Union troops, both black and white; and in a gaslit “great hall” wares were sold, patriotic displays were mounted, and refreshments were served. Though its proceeds were modest, the fair, writes Maryland Historical Society archivist Robert W. Schoeberlein, “brought color, pomp, and gaiety to city streets as it provided a splendid occasion for expressing patriotism.” See “A Fair to Remember: Maryland Women in Aid of the Union,” *Maryland Historical Society Magazine* (Winter 1995), pp. 466-488.

³⁸ Attempting to advance on the Southern stronghold of Richmond, General Grant’s Army of the Potomac engaged Gen. Robert E. Lee’s in a series of bloody battles that cost nearly 90,000 lives and consumed most of May 1864.

existence as we do.— We cannot move without seeing a soldier— Even at our theatres, guards are placed at the door &c to examine the “[unreadable]” (I suppose) of any soldiers who may visit these without leave of absence, from their regiment. “Union” people mind it but little, but I am inclined to think that it troubles “Secesh” a great deal, and we don’t care how much they get.

Letter continues the next day, Thursday, June 16, at “4 ¼ oclk. P.M.” Epes reiterates his shame at not having answered the cousins’ letters sooner.

This is a hot day and there appears to be no news from the Army of any consequence. Hope we shall get something good from Grant soon.— How does Mrs. Upham feel about the times? I hope you are lively in Salem notwithstanding the War—and that every thing goes on with you as calmly as usual.

Letter 9

Wednesday-Thursday, October 5-6, 1864

Clara refers to a recent trip to her childhood home (“*Left Wareham Monday P.M. Sept. 19th at quarter before four and arrived here the next P.M. at half past seven*”) and Epes’s concurrent illness. She notes the amount of work to be done around the house on their return, and their employment of a woman for two days’ work.

[The] Rest we must try and do ourselves for labor is so high and the expense of provisions so great, that tis no trifle to feed an additional stout, hearty woman for a week. I envy such women their strength.

References to recent rainy weather, and discussion of Mr. Ware’s performance as pastor. Recent deaths of Mr. Streeter and Mr. McDowell “*have left a void in our church, which it seems impossible to fill.*”³⁹ A new pulpit has been installed in the church,

a low one—the old one was too high— We fear there will be a difficulty about hearing. We had a sounding board before. Our church is suitable for anything else, rather than the purpose for which it was intended—ha-ha.

Sam has a German teacher and seeks a French teacher. He has resumed music and Greek lessons and will resume his Latin shortly. Clara mentions hearing from Maria Bartlett in Syracuse; she and her mother are taking a furnished room while Dr. Bartlett, now in Atlanta, tries to secure a discharge.⁴⁰

He has been a perfect martyr to rheumatism. Two months in hospital at Chattanooga, perfectly helpless—rheumatism in every joint—after that, he was at home on sick leave. Mrs. Holyoke was well, but had been very sick during the summer, with inflammation of the bowels.

Clara mentions a Mrs. Hyde who recently was buried:

She had a glandular affliction of the breast for a long time—an uncommon case— She suffered very much at last and her death was a relief to her family.

The war:

What good news from the war we have! Oh, that success might abide with our armies!! But we know not what is best for us. Next week will make Maryland a “free” State we trust.

³⁹ S(ebastian) F(erris) Streeter (1810-1864), Elizabeth Streeter’s husband, was “a well-known citizen of Baltimore, a member of the city Government during the war, [and] an active Union man” (Brockett and Vaughan, p. 660). A historian of his city and state, he compiled the *Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland*, published posthumously. The identity of “Mr. McDowell” is not known to us.

⁴⁰ See footnote 34.

Epes appends a letter on the same page, dated the following day. He and Clara have been busy in their separate “departments” of work since their return, Clara cleaning and Epes “writing up my books.” He describes the “bridal state room” they occupied on their boat trip home.

Late in the day for C. to pass for a “Bride,” but as we did not occupy the room on our “Wedding tour” home, nineteen years ago, it was as well to imagine ourselves bride and groom again—ha! ha!

Baltimore seems “quite still” since their return from Boston. Sam is speaking German, Clara is studying it with him, and they are retaining a German servant girl. Epes relates letter of Maria from Syracuse, and her recent move to housekeeping with her mother. He speaks of recent disturbances at Harvard:

I see by our newspaper today, that there has been more trouble at “Cambridge.” We are very glad that Sam is not there this year, and to see that Norton papers are making such a stink about the “Outrages” as it may, and certainly ought, to lead to the stopping of them. Otherwise it seems to me, the “College” must suffer— I have already heard one or two persons say they would not send sons there, unless a change was made for the better.

