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Vermont Yankees in King Cotton's Court: The Case of Cyrena and Amherst Stone

The Stones' experiences . . . illustrate the complicated character of national loyalty under wartime conditions of physical and psychological peril.

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In 1976, a manuscript dealer sold to the University of Georgia library an eighty-page document written in longhand on legal size sheets. The content of the document indicated that it was a diary, although the form and character of the entries suggested that it was a transcription and not the original. The diary spanned the period January 1 through July 22, 1864, and was written by an unidentified woman of strong Union sympathies who lived in Atlanta, Georgia, during the period leading up to the cataclysmic battle and siege of Atlanta in the late summer. Possibly unique among diaries pertaining to the American Civil War, the document reflects the experience of a Union woman who recorded the frightful, violent tumult that marked the beginning of the death agony of the Confederate States of America. Aware of the danger of keeping such a journal, the diary's author carefully protected her identity (referring to herself only as "Miss Abby"), artfully obscured the identities of others who also belonged to a small community of Unionists living hundreds

of miles behind the Confederate lines in the rebel city of Atlanta, and deliberately concealed information that might lead Confederate authorities to her or her allies.¹

The story continues with a novel. Entitled *Goldie's Inheritance, A Story of the Siege of Atlanta*, written by Louisa Bailey Whitney of Royalton, Vermont, and printed in 1903 in Burlington by the Free Press Association, the novel hovers between history and fiction as it tells of a young Vermont woman who leaves the state to take a teaching position in Atlanta a few years before the opening of the Civil War. She remains in Georgia after the outbreak of war, firmly maintains her loyalty to the Union, and secretly gives aid and comfort to Union prisoners held in Atlanta. Embedded in the novel are large unexpurgated chunks of "Miss Abby's" diary and other substantial sections, covering the years 1861 through 1863, which appear to be drawn from missing portions of the original diary. It quickly becomes evident to the reader that Louisa Whitney based her book on the same document that the University of Georgia acquired in 1976.²

The diary and the novel came together only after several years of tedious research in numerous archives and after an intensive effort to identify the author of the diary using both internal and external evidence. In the end, "Miss Abby" proved to be Cyrena Bailey Stone, half-sister of the novel's author, Louisa Bailey Whitney. The research led ultimately to a reconstruction of the membership and activities of a group of loyal Unionists who remained in the Confederate city during the entire war. The diary and the novel, together with documents drawn from many other sources, provide a basis for the story of Cyrena Bailey Stone and her husband, Amherst Willoughby Stone, Vermonters transplanted to Georgia during the late antebellum period and who, once caught in the Civil War, became members of the Unionist circle in Atlanta.³

Cyrena Stone stood at the heart of the Unionist community in Atlanta. A person of courage and resolve, she personified a strict loyalty to the Union exceedingly rare in the Confederate South. Under conditions of constant stress and danger, she wrote her diary and in doing so made a record of a heretofore invisible portion of the American Civil War. Amherst Stone, whose loyalty would in time become more problematic, represents a more common type of Unionism, one that was conditional and even opportunistic but that still involved great hazards. The Stones' experiences and those of other members of their family illustrate the complicated character of national loyalty under wartime conditions of physical and psychological peril.

Cyrena Ann Bailey began life in 1830 in the northern Vermont village of East Berkshire, the fifth child of a Congregationalist minister and Yankee tinkerer, Phinehas Bailey. Less than ten miles from the Canadian

border, East Berkshire lies near the Missisquoi and Trout rivers within sight of the Green Mountains. Situated in a lush valley amidst green, rolling hills, the village was relatively well-off, its prosperity resting upon the varied agricultural enterprises of the area. Reverend Bailey had a reputation as a hard-working, strong-minded, and devout pastor; more Calvinistic than Calvin, one commentator later noted. The area's natural beauty and arcadian setting made life pleasant enough for the Baileys, but the minuscule salary Bailey earned as a minister kept his family on the edge of destitution in East Berkshire and later pastorates.⁴

Cyrena spent her childhood and early adult years in East Berkshire and a succession of similar villages in eastern New York, moving with her father and the family to ministerial and publishing posts in Ticonderoga, Hebron, and Essex, New York. Her mother, Janette MacArthur Bailey, died in 1839 leaving the nine-year-old Cyrena to carry much of the burden of managing the family while Reverend Bailey, now nearly penniless, sought to avoid "breaking up" his family and dispersing the children. He soon found a new wife, added more children to the family, and took the entire brood back to East Berkshire when a call to that pastorate came again in 1845.⁵

Cyrena's childhood was filled with the elements of Bailey's religion—rigorous devotion to prayer, frequent church attendance, regular devotionals, daily Bible reading, and family fasting.⁶ Very little else is known about her early years. No doubt she was educated in the common schools of the villages in which she lived. She also seems to have profited from her father's emphasis upon learning in the home and in later years would show a literary flair, writing with a skill that exceeded considerably the level of instruction associated with the common schools.⁷

Cyrena and her siblings also benefited from her father's inventive turn of mind. The elder Bailey had designed and perfected a system of shorthand based upon a phonetic design, and he taught it to his children who soon became adept at using the system in their studies, personal correspondence, and diaries.⁸ It is possible that Cyrena kept the original "Miss Abby's diary" in that obscure shorthand.

In her teenage years, Cyrena became a handsome woman with dark eyes, dark hair, and a lively personality—if her half-sister's partially fictionalized account of her life is to be believed and if she bore a resemblance to the same sister. While Reverend Bailey's firm hand and well-known aversion to dances and other forms of riotous living likely prevented her from having an extensive social life, she did take part in the round of activities common to the rural youth of northern Vermont, including chaperoned picnics and excursions as well as the more ritualized visits between families.⁹

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It was perhaps on one of these visits that she met young Amherst Willoughby Stone, four years older than she, the son of a prosperous local farmer, Mitchell Stone.¹⁰ Young Amherst had ambition and although he apparently did not attend college (there is no record that he attended any college in Vermont or neighboring states), he did study or "read" law in St. Albans with Homer E. Royce, a native of nearby Berkshire and a lawyer of growing prominence who would become chief justice of the Vermont Supreme Court.¹¹ Admitted to the bar in 1848, Stone, like many nineteenth-century Vermonters, decided to emigrate from Vermont, encouraged perhaps by the abundance of lawyers in St. Albans and the abundance of siblings (five brothers and a sister) on his father's farm.¹² Amherst looked to the South for opportunity. Why he chose Georgia is unknown, but by 1850 he had settled in the town of Fayetteville, approximately twenty-five miles south of Atlanta. Stone practiced law there and within a short time became active in civic affairs and participated in the founding of a local academy.¹³

In August 1850, Cyrena Bailey and Amherst Stone married and began their domestic life together in Fayetteville. Two years later, Cyrena gave birth to a little girl whom they took to Vermont to visit family when the child was eleven months old. Sadly, within a few months after the visit, the child died a wracking death from consumption, moving Cyrena to find expression for her grief in a reflective essay that she wrote for an Augusta, Georgia, newspaper.¹⁴ In 1854, soon after the child's death, the Stones moved to Atlanta, perhaps because of the greater opportunities awaiting a young lawyer in that new, but fast-growing place of five thousand people or perhaps in an attempt to leave behind the scene of their child's death.

