

George R. Crosby Civil War Diary Project -1864
Originally transcribed January 25th, 2006 –January 29th, 2006
Typed up February 3rd, 2006 - February 6th, 2006
Patrick Gallagher

-from memoranda section, dated 12/31/1863

“Bot this diary today of Thos. E. Bartteff. Paid \$10 for it. it came by mail from Brattleboro to us while on picket at Mitchel’s Ford on the Rapidan river. it is verry cold weather but rails are plenty[ful] and we manage to keep warm. we have got men enough so that we have four releifs. we stand two hours at a time so that our duty is not verry hard. my post is about four hundred yards from a rebel bidet but there [is] no picket firing nowadays on this line. we are verry friendly. No. of Colt’s Revolver 121176.”

1/1/1864

“This commenses a new year. I shall try and keep this diary & myself beter than I have [in] the past. it rained yesterday & all night but fair and cold today. examined by Dr. Edson. got order on Com[missary] for potatoes & sugar. cut logs for stockade, could get no team to draw them.”

-from memoranda

“It is pretty muddy and bad weather for a man about to enlist for three years but the money is what I must have for the benefit of my wife and child. I am anticipating nine hundred dollars bounty from town and government.”

1/2/1864

“mustered into service for three yeas more. verry cold and windy. went on guard at Col.’s tent. got poles drawed to [build] stockade with. drew three days rations. ground froze so hard that it keeps our horses out of the mud. two recruits came to our Co.”

1/3/1864

“detachment went on picket. each regt now relieves their own pickets. on guard part of the time, the rest of the time worked on tent. got the logs up. verry tired at night.”

1/4/1864

“Snowed most all day. work[ed] on shanty a while but the storm drove [us] off. helped Lieut. Clark make out the muster in and muster out rools and descriptive list of the veterans of our Comp. bot a bottle of bitters, 1.25.”

-from memoranda

“first snow of the season fel today, about an inch. I am verry anxious to hear from Andover. no mail on account of the railroad being disturbed somewhere between here [and] Washington.”

1/5/1864

“verry warm and pleasant. snow all disappeared before noon. Streeter and I worked plastering our stockade all day. signed pay roll. got leer from home mailed Jan 1st. got Badge, am verry mutch dissatisfied with it.”

1/6/1864

“went on picket, started at eight o’clock. my pos is within speaking distance of the reb bidet. it is verry cold and windy. the ground is froze verry hard.”

1/7/1864

“relieved at noon and went back to the reserve. Streeter and I went to camp. Lieut. Clark had drawn my pay for me and my discharge papers. my horse got unhitched and I did not find him so I had to stay in camp all night.”

1/8/1864

“this morning found my horse but they had stole the blanket from under the saddle & everything from the saddle bags. I went back on picket, went back to the river. exchanged papers with the rebs and had a long chat with them.”

1/9/1864

“came off picket. brought up some boards and worked on shantie the rest of the day. got a leter from home. sent diary home. verry cold.”

1/10/1864

“verry cold. got a load of stone drawd and built fireplace. Asel Noah helped me, Streeter mixed the mud. promoted to Coporal. Tom got a leter informing us of Wm. Nichol’s death. Esty’s shop burned.”

1/11/1864

“floored tent and mooved in. it is a little more comfortable than the old one. sold my pen to Lieut. Clark. a detachment went on picket. fireplace smokes. had my arms stolen yesterday.”

1/12/1864

“put adition on chimney. afternoon cut poles for horse stable. worked verry hard. got leter from andover saying that I should get no town bounty.”

1/13/1864

“cut more poles for horse stable. worked all day verry hard. have got a bad cold, am now nearly sick with it. our furloughs went to Kilpatrick’s head quarters today. dress parade this afternoon. verry warm.”

1/14/1864

See collection description at vermonthistory.org/documents/findaid/crosby.pdf

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“pleasant. finished stable. did not work verry hard becaus I was nearly sick with a cold. I delay writing home becaus I am expecting every day that our furloughs will come. I guess the folks will be mad at me for not writing.”