There appears to be news from the “Army” to day— I hope that Gen. Grant &c will finish up the “War” before “Thanksgiving,” that we may have that, to give thanks for with all our other blessings—

Epes mentions Andrew and hopes he will not lose the use of his injured eye.

I trust you Masstts folks are going to give a large majority for “Lincoln/Johnson,” next month. If you do, that will tend to dishearten the “Rebels” as much as a good whipping in the field, I think.

The weather is bad. No other fresh news.

But the next time we write, we hope to tell you that we are as free a State as “Masstts”—

Note: Written in the return address corner of the envelope, in what seems to be Epes’s hand, are the words “*Halls Sicilian hair renewer.*”⁴¹

⁴¹ Hall’s Vegetable Sicilian Hair Renewer was a popular product manufactured by R. P. Hall of Nashua, New Hampshire. It promised not only to restore gray hair to a youthful color, but also to prevent baldness and dandruff and leave hair “soft and silken, and much to be admired.” See <http://www.hairraisingstories.com/Proprietors/HALL.html>).

Letter 10

Wednesday, January 11, 1865

Clara discusses the winter weather, and thanks the cousins for their recent letter. She's glad that Andrew's eye injury is not worse. "*It is a serious matter to see two moons, but much more serious to see none.*"

Miss Upham has died of consumption.⁴²

Refers to Susie (Osgood) who is soon returning home from New York; Clara regrets Mary Nichols did not join her and the two of them visit Baltimore. Also references the death of Maria Bartlett. It would seem that Maria left a baby girl behind. If the baby lives, she will go in the spring with "*Dr. Bartlett*" (Maria's husband) to Wisconsin, where he is moving to begin practicing law with his brother. Clara notes the baby was christened "*Maria Holyoke*" the day its mother was buried.⁴³ She mentions a couple of other acquaintances who are feeling poorly these days.

The war:

Proud indeed we are to be the first State to throw off the yoke of slavery—and so effectually done, as to be held up as a model for other States too!⁴⁴ Like yourself, I have had full faith in the abolition of Slavery, but never expected to see it abolished in even one of the States—and I begin to think, me, nor any one else could have ever seen so glorious a sight, but for the [unreadable] Enlightening and Christianizing the South sufficiently for it to see any sin in slavery would I believe have been impossible. Our rejoicings were not what they should have been to celebrate our freedom. But better than none.

Clara mentions yet another ill acquaintance, and a recent wedding where she thought too much extravagance was shown, given "*the state of the country at present.*" She mentions the cousins' servant, who has a "*novel style of serving meals,*" and hopes they can train her well enough to keep her, since "*it's so disagreeable to change servants.*" Rosa, Clara's servant, left the previous November after being offered a salary of \$9.50 a month, which Clara was unwilling to pay; but she returned for \$8 a month, not liking her new house. "*If one could only do without servants, what a comfort!*"

The war:

⁴² A Sarah Jane Upham died October 23, 1864, in Brimfield, Massachusetts, at the age of 35.

⁴³ Refers to Maria (Bassett) Holyoke Bartlett, widow of Samuel's nephew Augustus and since remarried (see footnotes 11 and 34). We have found no information on her death, or on Dr. Bartlett or their child.

⁴⁴ On October 13, 1864, Maryland became the first of the slave states to abolish slavery outright.

What Copperheads you do have in Salem!⁴⁵ They behave as badly in church as our Secesh. The result of the election must have calmed them down some I think. Wasn't it—glorious! Beyond anything I dared ask, or hope for. Isn't Gen. Sherman's march a grand one?⁴⁶ I hope Gen. Butler's late failure will prove only an error in judgment—I've always considered him a true patriot—but not much of a general, does he seem.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ “Copperheads” were Northern Democrats who opposed the Civil War and sought settlement with the Confederacy.

⁴⁶ Between November 15 and December 21, 1864, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman took his Union forces on a long campaign through Georgia, from Atlanta to the captured port of Savannah. Along the way, roads, bridges, buildings, and homes and property belonging to civilians were destroyed. “Sherman’s March to the Sea” is generally considered the decisive blow leading to the South’s defeat.