In Atlanta, the Stones soon began to walk among the emerging commercial and professional elite. Stone's position as a lawyer did not automatically guarantee that he would be able to move with the powerful; only six years later there were at least forty lawyers in the city.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the ambitious, resourceful Amherst worked his way into the network of business and commercial leaders who guided the city's most influential business enterprises. The Stones met some through church membership and found commonality with others like the prominent merchants Sidney Root and E. E. Rawson and the dentist H. L. Huntington, all of whom were also transplanted Vermonters. Less than two years after he and Cyrena had arrived, Stone took part in the founding of a successful bank and in an ambitious but ultimately unsuccessful railroad venture. As his legal practice prospered, the Stones became even more prominent, helping to found the Atlanta Female Institute and a new Presbyterian church.¹⁶

With prosperity came property. Amherst soon acquired extensive real property and built a large home with several outbuildings, including a cotton house and a cottage on the outskirts of the city. He also acquired a substantial amount of cash—precisely how much is not clear, but at least fifteen thousand dollars.¹⁷ In addition, Amherst Stone had other property. By 1860 the Vermont native owned six slaves, or “servants,” as he and Cyrena (and much of the rest of the South) called them.¹⁸ Because of their backgrounds, owning other humans likely gave both of the Stones pause, although it appears to have given the greater concern to Cyrena. Her minister father had no truck with slavery, roundly condemning it and imbuing his family with biblical and moral arguments against the “peculiar institution.” Slavery had reached into the Baileys’ lives in a more direct way. Although a fierce opponent of the “peculiar institution,” Phineas Bailey did not embrace the abolitionist arguments calling for immediate emancipation of slaves and refused to condemn those religious organizations that did not subscribe to those tenets. This position cost him his pastorate in East Berkshire when the congregation adopted the more radical posture and found a pretext for firing its aging minister who “felt that the liberation of the oppressed African race was but a part of the work awaiting Christian effort and that it was neither right nor wise, for the sake of this to oppose every other good enterprise.”¹⁹

Amherst Stone’s drive toward status and wealth may explain his decision to own slaves. Cyrena’s position upon the matter is more difficult, but clues to her quandary and to Amherst Stone’s views on slavery can be gleaned from *Goldie’s Inheritance*. In the novel, the heroine, Goldie Hapgood, draws most of her character from Cyrena, although another persona, Amy Allen, provides a vehicle for dealing with matters like slaveholding, which the author cannot reconcile with the purity of the protagonist.²⁰

In an early portion of the book, Amy, a teacher and close friend of Goldie’s, is about to leave Vermont for Georgia to marry Egbert Fay, a New England lawyer who has emigrated to Georgia and who bears an obvious resemblance to Amherst Stone. Before Egbert left Vermont, he and Amy together had sworn that they would never own slaves, resolving “to keep our hands clean of it [slavery] forever, — never to own a slave, come what would.” Just as Amy is departing, she receives a letter from Egbert explaining that a client, a “religious woman [of] extreme old age,” had asked him to arrange her business affairs and to dispose of her property which consists only of “three slaves for whose welfare she was very solicitous.” The old woman could die peacefully, she told the lawyer, if only he would agree to buy the slaves at, what Egbert reports is, a “remarkably low” price.²¹

Egbert leaves the choice to Amy, who seeks the advice of Goldie Hapgood, fearing that a minister or some other "sage advisor" would offer only a "concoction of Northern prejudice, having no element of sympathy." Goldie presents an easy and quick solution. Amy should "do the most natural thing in the world, take a missionary view of it: you could do these slaves a great deal of good." "It looks right to me," Goldie goes on, "but it's queer isn't it? I would have said this morning that it was impossible to make you a slave-holder."²² How accurate the fictive explanation of the transformation of the Stones to slaveholders is remains open to conjecture, but it comports perfectly with a hoary and widespread justification for slaveholding advanced by Southerners and transplanted Northerners alike. Moreover, the general faithfulness of the novel to the life of Cyrena Stone also lends credence to the account.

Amherst and Cyrena Stone's slaveholdings included a married couple, a single female, and three children.²³ Slaveowning was relatively common among the Atlanta Unionists and would not have been interpreted as disloyalty to the United States. Both Amherst and Cyrena, like other slaveholding Unionists in Atlanta, professed strong views on national loyalty and opposed strenuously the secessionist alternative being discussed in Georgia and other Southern states.

How Vermont relatives might have reacted to the knowledge that the Stones owned slaves is not completely clear. There is no evidence to suggest that old Phinehas Bailey ever learned that his daughter and son-in-law had become slaveowners before he died in 1861. Although not abolitionist enough to satisfy the congregation at East Berkshire, he would doubtless have been mortified at the idea of a member of his family owning human chattels.²⁴

The comfortable life that the Stones had built for themselves began to appear threatened as the crisis of disunion intensified in the late 1850s and into 1860. During the summer of 1860, several Vermonters living in Atlanta returned to the North to visit family and friends and to contemplate whether remaining in the South seemed wise. Cyrena Stone, who habitually returned to the state to spend her summers, came home again as did other Vermonters like the Henry L. Huntingtons. Old friends and neighbors urged that the visitors remain in the safety of Vermont and not return South, warning that if war came Northerners would make quick work of their Southern brethren.²⁵

Cyrena and the others returned to Georgia to find the crisis growing even more acute. In rapid succession, the election of Abraham Lincoln, the secession of South Carolina, and the call for a secession convention in Georgia gravely worsened the situation. Hysteria seemed to grip the state and the region. With the mounting tensions came sharply increased

pressures against those Atlantans who held Unionist sentiments and especially against those like Amherst Stone, who had been a frequent speaker at meetings where the issues were debated. Atlanta newspapers favoring secession boosted the tempo of their attacks on those of Unionist views and even against those who merely advocated cooperation with the North in settling the great national dispute. In January 1861, however, as time for the Georgia secession convention drew near, substantial numbers of Atlantans still favored a non-secessionist course, and when the votes for delegates to the convention were counted, approximately thirty-eight percent of the city's voters chose candidates who favored a moderate course. Nevertheless, an overwhelmingly pro-secession vote in the state convention took Georgia out of the Union on January 19, 1861.²⁶

Once the state became part of the Confederacy, the ranks of its Unionists and cooperationists were decimated as thousands of moderate Georgians, forced to choose between loyalty to nation and loyalty to state, chose the latter. Radical elements now dominated in Atlanta and began a sustained effort to suppress dissent and enforce a single, correct view of the conflict between North and South. Regulators, investigating committees, and vigilance committees rapidly formed and were charged with determining "how every man stood." Those "who expressed Union sentiments [were] ordered to leave the state and a good many were whipped or lynched," one Unionist remembered.²⁷ In the face of such pressures and within a matter of a few weeks, only a few Atlantans, probably no more than one hundred, held to a strict loyalty to the United States.

Thus, secession effectively caused the Unionist group to go underground and to exercise great care concerning what they said and to whom. Those who had published Unionist arguments now found it nearly impossible to express dissenting views without running great personal risk. And, as community pressures increased, vocal citizens like Amherst Stone became publicly quiet, although he and a dozen or so close friends met secretly to provide mutual support and to plan their futures.²⁸ To have written or to have spoken in "anti-Southern" terms insured a visit from a vigilance committee. Despite the threats, however, Cyrena Stone continued to express Unionist sentiments and, using the pseudonym "Holly," published an essay that could easily have been interpreted as "anti-Southern." Written for the *Commonwealth*, a local newspaper whose editor was a Unionist, the essay lamented the passing of the Union and decried the "death-sleep of the fairest, the noblest Republic upon which ever shined the Sun," language certain to have engendered rage among the radical secessionists.²⁹