1/15/1864

“detailed to go on picket but I got out of it. it is a nice warm pleasant day. our furloughs were approved at Corps Head Quarters today. we shall get them soon. bot wach of Dr. Stone [for] \$15.”

1/16/1864

“worked all day policeing the camp. am no beter of my cold. no news from the furloughs. we have got our camp so that it [is] quite respe[c]table. they have all got rush stables for horses. inspection tomorrow. no news from home.”

1/17/1864

“Inspection today. John Shay of the fifth regt came to see me today and Phill and Streeter of the 2nd. our Furloughs came today and we are preparing to go home tomorrow. we shal be ready at an early hour.”

1/18/1864

“started for Brandy Station at 9 o’clock for home. left on the carrs at 11 o’clock. did not get to Alexandria until morning on account of a colison. rained all day.”

1/19/1864

“got to Washington at eight. went to the transportation [office] and got transportation about three o’clock. started at five. had a hard time crossing at Haver degrace on account of the ice. the train is late. stayed on the side track at Philadelphia until most morning.”

1/20/1864

“got to NY at 7 o’clock. tooke the train at Harlem and H at half past eleven. came to White River Junction about twelve o’clock. went to bed, ordered to be waked to go on the half past six o’clock train. am verry tired.”

1/21/1864

“the clerk did not wake me in season this morning to go on the half past six train so I had to stay until four o’clock. arrived at St. J about eight o’clock and stayed at Arch’s.”

1/22/1864

“Arch brought me to Waterford this morning. I found ym folks well. they are quite reconciled to my reenlisting. there is plenty of snow and good sleighing. snowd some today. shall stay here until monday night.”

1/23/1864

“went into the woods where Bennet was drawing wood. my principal business is eating and drinking rum.”

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1/24/1864

“went fox hunting with Doit. wind blowed like a hurricane on the hills so that we could not [keep] in sound of the dogs.”

1/25/1864

“Arch came after us at night.”

1/26/1864 – 1/28/1864

no entries present.

1/29/1864

“came up to the center with folks. Addie about sick with a cold.”

1/30/1864

“looked for [a] house all day, could not find one suitable. at night went to Waterford with Brackway’s team.”

1/31/1864

“went to Littleton, saw most of my acquaintances that were not at war. gave Charlie Lovejoy’s folks Addie’s photograph.”

2/1/1864

“went fox hunting with Bennet but it snowed and drove us off. it snowed 14 inches in eight hours. dranked rum & eat poached eg[gs] all day.”

2/2/1864

“Addie was not well enough to go to the centre and I had to go back with the team alone. went to Lyndon on the carrs.”

2/3/1864

“stayed at Myram Miller’s last night. plenty of whiskey at Lyndon. came to the Centre this morning, bot a stove. went to the Plain on a hand carr. got a team and went to Waterford. brot the folks over to Arches.”

2/4/1864

“stayed around St. Johnsbury. nothing of importance going on. went to Passumpsic with Bil Horton. saw a sample of the good templers in the way of drinking whiskey and Beer. got leter from Brigham.”

2/5/1864

“Cowdy died today. wrote to Brigham. came up to the center on the carrs. at night found a housefull at Dons.”

2/6/1864

“Don’s wife and company went to Waterford and [left] us to keep house. Jo Ide [was] buried today. old Mrs. Butler died at the age of a hundred. Addie sick. hired a tenement at J. Clark’s house.”

2/7/1864

“Delia came back today. Arch and Nancy came up. I rode out with Arch.”

2/8/1864

“Delia and her company went to Concord. Eveline came at night, went one after them.”

2/9/1864

“went over to Doit’s after our things to keep house with. had Weekses team. it is a pleasant day.”

2/10/1864

“came to the centre. verry cold, had to call at a house to warm leg. Addie is at Doit’s while we are mooving. commence paying rent today.”

2/11/1864

“went down to the Plain and found my Brother there. thing[s] came up from Nonaids. mooved in. Lym drawd [a] load of wood.”

2/12/1864

“verry [busy] all day arranging things. we went to the Plain and got Addie and mother. Don got a dispatch informing him of George Brown’s death.”