⁴⁷ General Butler (see footnote 12) was in command of the Union attack on Fort Fisher at Wilmington, North Carolina, December 23-27, 1864. This attack on the Confederacy’s last significant seaport escalated from naval bombardment to a siege assault with ground troops. Prisoners were taken and the fort seemed pregnable, but a combination of bad weather, miscalculation, miscommunication, and evident disobedience to direct orders led Butler to withdraw his troops before the fort was secured.

Letter 11

Friday, January 13, 1865

From Epes to "My Dear Cousins." He says he and Clara were gladdened by the good news about Andrew's eye, and saddened to hear of the death of Sarah Upham. Repeats Clara's question about why Susie Osgood and Mary Nichols did not visit drop in on the Turners in Baltimore. Mentions Maria Bartlett's death, and the interment of her remains at Salem. He encloses Maria's last letter to him and Clara, asking that it be returned.

We think it a very singular plan for her mother to think of going to Wisconsin with Dr. Bartlett for she cannot know what his future may be. Clara has given you the substance, in fact nearly the whole, of Sister Maria's⁴⁸ recent letter. She must feel her daughter's loss very deeply.

We, as a State, have indeed done nobly in regard to emancipation. We have since formed an association here for the education of the blacks which is now most important, as many of the poor creatures do not know how to take care of themselves.⁴⁹ Some of our citizens are very uncommitted though, for although they [unreadable] for our new "constitution" and "emancipation" are opposed to educating the negroes, thinking I suppose, that it may place them upon an equality with the whites. So much for prejudice which it will take some time to wear off. The "Friends" (Quakers) have also formed an association for providing for the negroes, by providing them places as servants &c. So, although there is a great deal to be done, we hope they will all be taken care of in some way.

Refers to Lincoln's reelection the previous November:

The result of the Election was indeed glorious and Surprising, even to the best friends of Uncle Abe—⁵⁰ As for "Copperheads" and "Seceshers," it seems to me that you have worse ones in Salem than we have here— More bold at any rate as ours dare not show much of their spirit even if they feel it—

⁴⁸ Samuel evidently refers to his sister-in-law Maria Osgood Holyoke, wife of Samuel's late brother Edward Augustus. "Sister Maria" would live only a short time longer, dying on July 4, 1868 (see <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~raohara/SecondSite/TMG-All-o/p7210.htm>).

⁴⁹ On November 28, 1964, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People was formed, with approximately 20 members. The association was founded, according to its records, when "a number of the leading Union men of Baltimore, with the addition of a few like-minded sympathizers from the State of Maryland at large, became deeply conscious of the heavy burden upon their community, as well as upon the whole nation, of the mass of ignorant, helpless freedmen. They also felt convinced that the only hope of placing these negroes upon their feet lay in the education which would enable them to meet, to some extent at least, the demands of the times." See *The Weekly Review* (September 17, 1921), pp. 257-258.

⁵⁰ In the presidential election of 1864, Abraham Lincoln ran for a second term, opposed by his former top general, George B. McClellan. Lincoln won decisively, gaining 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21; carrying 22 states to McClellan's three; and outdistancing McClellan by 400,000 in the popular vote.

Epes describes financial matters and wishes the cousins well in the new year. There is little war news to report.

The last news relating at all to "War" was the removal of "Genl Butler." We do not yet seem to understand the cause, but must of course presume it to be all aright. He does not seem to be successful as a "Military" man and I am sorry he has ever been placed in that capacity. So far as his administration qualities are concerned, with the Rebels, no one could do better I think— If we take "Charleston" I hope he will be sent there— He does not seem to take the removal with a very good grace— We think strange that he did not take "N'ampton" or enter the "Fort" which he attacked. Hope he will be able to prove that he did right.⁵¹

⁵¹ Deeming General Butler incompetent in light of his failure to secure Fort Fisher (see footnote 47), General Grant in early January 1865 asked President Lincoln for permission to relieve him of his duties. On January 8, 1865, Grant formally removed Butler as commander of the Army of the James River. Butler fought the action, attempting to prove before a Joint Congressional Committee that he had acted prudently at Fort Fisher. Unfortunately for him, the fort was captured on January 15, in the midst of the committee hearings, in a follow-up attack by Maj. Gen. Alfred H. Terry's troops.