The fall of Fort Sumter in April 1861 created dread and fear in the

Unionist community in Atlanta. Cyrena Stone's Vermont friend, Mrs. Henry L. Huntington, described the event as "the knell of all our hopes."³⁰ The fictional Cyrena Stone reacted to the surrender of Sumter with dismay but also with what would become a well-developed survival skill, choosing neutral language or words of ambiguous meaning to respond to the pointed remarks of ardently loyal Confederates. One visitor to the Stone household, probing Cyrena's loyalty, emphatically declared that P. G. T. Beauregard, the Confederate general commanding the assault upon Fort Sumter, should have immediately hanged the federal commander when the fort surrendered. "It seems to me that Beauregard took the wiser course [in sparing Major Robert Anderson]," a noncommittal Cyrena replied.³¹

For Atlanta Unionists, unlike the vast majority of Georgians, allegiance to the United States superseded loyalty to the state but clashed with more intimate loyalties. Loyalty to neighbors and neighborhoods became moot issues as Unionists were systematically excluded from society and social relations at the most basic levels. Old friends now became avowed enemies and once-cordial neighbors became spies who watched every move of the hated Unionists. The same sorts of social exclusion extended even to the churches where Christian brotherhood dissolved into systematic shunning. And on the streets children joined in the harassment, hurling insults and contempt.³²

Some Unionists also had to contend with situations of great difficulty when national loyalty collided with allegiance to family. These conflicts were heartrending and most often involved a decision by one or more family members to support the Confederate cause. In one instance, a strong Atlanta Unionist watched helplessly as his fifteen-year-old son was caught up in war fever and ran away from home to join the Confederate army.³³ Even staunch Unionists like the Stones could not escape this most basic of conflicts. One of Amherst's younger brothers, Chester A. Stone, had followed his brother to Georgia from Vermont, arriving about 1856. Ten years younger than Amherst, he lived with his brother and sister-in-law, clerked in a general merchandise store, established a sound business reputation, and became a partner in the enterprise in short order. Like his brother, Chester Stone entered the civic life of Atlanta and in 1857 enlisted as a charter member of the Gate City Guard, a local militia unit. During the secession crisis, the Vermont native leaned toward the South, displaying strong beliefs concerning states' rights. When war broke out and the Gate City Guard was activated to Confederate service, he chose the Confederacy and in December 1861 became the Guard's elected captain.³⁴

In mid-March 1861, orders came for the Guard to report for active

service, and for two days a cheering rebel city turned out for sermons and elaborate, enthusiastic ceremonies to send its first company to repel Yankee invaders.³⁵ Cyrena and Amherst Stone were likely in the cheering crowd that sent the military unit on its way from the Atlanta depot. The Stones were a close-knit family and both Cyrena and Amherst must have agonized over Chester's departure. Cyrena's responses to Chester Stone's decision and his leavetaking were anguished and emotional and illustrated in several sections of *Goldie's Inheritance*, which hint at the despair she felt when her brother-in-law decided to join in "the gay pageant of treason." At the train station, the fictional Cyrena's eyes "blinded with tears." It would have been hard enough merely to say good-bye to the younger brother who was going to war, "bad enough just to see him going to face danger and possible death; but the deeper pain to which neither . . . could be reconciled was to know that he was going to fight against the land of their birth, perhaps their own kindred." "A great shadow had fallen" upon the Stone household.³⁶

Chester Stone was soon fighting with his unit in the mountains of Virginia, and in the summer of 1861 Cyrena and Amherst had returned to Vermont for what would prove to be their last visit for several years.³⁷ The Stones, like many Americans, believed that the war would be short and would never have guessed that within a few months a passport system would be instituted and make exit from the South much more difficult. For now, however, they returned to the familiar confines of northern Vermont and visited with relatives and friends including Amherst's parents and another younger brother, Charles Birney Stone, who would soon become a Union soldier.

This journey to Vermont ended with an episode that would cast serious doubt upon the character of Amherst Stone's commitment to the Union cause. News of the Confederate victory in the war's first major battle at Bull Run reached East Berkshire on the day before Cyrena and Amherst were to take the mail coach for St. Albans to begin the long journey back to the South. The Union loss at Bull Run quickly became the dominant topic of conversation in East Berkshire, as it was throughout northern Vermont. According to one observer, the effect of the defeat "overspread the faces of all with gloom" and was "everywhere noticeable."³⁸

The Stones boarded the coach and were soon joined by another passenger. Introductions revealed that he was William Clapp, the nephew of an old enemy of the Stone family who bore the same name. The elder Clapp had feuded for years with the Stones, likely over business dealings with Amherst's uncle, James Stone. As the coach bounced along the road running beside the Missisquoi River, young Clapp listened closely to the conversation between Amherst and Cyrena. Clapp thought Amherst was

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“in the best of spirits as though he had got rid of some kind of restraint and was running over with desire to give vent to some kind of inward glee.” It was the Confederate victory that gave Amherst pleasure, and in an undertone he told Cyrena that “he had a good mind to wave a Confederate flag.” According to young Clapp, Cyrena showed great distress at Amherst’s comments and “tried to check him during the whole journey.” The voluble Stone went on to predict the fall of Washington in a matter of a few days and that a Confederate victory would be assured within one hundred days. Cyrena pleaded with him to be silent. He refused. For the remainder of the trip to St. Albans, Cyrena cried softly.

Clapp later reported that he was seized by a “fever of patriotic indignation” at Amherst Stone’s “treasonable sentiments” and contemplated swearing out a warrant, but decided that it would be a “quixotic” undertaking.³⁹ Within two years, however, the affair on the mailstage between East Berkshire and St. Albans would come back to haunt Amherst Stone with a vengeance. For now, the Stones continued their return to Atlanta.

Amherst’s behavior compounded the clash of loyalties that Cyrena Stone must have felt. Chester Stone’s loyalty to the Confederacy and Amherst’s alleged sedition on the Vermont stage would have put wrenching emotional pressures on anyone and would have made the maintenance of resolute Unionism extremely difficult especially if, in private, Amherst Stone’s loyalist sentiments were as fragile as Clapp’s account of the ride on the stage indicated. But Cyrena Stone persisted in her adherence to the Unionist values she espoused and, as time would show, because even more aggressively Unionist and increasingly less affected by the disloyalty of her brother-in-law and the doubtful behavior of her husband.

In the fall of 1861, after the return to Atlanta, Cyrena pseudonymically published another essay in the *Commonwealth*, which superficially resembled other essays becoming common in Southern newspapers as casualty lists lengthened and early enthusiasm for the war began to waver. Written from the perspective of a soldier dying on the battlefield, the essay differed from archly pro-Southern pieces in the absence of specific references to the South or to the icons of Southern nationalism. Cyrena Stone wrote about all soldiers who were dying on the battlefields of the Civil War, not just Confederates as conventional Southern patriotism would have dictated. Perhaps the artful deception escaped many of the *Commonwealth’s* readers or perhaps it added to the enmity toward Cyrena Stone among those Confederate Atlantans who suspected that she was the pseudonymic “Holly.”⁴⁰

The early Confederate victories gave way in 1862 to several stinging defeats and to the realization that the war would be a protracted, bloody

struggle. Concomitantly, there was a steadily increasing emphasis upon enforcing conformity and dealing forcefully with the Unionists and other enemies within. Throughout 1862, Atlanta newspapers constantly warned residents of the city to watch out for a panoply of enemies including spies, abolitionists, Lincolnites, "neutral Yankees," and, of course, loyal Unionists. Disloyalty was quickly equated with treason, and the newspapers urged the city to ferret out those who posed a threat to the Confederacy and the orthodoxy of Confederate nationalism. And in the increasingly tense atmosphere of wartime Atlanta, disloyalty, defined and redefined at will by the Confederate authorities, could be something as simple as failing adequately to support the Confederate War effort or raising questions about the wisdom of the Confederate cause.⁴¹