2/13/1864

“saw Bill today. they all went down to Hanover to the funeral. Emma is sick. I have got to take care of Don’s cow until he gets back. Lym drawd two loads of wood today.”

2/14/1864

“brother went to church. snowy day, grained sink and wood box. verry blustering at night. commenced having milk at Larmard’s yesterday.”

2/15/1864

“Wm came up and staed for an hour or two. the folks all came up from the funeral. fixed up shelves & eat.”

2/16/1864

“snowed all day. Doit and Sarah came over and we had a verry good. went to an oyster sup[p]er at night, had a good time. Alf went [and] we danced all night.”

2/17/1864

“verry cold this morning. went to the plain with Doit’s folks. came back on the freight. Alf went to Boston at night.”

2/18/1864

“verry cold. went to Lyndon with Hellen. mother stayed with Addie. we had a good visit. I took dinner at C.C. Miller’s & sup[p]er with Hellen at Bowditches. I went to Myram’s and all around.”

2/19/1864

“Mercury was 40° below zero this morning at the centre. I went to the plain and aranged my affairs to go back tomorrow. Arch came back from Boston. Wright’s folks came to see us [in] the morning.”

2/20/1864

“started this morning at ten. left my folks feeling bad, I went to the saloon and had a good cry. I hope to see them again soon. got to Brattleboro around five, stoped over night.”

2/21/1864

“left Brattleboro six this morning, got to Springfield about nine. stopped at the Russel House. wrote a leter home. I am very homesick. left springfield ten at night in Co with a Co D fellow.”

2/22/1864

“arrived in NY this morning at six. took the ferry at eight and the carrs at Jersey City. after ten arrived in Washington. stoped at Dyer’s American House.”

2/23/1864

“found six of our Co and went to get transportation to the regt but did not get it in season to get to the regt. went to Alexandria and put up at the Marshal House.”

2/24/1864

“wrote leter home No. 1. I started at eleven, arrived at Brandy Station. found Puffer there with my horse, the rest had to walk to the regt. found the camp well policed and looking nicely. our [Co] got 28 recruits. the boys got back, all but two: smith and McBurthy.”

2/25/1864

“wrote leter home No. 2. it is warm as summer & dry. went on inspection forenoon. drilled in afternoon. the ground is verry dry and hard. it is verry dusty drilling. I am homesick.”

2/26/1864

“today I worked all the time fixing up the shanty, putting up shelves and a bunk. with great pleasure got a leter from home. Ben Davis rode my horse on drill.”

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2/27/1864

“fixed fireplace so that it works well. Davis wrode horse on drill. went to the NonCommishioned School, recited to Lieut. Higley. they are making great preparations for a raid we shal have tomorrow.”

2/28/1864

“drew more rations. drew carbines for the Company. drew horses and arms. started on a raid at 4 P.M. my horse [is] sick with the belly ache and won't eat. we started with fifty one men in our Co. Crossed at Ely's Ford.”

2/29/1864

“rode all night last night, most of the time on a trot or gallop. stoped at ten A.M. [for] one hour. made coffee then proceeded on through spotsylvania C[ourt]. H[ouse]. to beever dam station. burned railroad bridges and carrs. started again at eleven, crossed the s[outh]. anna river.”

3/1/1864

“wrode all ngiht. stoped at 8 A.M. made coffee then started for Richmond. at the forts [at] 2 P.M. shelled the forts a while then passed within 2 miles of Richmond. burned railroads, went into camp five miles from Richmond. the rebs attacked camp about eleven, drove us out. [they] takend ten prisoners from our Co.”

3/2/1864

“we travailed on [the] doublequick until five this morn then halted about three hours and the rebs attacked us in the rear. our Co supported skirmishers. H. Eastman got a bad wound in the Boot. I took him to the ambulance. they are fighting in the front in afternoon. went to the White House, came back about five miles and camped about three o'clock. slept about an hour and the rebs charged on the pickets.”