Such disruptive activities as armed resistance or sabotage would have been futile because of the small number of Unionists and because Atlanta was deep in Confederate territory. The Unionists found a mode of resistance to the Confederacy, however, that enraged the authorities and indirectly aided the Union cause. Federal prisoners began to arrive in Atlanta in 1862 soon after the battle of Shiloh. Only a few, housed in the poorest hospitals of the city, came at first, but in time their numbers would swell to thousands. Many were sick and wounded and received very little, if any, medical attention. With minimal rations and squalid living conditions, the prisoners needed help and they got it from the Unionists.⁴²

Cyrena Stone was among the most active of those who aided the prisoners. She, like many Atlanta women, frequently visited the city's numerous military hospitals where Union and Confederate patients sometimes were housed in proximity to each other. On various pretexts, she and her Unionist associates would manage visits to the Union prisoners, sometimes by paying small bribes of food or money to guards, or on occasion through the use of feminine wiles to distract them. Throughout the war Cyrena collected money for Union prisoners and then passed it secretly to them during hospital visits. Some used the money to buy food and medicine; others used it to aid in their escapes.⁴³ These were treasonous acts, filled with danger, and some of the many times when the actions of the real Cyrena Stone conformed to those of her fictional shadow, when the currents of the novel flowed parallel to the real occurrences in Civil War Atlanta.

Confederate authorities eventually decided to crack down on the Unionists and put an end not only to the aiding of federal prisoners but also to other disloyal acts ascribed to them. In the late summer of 1862, martial law was declared in Atlanta and the provost marshal of the city acquired broad powers to arrest and punish criminals and traitors.⁴⁴

Col. George Washington Lee, the provost marshal, was an illiterate, pre-war saloon keeper who managed to become head of a company of several hundred troops in Atlanta charged with the maintenance of civil order. Lee, whose checkered military career included charges of thieving, vowed to rid the city of traitors and in doing so launched a plan that brought about what Amherst Stone described as a "perfect reign of terror" against the Unionists.⁴⁵

Suddenly and without warning on a Thursday in late August 1862, Lee and his men arrested at least eight and perhaps as many as twelve of the more prominent Unionists. Five men were clapped into one of the many Atlanta jails and three women were arrested as well. One of the men, Michael Myers, an Irish immigrant dry goods merchant, died of the effects of a brutal beating on the day after his arrest. The other men spent varying lengths of time in prison, ranging from a few weeks to several months.⁴⁶

Cyrena Stone was almost certainly one of the three women arrested and interrogated, the novel, *Goldie's Inheritance*, providing detail about the arrest, probably from missing portions of Cyrena's diaries. In this as in other segments that appear to be from the diary, the narrative bears the marks of Cyrena's literary style.

In the novel, rumors circulate through Atlanta that Cyrena has been hanged for treason but, in fact, she has only been summoned to a local hotel by "Colonel L.," the provost marshal, for a "grand investigation" into the possible existence of a Union organization of three hundred members and a plot to incite a slave rebellion. The fictional Cyrena, accompanied by an "advisor" (likely Amherst), arrives at the hotel to find other women, weeping and fearful, gathered in the lobby. She is the first to be summoned to a small upstairs room where a court of inquiry is presided over by "Colonel L.," assisted by a tall man "with hatred of the Yankees written on every feature," and by "a man of some sixteen summers who stood leaning against the bed in an artistic attitude." To the fictional Cyrena, "the room was so unlike the typical courtroom, and the court so lacking in real dignity, that fear vanished, and a sense of the ludicrous took its place." Citing religious reasons, Cyrena refuses to be sworn, agrees instead to affirm, and then evades the court's questions about the existence of a Unionist organization in the city. After less than probing questions, the court dismisses her and allows her to go free.⁴⁷

The fictional Cyrena Stone's treatment at the hands of the court of inquiry appears to have been more benign than that of other Atlanta women summoned by courts martial during the "reign of terror," if the version in *Goldie's Inheritance* is to be believed. Mary Hinton, another Unionist woman arrested at the same time, described aggressive and

probing questioning about Unionist activities while the queries put to Cyrena and the general tone of the court took on a somewhat burlesque quality in the novel. Both accounts may be accurate. Mary Hinton did not have the same social standing as Cyrena and Amherst who was still an important and wealthy man in Atlanta, despite his Unionist reputation. Colonel Lee, the provost marshal, would have been more careful around the Stones, if only because of their connections with the city's elite. Mary Hinton, on the other hand, had just moved to the city and as a young, single woman had few ties of substance that might afford protection. In addition, she had the added burden of being the sister of Martin Hinton, who had been arrested and imprisoned as a Unionist spy only a few weeks before. Thus, it is possible that the novel's account of Cyrena's arrest and questioning is faithful to the truth.⁴⁸

The killing of a Unionist and the imprisonment of others badly shook Amherst, who later reported that the "reign of terror" continued for nearly six months. During that time, intense harassment, constant fear, anxiety to preserve his wealth, and the ubiquitous threat of conscription into the Confederate army led Stone to make plans to escape from Georgia and return to the North. Ever resourceful, he laid a complicated plan to flee the region, deciding to leave Cyrena behind until he could find a way to bring her out also.⁴⁹

In late 1862 it was still possible for men to leave the Confederacy, even those who were thought to be Unionists, but taking out entire families was largely impossible. In effect, family members became hostages ensuring that the men would return. It was also quite difficult to take wealth out of the region, but Stone decided that as a part of his escape, he would not only try to salvage some of his personal wealth but he would also try to turn a profit.

Late in 1862, Stone learned that substantial amounts of cotton were being shipped out of Union-occupied New Orleans and sent to the North with the permission of federal authorities. This led Stone and some of his Unionist friends to organize a company to take their cotton out through the Union naval blockade of the Confederate coast. Blockade companies were relatively common in the South, but Stone's would be decidedly different from most. With the knowledge that Union authorities supported the exportation of Southern cotton to the North, Stone planned secretly to seek permission from the United States government to bring the cotton out and sell it in a northern port. He also wanted a guarantee that if the cotton were seized by United States vessels manning the blockade that it would be returned to him and the other Unionists who were party to the plan.⁵⁰

No blockade company could be made up only of Union men; thus,

the newly formed company also included a number of loyal Confederates, although the Unionists owned a majority of the stock. The Confederate members of the company were not to be told of the proposed arrangement with the United States government; neither were they told that the company did not contemplate returning any other commodities to the South. "There were some men who subscribed something [funds] who did not know this fact"; Stone wrote, "we would not let them know it. . . . We were afraid of them. They belonged to the rebel side and I have no doubt they thought it was a regular blockade company." Stone also audaciously sought the permission of the Confederate government to transport the cotton and with the assistance of Confederate Senator Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia secured the desired permission but only after Hill represented that the company would ship its cotton to a neutral port and then return goods to the Confederacy.⁵¹

Difficulty in securing a Southern steamer to take the cotton out gave Stone the opportunity to persuade the company that it should send him into the North where he would hire a northern vessel and also get the desired permissions from the United States government. With permissions from both governments, the chances for success would be greatly enhanced, and the venture would be as secure as possible in the chancy blockade-running business.⁵²

The company agreed and Stone made ready to leave the city. Waiting until the winter had passed, he said good-bye to Cyrena in early April 1863 and began to make his way to the Union lines north of Richmond. The trip was dangerous — doubly so since Stone carried with him at least fifty thousand dollars in a mixture of financial instruments drawn on northern banks and including Confederate currency. Another man, George Briggs, was sent on a different route and also carried a large sum of money belonging to the company. Stone made it to Richmond safely and stopped over for a brief stay, (possibly to confer with Hill) and then sneaked through the Union lines into Washington, D.C., during the night.⁵³

Relieved to be safely out of the Confederate States, Stone soon went on to New York City and checked into the opulent St. Nicholas Hotel, a favorite haunt of politicians and expatriate Southerners. He stayed in New York for ten days, making preliminary arrangements for a steamer and paying visits to Cyrena's brother and sister, Keyes and Mary Bailey, and possibly to his cousin, Chester A. Arthur, then a prominent New York lawyer. While in New York, Stone deposited the fifty thousand dollars in a local bank.⁵⁴

Stone decided that he could complete many of his business arrangements by telegraph and mail, so he went on to Vermont for a visit with family

and friends. Nearly two years had passed since he had visited his relatives, and he had had virtually no communication from them since the war began. He likely did not know until his arrival in East Berkshire that a younger brother, Charles Birney Stone, had enlisted in the Union army and had been captured in fighting near Drainsville, Virginia. After several months imprisonment in the notorious Libby Prison in Richmond, he had been exchanged just one month before Amherst passed through on his way to Washington.⁵⁵

Apparently preparing to close a deal, Stone left East Berkshire on May 8, 1863, to return to New York. Retracing the route that he and Cyrena had taken two years earlier, he went to St. Albans on the first leg of his journey. What Stone did not know was that while he had been in East Berkshire, his telegrams and mail to New York had been intercepted by the Union provost marshal in Burlington, Rolla Gleason, who was looking for him in St. Albans.⁵⁶

Gleason had been alerted to Stone's presence in East Berkshire by William Clapp, then collector of customs in Burlington and Stone's old enemy, whose nephew had overheard Amherst's braggadocio on the stage to St. Albans with Cyrena in 1861. The vengeful Clapp had "instituted inquiries" about Amherst and reported the results of his investigation to Gleason who ordered the interception of Stone's telegrams and letters to New York. Convinced that he had a Confederate agent within his grasp, Gleason found Stone, arrested him in St. Albans, and charged him with being a rebel emissary and smuggler. A surprised Stone readily admitted the blockade-running scheme, expecting perhaps that Rolla Gleason would be understanding, even sympathetic to the complex plan. Decidedly unsympathetic, Gleason turned Stone over to a deputy provost marshal from New York who, alerted by the fifty-thousand-dollar deposit in the New York bank, had also been looking for Stone in connection with the proposed blockade-running activity. For good measure, Gleason alleged that Stone had also "indulged in conversation of a disloyal character — rejoicing at our defeats & rebel successes," a clear reference to the incident after the first Battle of Bull Run.⁵⁷

Having successfully escaped from the South, Stone now endured the ironic ignominy of being arrested in his home state in front of old friends and neighbors and being transported, very probably in irons, across eastern New York to the military prison at Fort Lafayette in New York harbor. Stunned, shocked, perhaps even bewildered, Amherst Stone found himself in the exceedingly dangerous position of having been charged with being an agent of the Confederate government and at a time when the writ of habeas corpus had been suspended.

Stone was completely unprepared for prison life and for the stark,

crowded, dank imprisonment that awaited in a cell full of Confederate officers in Fort Lafayette.⁵⁸ But he was resourceful, and he devised a plan for his release informing by letter Secretary of War Edwin Stanton of the complete details of his background and the blockade-running escapade in the hope that Stanton would order his freedom.⁵⁹ Stone stayed at Fort Lafayette for about two months before being transferred to Fort Warren in Boston harbor where he appears to have successfully bribed a deputy marshal who brought him before General John Wool at the St. Nicholas Hotel in New York. Released from custody by Wool in July 1863 (he claimed that Stanton was responsible), Stone took up lodging again at the St. Nicholas in the midst of the bloody New York draft riots.⁶⁰

During the next six months, Stone moved between New York, Washington, and Nashville, Tennessee, trying to put the blockade scheme together and also seeking the aid of L. C. Turner, the United States judge advocate general, in getting Cyrena out of Atlanta. Stone claimed that his wife was "sick & distressed on account of my absence" and Turner gave him permission to return to Atlanta—a permission he never used, claiming that Cyrena had gotten word to him in Nashville that his return would bring, at the very least, certain imprisonment. Stone went back to New York, made preparations to go into business (presumably to practice law), and settled in at the St. Nicholas.⁶¹

On January 30, 1864, he was arrested again and reimprisoned in Fort Lafayette as a result of the energetic vendetta of William Clapp and his enthusiastic collaborator, Rolla Gleason, and in connection with the alleged bribe. During this imprisonment, Stone had a great deal more difficulty in getting the attention of civil or military authorities and remained in Fort Lafayette for more than eight months, awaiting trial by a military commission, but held without a formal charge for the entire period. Finally, he managed to hire Benjamin Baily, a lawyer from Putnam County, New York, who visited the White House in August 1864 and obtained a note from Abraham Lincoln to an official in the War Department regarding the case. The official was probably Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana who had shown some interest in Stone's case since the late spring. It is possible that Stone had had some prior connection to Dana, who had lived in Vermont, or that Stone's cousin, Chester A. Arthur, may have contacted Dana on his behalf, although there is no evidence to support either conclusion. Dana set in motion a chain of events that led to Stone's release from Fort Lafayette in mid-September 1864.⁶²

Amherst Stone plunged back into the life of a free man with vigor and characteristic guile, promoting himself and seeking the acquaintance of

influential men. Among others, he attracted the attention of Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, and chairman of the National Union Executive Committee, Abraham Lincoln's re-election campaign organization. Stone volunteered his services to Raymond to aid in Lincoln's campaign. Raymond had evidently heard Stone orate and wrote to Union General John A. Dix asking that Stone's bond money, (probably the fifty thousand dollars) be released. "He wants to take the stump for the Union cause," Raymond wrote, "but wants these bonds discharged first." The bond was released and if Stone did campaign for Lincoln, it is not hard to imagine that in his campaign rhetoric he would have identified himself as an exiled Southerner who, having escaped from the South and having remained true to the Union, could now freely support the reelection of a president who had preserved the Union. That is how he saw himself in later life and that is how he presented himself to others after the war was over.⁶³

While Amherst was in the North, Cyrena remained in Atlanta. And although kept company during his absence of nearly two years by their slaves and white servants, and a menagerie of pets — cats, a dog, a dove — she sometimes thought of herself as "alone on the hill" where the Stone house stood, alone "with no husband or brother near," although Chester Stone, now enrolled in the local militia, occasionally spent some time with her.⁶⁴ The surviving fragment of the diary that Cyrena Stone kept, however, does not reveal a person who dwelled upon loneliness or isolation. Instead, it shows a woman almost always able to deal effectively and confidently with a situation of great difficulty and peril and who, in the space of seven months of journal keeping, mentions her absent husband only two or three times. Cyrena Stone showed great courage and self-reliance in the face of cataclysm.