3/3/1864

“no rations. skirmishing again this morning both front and rear. started for New Kent C[ourt]. H[ouse]. arrived there about noon and a brigade of Butler's nigars there to help us out. past through Dapahorlt. guerillas plentyful, two men shot by them. caught three of them. stop at Macok at night and unsaddled our horses for the first time since we started [on] Sunday. we tore down several houses to build fires with foraged ham and corn. Whip & Tom have lost their blankets so we all sleep under mine.”

3/4/1864

“started at eight this morning. came through Williamsburg. it shows the marks verry distinctly of McClelan's battle of two years ago. it seems quite like home to get out of the rebel lines. arrived Yorktown about five P.M. drew rations & forag.”

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3/5/1864

“stayd in camp at Yorktown all [day]. had a thunder shower. verry warm. wild flowers in bloom. most of the boys went to town, it is about three fourths of a mile from camp. this is where Cornwallis surrendered to Washington. wrote a leter home No. 3.”

3/6/1864

“saddled at twelve last night. took the steamboat Winnisimet at 5 this morning. passed by Fortress Monroe rissruss Old Point come out Newport News. saw where the Merimac was sunk. arrived at Portsmouth about four o’clock P.M. got off the boat more about one mile and camped. Portsmouth is a pretty city with union sentiments. it lies apost of Norfolk with just the Elizabeth river between. the steam ferry boats come between them often. wrote leter home No. 4.”

3/7/1864

“Hucksters are plenty[ful] with edibles of all kinds cooked in good style. the people here are not mutch [like] those we have met in other plases in VA. took the steam transport Putnam at twelve o’clock for Gloussceter poin[t]. passed over the same route that we came yesterday. the water was not as rough as it was yesterday. saw the warship Brandywine of old Revolutionary memory. saw a church at Portsmouth that was Built in 1672. Portsmouth and Norfolk are two of the oldest towns in the united states. arrived at gloussceter pont about eight P.M. waited two hours for the tide to come in so that we could land. marched a mile and camped for the night.”

-from memoranda, a full account of the Kilpatrick raid.

“Feb 28th: Kilpatrick started on a raid with four thousand Cavalry and two Bateries of artillery. crossed the Rapidan River at Ely’s Ford. captured a picket post at that plase of thirty men. went through Chancellorsville [and] Spotsylvania. Co H halted [on the] 29th [for] one hour and mad[e] coffee and fed horses then proceeded to Beaver dam station on the Virginia Central Railroad. there we Burnt up all the Depot Buildings. destroyed the Railroad for about five miles, burned several carrs. marched all night and arrived in the morning of the 1st of march [at] Ground Squirrel Bridge on the South Anna River. we halted there to rest and make coffee. we had been there but a short time when the Rebs attacked us in the rear with cavalry and artillery. halted one half hour then marched southeast. did not halt again until within three and one half m[ile]s of Richmond and inside of the entrenchments. halted and foraged corn and fed our horses inside the entrenchments then we marched toward Richmond. Engaged the Rebs, went within one and a half miles of the City. destroyed two or three miles of the Richmond and York River Railroad and went into camp for the night about five miles from the City. we were all verry sleepy and tired having had no sleep nor rest since we lef[t] Stevensburg on the 28th. we got in camp before dark about ten o’clock. our camp was staked, we were all asleep except the pickets and I guess some of them [too]. we had a hard fight but were obliged to retreat. we lost eleven men from our Company and seventy from the regt; I do not know how many from the command. we fell back to mechanicsville, got there about four o’clock in morning of the 2nd of March. halted there about four hours when we were again attacked, our regt at the front. Eastman of our Co was wound[ed] badly in the foot