During these years, Cyrena Stone led a life governed by her ardent patriotism and a passionate commitment to the Union. Life for her in the months before the destruction of Atlanta was a mixture of risk taking, unwavering longing for the appearance of the Union armies, and a daily routine that blended the remnants of a comfortable existence with fast-increasing privation and struggle. She did not attempt to flee the city as the Union armies approached. "This is my home," she wrote on the eve of the battle for Atlanta, "& I wish to protect it if possible. There may be no battle here — if not I am safe; if there is one, where is any safety?"⁶⁵

Sometimes Cyrena longed for Vermont and the comforting majesty of the natural environment wishing that she might "see those lofty mountains sweeping against the sky," and occasionally she would recall the portion of her childhood spent in nearby New York State, remembering a

girlish romp through the old battlefield at Ticonderoga. But the nearness of the gargantuan struggle being waged between Confederate and Union armies less than 120 miles from Atlanta and the pressures of being a Unionist in the rebel city controlled her actions and her mind.⁶⁶

The "disloyal" activities continued throughout the months leading up to the battle of Atlanta in July. Cyrena and the small group of Unionist women still visited the wounded and suffering Union soldiers but had to do so with much more stealth. And as the number of Union prisoners declined, with many transferred to the hellholes of Andersonville and other Confederate prison camps, the women intensified their efforts to care for the few remaining, most of whom were sick or badly wounded and could count on practically no care from Confederate surgeons.⁶⁷

Pressures from the Confederate authorities seemed to ebb and flow during the final months before the battle. One friend told Cyrena that "bitter threats" had been made against her while another reported that her name remained on a list of twenty to thirty persons in Atlanta who would immediately be arrested if they sought to flee. Still others came to her with the chilling news that she had been branded a spy. One woman, also on the provost marshal's list, urged Cyrena to "burn or bury every scrap of writing, that would excite suspicion." "For you know they say you have been corresponding with the enemy ever since they came to Chattanooga and giving them information — & if we are all arrested, your house will certainly be searched." "It was a new idea," Cyrena confided to her diary, "my keeping them informed! What next?"⁶⁸

Throughout this period, symbols of national loyalty became even more important to Cyrena and the other Unionists. All during the war, Cyrena had kept in her possession a small American flag, secreting it in a variety of hiding places, at one time in a jar of preserved fruit, at another in her sugar canister. Atlantans with sympathies for the Union would regularly come to the Stone household and ask to see the flag, which was illegal to possess in the Confederacy. During these visits, they practiced such patriotic rituals as soft singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" and "Hail Columbia" and engaged in whispered discussions about the worthlessness of life without a "true" government. Such contact with other Unionists remained a necessity both as a way to exchange information and to provide psychological support in a situation where ubiquitous danger was mixed with passionate hope for early liberation by the Union armies. Caution had always to be exercised, however, especially when someone arrived whose loyalties were unknown and who asked to see the flag or tried to engage Cyrena in political discussions.⁶⁹

During the late winter and early spring of 1864, constant rumors swept through Atlanta concerning the position of the federal armies and the

likelihood that a battle might be fought near the city. Confederate faith that General Joseph E. Johnston would dispatch the Union forces continued throughout that period, but as the Confederate army constantly fell back toward Atlanta, morale began to drop and former friends who had become enemies now began to seek Cyrena out, believing that if the unthinkable occurred and Atlanta fell, she and the other Unionists would be good friends to have. "I shall look to you for protection," one woman told Cyrena who wrote in her diary that "Others have attempted to make friends with those they have abused & persecuted untiringly for being suspected of Union sentiments & showing kindness to prisoners."⁷⁰

Cyrena had kept informed of the steadily advancing Union armies through the newspapers and by word of mouth. "Oh bid them hasten who have promised to come," she wrote in her diary in the spring. In late June, cannon could be heard from her house on the outskirts of Atlanta, signaling the presence of the federal army within twenty miles of the city. By early July, most of Atlanta had grown frantic with fear of imminent catastrophe and terrified at the prospect of Yankee invaders in the streets. While her neighbors sought exit from the city, Cyrena Stone stayed. Earlier in the year, she had written that she had lived so long with "these great hopes [of liberation]" that "a life without them—of without seeing their inclination—would seem zestless and void." She preferred to remain rather than "to sit in a quiet room, a thousand miles away and read in some morning paper—'On the 1st of _____, long lines of blue swept through the streets of Atlanta. . . .'"⁷¹

By mid-July all Cyrena Stone's neighbors had retreated to the city or had left the area altogether. The sounds of musketry and cannon had been growing louder each day, and on July 21 these sounds erupted into a cacophony of explosions as the Union and Confederate forces struggled for possession of Atlanta. Despite the din and the danger, Cyrena still found time late at night to record in her diary aspects of the "red waves of war," which threatened to engulf her. Huge shells, "horrid whizzing screaming thing[s]," now passed over the Stone house and "came flying through the air, and burst with a loud explosion above us." A Confederate colonel who had taken refuge in Cyrena's house counseled her to remain where she was, declaring that it would be more hazardous inside the city, less than a mile away. Unknown to him, a few yards away, Cyrena had provided a hiding place for two free blacks who had been assaulted by Confederate soldiers. Earlier, she had hidden four runaway slaves in the cotton house on her property. At midnight, she recorded in her diary aspects of the tumult that swirled around her: "Words cannot picture the scenes that surround me—scenes & sounds which my soul will hold in remembrance forever. Terrific cannonading on every side—continual

firing of musketry — men screaming to each other — wagons rumbling by on every street or pouring into the yard — for the few remnants of fences — offers no obstructions now to cavalryman or wagoner, — and from the city comes up wild shouting, as if there is a general melee there.”⁷²

By the next morning, July 22, it had become obvious that the Stones’ home would be destroyed by the fierce battle and that Cyrena would be compelled to retreat. She left reluctantly, however, and only when a friend came from town to take her and the rest of the household to refuge with another Unionist, one mile away, in the city. After the short migration, in the midst of the battle for Atlanta and shortly after her arrival at her friend’s home, her diary abruptly ceases in mid-sentence.⁷³ The novel, *Goldie’s Inheritance*, yields up the remainder of Cyrena Stone’s life in Civil War Atlanta.

Surviving the battle, Cyrena spent the next six weeks with her Unionist friend, a woman with four children and a husband who, like Amherst, had gone north. Those six weeks coincided with the siege of Atlanta, as Union and Confederate forces fought to a stalemate and bombs and shells fell constantly upon the city. The six weeks of shelling decimated much of the city, whose remaining residents tried to survive by living underground in dug-out “bombproofs.” Cyrena and her host frequently took refuge in such a small, cramped underground space as the bombs continued throughout the torrid, humid month of August. Food became ever scarcer and the city teetered on the edge of starvation. At least twice, huge shells hit the house where Cyrena was living, one ripping the ceiling apart but failing to explode while the other exploded, wounding two of the residents.⁷⁴

At last on September 1, 1864, the Confederate troops evacuated Atlanta, and the next day the city surrendered to General Sherman’s officers. Cyrena’s home had been destroyed during the battle and practically all of her possessions lost as a result of the siege. All that was left was her flag and her Bible. When the Union troops entered the city, Cyrena unfurled the long hidden banner as a sign of welcome.⁷⁵

Cyrena Stone remained in Atlanta for some weeks after the federal occupation and was among the sizable number of the city’s citizens sent north by the federal forces before the burning of the city in early November. Prior to leaving, she had a reunion with a Vermont cousin, a Union officer who sought her out in the wrecked city. He wrote to his mother that Cyrena “was the noblest woman he ever saw” and “had remained true to the flag all this time and amid scoffs and jeers had ministered to the wants of the Union prisoners there most of the time for two years.” She had been, he reported, “shunned and excluded from society but had ‘endured all for righteousness sake.’” Back in Vermont,

other family members, including half-sister Louisa, were overjoyed to hear that Cyrena was alive after their more than three years of separation.⁷⁶

Cyrena and Amherst reunited in Nashville late in 1864, and the two proceeded to Vermont.⁷⁷ Cyrena seems to have stayed in the familiar environs of East Berkshire until the fall of 1865, revelling in the autumnal colors of the trees in the Green Mountains and characteristically celebrating the natural beauty with an essay, soon published in the *Savannah National Republican*.⁷⁸

Meanwhile, the always ambitious Amherst had capitalized upon political contacts made during the Lincoln presidential campaign. Rumors circulated that he had been appointed United States District Attorney for Georgia by President Andrew Johnson after Lincoln's assassination.⁷⁹ While these were untrue, Stone did eventually win appointment as United States Commissioner in Savannah, Georgia, where he moved in the summer of 1865.⁸⁰ During the next eight years Stone practiced law, brokered cotton, held a succession of federal and state political appointments in Georgia and became active and influential in the Republican Party in Reconstruction Georgia. Both "carpetbagger" and "scalawag," he was reviled for the close political alliances he formed with leading black politicians in the state.⁸¹ By 1873, however, Stone prepared to leave Georgia and accept an appointment from President Ulysses S. Grant as a federal judge in the Territory of Colorado where he joined his two brothers, former Confederate captain Chester A. Stone and former Union lieutenant Charles Birney Stone who were in business together there. Stone died in Leadville, Colorado, in 1900 after a spotty career in that state, which included some measure of fame (he was kidnapped by outlaws while a federal judge) and notoriety (in his later years, he received unfavorable publicity for amorous adventures with younger women).⁸²

The character of the relationship between Cyrena and Amherst Stone after the war is not clear. While there is no evidence to suggest marital discord, they clearly spent substantial periods apart — Amherst in Georgia, Cyrena in Vermont. Cyrena always returned to Vermont in the summers, but in 1868 she remained into the winter, evidently quite ill and living in Sheldon, near one of her sisters. Even before the war, her health had been questionable and she had made occasional visits to "medical institutions" in New York and perhaps elsewhere. Now, as the darkness and cold of the Vermont winter set in, she lay dying on a Saturday afternoon, scarcely five miles from her childhood home in East Berkshire. For a week, Cyrena Stone suffered "extreme pain and was partially deranged" before she finally succumbed at 3:00 P.M. on December 18, 1868. She was thirty-eight years old.⁸³

The Civil War experiences of Cyrena and Amherst Stone help to il-

illuminate the complex nature of national loyalty during that time and the ways in which a single family could reflect divisions over the national future. Cyrena Stone came as close to unconditional loyalty to the Union as was possible in that portion of the Confederate South remote from significant populations of loyalists. Amherst Stone's Unionism, although seemingly staunch in the pre-war period, obviously could be adjusted to circumstance. The fact that Amherst Stone was almost universally regarded by Atlanta Unionists as a "loyal man" both during and after the conflict shows that the Unionists themselves understood that perhaps no loyalty to the United States could be simon-pure given the circumstances in Civil War Atlanta. That those same Unionists, however, were largely unaware of his activities casts doubt on the fundamental character of his Unionism. The loyalty of one brother to the Confederacy and the loyalty of one to the Union complete the illustration and indicate how complex the experiences of a single family could be in the vortex of the war when it came to choosing sides.

NOTES

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¹ Miss Abby's Diary, Special Collections Division, University of Georgia Libraries. The literature of wartime Unionism is extensive. Carl N. Degler, *The Other South, Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), includes a broad overview. Recent studies of note include Daniel Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates, Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989) and James Marten, *Texas Divided, Loyalty & Dissent in the Lone Star State 1856-1874* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1990). Unionism in Confederate cities is a subject not yet thoroughly studied by historians.

² Louisa M. Whitney, *Goldie's Inheritance, a Story of the Siege of Atlanta* (Burlington, Vermont: Free Press Association, 1903).

³ This article is a portion of a larger, book-length study, which places the Stones more fully within the context of wartime Unionism and the Civil War.

⁴ Mrs. L. M. Whitney, "Memoir of Rev. Phinehas Bailey," Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, hereafter cited as Whitney, "A Father's Legacy." The memoir bears the inside title of "A Father's Legacy." It is cited as such to distinguish it from Bailey's autobiographical memoir cited in note no. 5. I have used these documents as well as other sources to reconstruct the Bailey family's movements and the order of birth of the children. See also, Jeffrey D. Marshall, "The Life and Legacy of the Reverend Phinehas Bailey," Occasional Paper Number Nine, Center for Research on Vermont (Burlington: University of Vermont, 1985) and Marshall, "The Straightest Path to Heaven: Louisa Bailey Whitney and the Congregational Foreign Missionary Movement in Nineteenth Century Vermont," *Vermont History* 55 (Summer 1987): 153-66.

⁵ Whitney, "A Father's Legacy," 31-42; "Memoirs of Rev. Phinehas Bailey, Written by Himself Transcription from Shorthand Notes now in the possession of his daughter Mrs. Louisa M. (Bailey) Whitney, Royalton, Vermont July 1902," Vermont Historical Society, 43; hereafter cited as Bailey, "Memoirs."

⁶ Whitney, "A Father's Legacy," 34-35.

⁷ A collection of Cyrena Stone's published writings is found in the Bailey-Hopkins Scrapbook, Francis L. Hopkins Collection, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, hereafter cited as Hopkins Collection. She always used a pseudonym, but each of her writings is identified in the family scrapbook as her work. Her sister, Mary A. Bailey, as well as her half-sister, Louisa M. Whitney, also published a variety of writings.

⁸ For an intriguing discussion of the shorthand system, see Marshall, "The Life and Legacy of the Reverend Phinehas Bailey."

⁹ *Goldie's Inheritance*, 5-38; there is a photograph of Louisa M. Whitney as a young woman in the Hopkins Collection, University of Vermont.

¹⁰ Census of the United States 1860, Franklin County, Vermont, p. 48.

¹¹ Leadville (Colorado) *Herald-Democrat*, 1 May, 1900; Lewis Cass Aldrich, ed., *History of Franklin and Grand Isle Counties, Vermont* (Syracuse: D. Mason, 1891), 228-29.

¹² Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer: A Magazine Embracing A History of Each Town, Civil, Ecclesiastical, Biographical and Military* (Burlington: A. M. Hemenway, 1871), 2: 94; obituary of Lydia Samson Stone, Bailey-Hopkins Scrapbook, Hopkins collection.

¹³ Census of the United States, 1850, Fayette County, Georgia, p. 21; Carolyn C. Cary, ed., *The History of Fayette County, 1821-1871* (Fayetteville, Georgia: Fayetteville Historical Society, 1977), 21, 38.

¹⁴ Bailey, "Memoirs," 53; clipping of death notice of Jennie Arthur Stone, Bailey-Hopkins Scrapbook, Hopkins Collection; clipping from the Augusta (Georgia) *Chronicle & Sentinel*, dated 15 August, 1854, in Bailey-Hopkins Scrapbook, Hopkins Collection.

¹⁵ Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, a Chronicle of its People and Events* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1954), 1: 489.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 408-409, 456; Florence W. Brine, "Central Presbyterian Church," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin* 3 (July 1938): 182.

¹⁷ City of Atlanta, Assessor's Book 1861, Atlanta Historical Society.

¹⁸ Census of the United States 1860, Slave Schedule, Fulton County, Georgia.

¹⁹ Whitney, "A Father's Legacy," 53.

²⁰ *Goldie's Inheritance*, 40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Census of the United States 1860, Slave Schedule, Fulton County, Georgia.

²⁴ Louisa Bailey to Mary [Bailey], March 16, 1861, Hopkins Collection. Many of the letters used from this collection have been transcribed from the Bailey shorthand by Jeffrey D. Marshall of the University of Vermont.

²⁵ Keyes A. Bailey to Louisa Bailey, August 20, 1860, Hopkins Collection; Ben Kremenak, ed., "Escape from Atlanta: The Huntington Memoir," *Civil War History* 11 (June 1965): 161.