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by a musket ball in the skirmish. it lasted about two hours. we went to from there to Turnstals Station. fed horses just at night then marched towards White House several miles then countermarched [and] came back to Turnstals Station and camped about two o'clock. on the morning of the 3rd at daylight we were attacked both front and rear by small parties but they were shure to get out of our way when we charged on them. about nine o'clock we marched, arrived at New Kent Court House about noon where we found a Brigade of Butler's Niggars and a battery of artillery come up to help us out. we are almost entirely destitute of rations. we halted about two hours then proceed[ed] on. found guirrillas plenty[ful], had one man killed and another wounded out of the column as we were pasin by the woods. we succeeded in capturing four of them. we arrived at Macock just after dark. went into camp, unsaddled for the first time since we left, then tore down deserted houses to build fires. nothing to eat. March 4, started at eight A.M. arrived at Williamsburg about noon. there we found troops stationed; we begged rations of them but were so many that but few were supplied. we did not halt at that plase but marched to Yorktown. we went into camp at 5 P.M. and drew rations. March 6th, started at six this morning for Portsmouth in steam transports: about two thousand cavalry, some infantry and artillery. the horses got scared. [a]fraid of an attack. we arrived about three o'clock the same day but it proved to be a false alarm and the next day, [the] 7th, we went to Glouster Point by the same rout we came. Glouster Point is across the River opposite Yorktown."

3/8/1864

"rained until three o'clock. Nash and I went down to the river and got Oysters and clams. got verry wet. had an Oyster sup[p]er, bunked in early with orders to saddle at two o'clock in the morning for another raid. cold night. drew one day's rations."

3/9/1864

"saddled at wo o'clock this morning for another raid. wrote about fifteen m[ile]s and halted an hour. made coffee then marched fifteen miles to Centerville and campe for the night. we did a good deal of foraging. got plenty of hams and a lot of eg[g]s. camped just before dark. had a good sup[p]er."

3/10/1864

"started this morning before light. we have some of Butler's cavalry with us and Old Hill keeps them ahead and makes them doa ll the running and we do all the foraging. we passed the plase where Col. Dahlgreen and his men were murdered by Guerillas. we learn from the citizens that his body was sent to Richmond by order of Jeff Davis. they cut off his fingers to get off his gold rings. our advance found the rebs in small force at King + Queen [courthouse]. Co. H drove them out and burned the plase. we pillaged and plundered the country in all directions to revenge the murder of Dahlgreen. we took several prisoners. rained hard in the afternoon. stoped raining about dark. went into camp near Blymouth."

3/11/1864

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“started this morning at daylight. took a roundabout road. captured several prisoners. foraged a goodd many hams and other provisions. camped before dark at Glouster court house about twelve miles from Glouster point. Glouster c[ourt]. h[ouse]. is a deserted village.”

3/12/1864

“started this morning about seven. marched twelve miles to glouster point. got there about ten o'clock. drew rations. unsaddled, staid there until about dark then saddled and went to the wharf and waited until about ten o'clock and took the steam transport Georgemay for Alexandria. it is [a] splendid boat nicely fitted out and a fast steamer. took a spare room, went to bed and slept soundly.”

3/13/1864

“waked up this morning and found that we were going up the Potomac river. passed Mt. baron [and] Fort Washington. arrived at Alexandria about three P.M. went into camp closeby the city. eat at the Soldier's Rest. it is verry windy.”

3/14/1864

“wrote home No. 5. layd around the city and bored without money. Gen. Kilpatrick has given orders to the provost marshal to let his men go where thay like as long as they behave themselves. we go where we please without passes.”

3/15/1864

“verry windy. it is getting to be poor business lying around here without money. went to Warner's Circus in the evening. the clown name is Kenedy.”

3/16/1864

“wind blows hard and it is verry cold. saddled up at twelve o'clock, started about one P.M. arrived at Fairfax about six and went into camp in the woods in sight of our old camp of a year ago. there are but few troops here. the old camp looks like a garden sowed with oats I was Copl. of Horse Guard.”

3/17/1864

“verry cold and windy. started this morning about nine o'clock. passed through Centerville, Manassas Junction, Bristow Station [and] Catlet Station. arrived at Warrento[wn] Junction about six o'clock and went into camp in the woods.”

3/18/1864

“started about nine o'clock, came through Bealdon & Brandy Station. camp at Stevensburg about 2 P.M. found four leters and a towel from home. am tired. 1,2,3,4.”