²⁶ Amherst W. Stone to General John A. Dix, June 28, 1864, in Lafayette C. Baker—Levi C. Turner Papers, 1862-1865 (microfilm), Case # 2441, Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Records, War Department Division, National Archives, Washington, D. C., hereafter cited as Turner-Baker Papers; Garrett, *Atlanta and its Environs* 1: 494. For a thorough discussion of the secession crisis in Georgia, see Michael P. Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977). For examples of the attacks by Atlanta newspapers on Unionists, see the *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer* and the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, November, 1860-January, 1861.

²⁷ Testimony of Julius Hayden, in *Julius A. Hayden v. United States of America*, case #2543, United States Court of Claims, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland.

²⁸ Testimony of C. T. C. Drake, in *Thomas G. W. Crusselle v. United States of America*, case #2974, United States Court of Claims, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland.

²⁹ "The Spring of 1861," [by "Holly"], in Bailey-Hopkins Scrapbook, Hopkins Papers. This essay, like most that Cyrena Stone published, includes at the beginning, the printed phrase "For the Commonwealth" or other newspaper in which it was published.

³⁰ "The Huntington Memoir," Special Collections Division, University of Iowa Library. The version of the Huntington memoir cited in note no. 25 omits sections from the original document. This quotation is drawn from the unedited document in the possession of the University of Iowa.

³¹ *Goldie's Inheritance*, 143.

³² "Miss Abby's Diary," *passim*. Citations to page numbers in the diary are to a transcribed version in the possession of the author, a copy of which is deposited in the University of Georgia Main Library, Special Collections. Testimony of Sarah Hinton, Claim of Martin Hinton, Records of the Southern Claims Commission (Allowed Claims), Fulton County, Georgia, Record Group 217, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

³³ Testimony of Nedom L. Angier, Claim of Nedom L. Angier, Records of the Southern Claims Commission (Allowed Claims), Fulton County, Georgia, Record Group 217, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

³⁴ Census of the United States, 1860, Fulton County, Georgia; *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, 17 April 1860; Henry Clay Fairman, *Chronicles of the Old Guard of the Gate City Guard, Atlanta, Georgia, 1858-1915* (Atlanta: Byrd Printing Company, 1915), 8, 33.

³⁵ Fairman, *Chronicles of the Old Guard*, 18-27.

³⁶ *Goldie's Inheritance*, 141.

³⁷ Fairman, *Chronicles of the Old Guard*, 28-32.

³⁸ William Clapp to Major John A. Bolles, September 19, 1864, Union Provost Marshal's File of One-Name Papers Re Citizens (microcopy no. 345), National Archives, Washington, D.C.

- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ "The Dying Soldier," in Bailey-Hopkins Scrapbook, Hopkins Collection.
- ⁴¹ See, for example, *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, 13 April 1862.
- ⁴² Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, 1: 551.
- ⁴³ Miss Abby's Diary, 21; Testimony of Robert Webster, in *Robert Webster v. United States of America*, case #13502, United States Court of Claims, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland.
- ⁴⁴ Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, 1: 525-28.
- ⁴⁵ *Williams' Atlanta City Directory for 1859-60* (Atlanta: 1860); Braxton Bragg to Joseph E. Johnston, March 2, 1863, Series I, volume 23, part 2, 656-57, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and the Confederate Army*, 130 vols. (Washington, D.C.: 1880-1902).
- ⁴⁶ *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, 29 August, 30 August, and 3 September, 1862.
- ⁴⁷ *Goldie's Inheritance*, 165-67.
- ⁴⁸ Testimony of Mary Hinton, Claim of Martin Hinton, Records of the Southern Claims Commission (Allowed Claims), Fulton County, Georgia, Record Group 217, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ⁴⁹ A. W. Stone to E. M. Stanton, June 19, 1863, A. W. Stone to General John A. Dix, June 28, 1864, *Turner-Baker Papers*. These two letters contain lengthy discussions of the plan.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Ibid.; Rolla Gleason to Secretary of War, September 3, 1863, in Register of Letters Received by the Secretary of War, Main Series 1800-1870 (microform), reel 106, register #116, RG490, hereafter cited as Register, Letters Received by the Secretary of War. This is a summary of a letter from Gleason to the Secretary of War.
- ⁵⁴ Stone to Stanton, June 19, 1863, Stone to Dix, June 28, 1864, *Turner-Baker Papers*; Gleason to Secretary of War, September 3, 1863, Register, Letters Received by the Secretary of War; Thomas C. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss: The Life of Chester Alan Arthur* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), 33-35.
- ⁵⁵ Diary of Charles Birney Stone, February 23, 1863, through March 7, 1863, Special Collections Division, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.
- ⁵⁶ *Burlington Free Press*, 12 May 1863.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.; Gleason to Secretary of War, September 3, 1863, Register, Letters Received by the Secretary of War; John Sedgwick to Charles A. Dana, September 14, 1864, *Turner-Baker Papers*.
- ⁵⁸ "*Fort-La-Fayette Life, 1863-64 in extracts from the 'right Flanker,' a manuscript sheet circulating among the southern prisoners in Fort-Lafayette, in 1863-64*," (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1865), Rare Books and Manuscript Division, Main Library, University of Georgia.
- ⁵⁹ Stone to E. M. Stanton, June 19, 1863, *Turner-Baker Papers*.
- ⁶⁰ Stone to John A. Dix, June 28, 1864, *Turner-Baker Papers*.
- ⁶¹ A. W. Stone to L. C. Turner, August 24, 1863; August 21, 1863, *Turner-Baker Papers*; Stone to John A. Dix, June 28, 1864, *Turner-Baker Papers*.
- ⁶² Rolla Gleason to Secretary of War, September 3, 1863, Register, Letters Received by the Secretary of War; Benjamin Baily to Dear Sir, August 19, 1864, Sedgwick to Dana, September 14, 1864, *Turner-Baker Papers*.
- ⁶³ H. J. Raymond to Major General [John A.] Dix, October 11, 1864, Letters Received by the Secretary of War, (microform) Main Series, 1801-1870.
- ⁶⁴ Miss Abby's Diary, 19-20, 47, 62, 28, 61.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., 62.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., 14-15.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., 23-24.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 45-46.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., 40-41, 38; *Goldie's Inheritance*, 197.
- ⁷⁰ Miss Abby's Diary, 39.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., 13.
- ⁷² Ibid., 65, 63, 54.
- ⁷³ Ibid., 71-72.
- ⁷⁴ *Goldie's Inheritance*, 250-52.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., 253-54.
- ⁷⁶ Elizabeth H. Whitney to Louisa M. Bailey, October 12, 1864; Louisa M. Bailey to Joel F. Whitney, October 28, 1864, Hopkins Collection.
- ⁷⁷ Leadville (Colorado) *Herald Democrat*, 1 May 1900.
- ⁷⁸ "Out in the Woods," *Savannah National Republican*, 10 November 1865, in Bailey-Hopkins Scrapbook, Hopkins Collection.
- ⁷⁹ The rumors have been accepted as fact and included in several histories. I find no documentation in the National Archives or in standard guides to federal officeholders to support the claim. The source

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of the rumor appears to have been a Buffalo, New York, newspaper. See Wallace P. Reed, *History of Atlanta, Georgia* (Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., 1889).

⁸⁰ *Savannah Daily Herald*, 12 May 1865.

⁸¹ Sharon Young, "Amherst Willoughby Stone," biographical sketch, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah.

⁸² Leadville (Colorado) *Herald Democrat*, 28 March 1882; n.a., *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado* (Chicago: O.L. Baskin & Co., 1881), 373-74; "Chester Able Stone," *The Trail* 17 (December 1924): 7; "Biography—Hon. A.W. Stone, Mrs. Maude Magoffin—Interviewer," Colorado Historical Society, Denver.

⁸³ Persis Lorette Hopkins to Louisa Bailey, December 22 [1868], Hopkins Collection.