3/19/1864

“wrote home No. 6, wrote to Brother No. 1. verry windy. went on inspection at ten A.M. did not get through until three P.M. Received Rubber Coat by Express. received leter

from home No. 5 and one from Brother. drew rations. Pickets were relieved. I hear by one of my letters that Hellen is ick. I wish I was at home."

3/20/1864

"Sunday Inspection. worked most all day fixing up saddle and bridle and preparing for a moove. drew five days rations. we have had nothing to do, verry quiet. went and heard the Reverend C.C. Parker preach of Waterbury VT."

3/21/1864

"everything quiet today. recruits drilled dismounted. had horse shod. sent my discharge papers home by my and a cotton budd. preperations for a grandy army review."

3/22/1864

"got leter from home No. 6. verry cold. our pickets reieved both Lieutants on pickets. I was on fatigue duty, had charge of six men. got throug[h] about noon. verry cold and blustering at night. got leter from home. stayd in tent most of the time and kept comfortable."

3/23/1864

"snowed about six inches last night, pleasant today. wrote leter to Harvey's folks, gave them an account of the raid. got leter from Hub Eastman, he is in hospital at Yorktown. the ball is yet in his foot, he is no beter. Lieut. Stone got a leave of absence today for fifteen days, going to vermont."

3/24/1864

"verry pleasant. went to see my Brother. Lieut. Stone started for VT this morning. they are mooving all the sick back to Washington. everything looks like a moove. sent Hub Eastman's mail to him. went to bed with a headache."

3/25/1864

"wrote home No. 7. wrote to Hub Eastman, sent his shirt, paid thirty cents postage. cold in forenoon. commensed raining about three P.M. and hard all the rest of the day. snow is all gone and it is verry muddy. drew six days rations."

3/26/1864

"pleasant again this morning but windy. a detail of four men from our Co went on picket. monthly inspection by Major Drew. we are having an easy time laying in camp but it will come hard enough by and by. no news."

3/27/1864

"a verry nice day. went to the ambulance corps and got my hair cut. ground is dry as summer. everything is nice. birds are singing merily. Tom Bot a horse."

3/28/1864

“got letter from home No. 7. Company drill afternoon mounted. went to Brigade train. got a pound of candles for our tent and some rations [for] Lieut. Co G man walking with a barrel shirt for sassing Lieut. Stewart of Co G.”

3/29/1864

“cleand up for review. went out about noon but it commenced raining and we came back. I went on picket, Lieut. Trussel in command. I was on the alarm post. it is a verry rainy day. I have got four men so their duty is not hard.

3/30/1864

“it has stoped raining this morning, rained all night. it was a had night for pickets. today has been a long and disagreeable day. the rebs are drilling in squads in our view.”

3/31/1864

“got letter from home No. 8. was releived from picket to sign pay rools. got in camp at ten. got \$50 of the bounty and one month’s pay [of] \$24 to the 1st of March. dress parade at 4 P.M. Theatre this evening, many of the boys are going but it will not pay for me. Hinkley paid me \$12.50 for Hub Eastman.”

4/1/1864

“wrote home No. 8 but forgot to put on the Number. wrote to Hub Eastman, sent him 12.50 of Hinkley[‘s]. drilled in forenoon, rained in afternoon. bot some rubber gloves, sent 20 dollars home in a letter. date got got gold pen.”

4/2/1864

“rained all day. stayd in tent and read novels. it is getting quiet. we have the dryes camp that there is in the brigade. sutler came in with new goods.”

4/3/1864

“pleasant again. Sunday morning inspection. Chas. Brown from Brattleboro was here today, he is clerk in the 2ch Dept at Brandy Station. everything is dull and quiet. dress parade dismounted at night.”

4/4/1864

“drilled dismounted in forenoon, pickets relieved. commenced raining about eleven and rained hard all day. the wet season is upon us. Streeter is on picket and Tom and I are alone in tent. room plenty[ful].”

4/5/1864

“rained all day. drew rations. drew some turnips in plase of potatoes, the first we ever got. it rained all night last night. streams are verry high, no letter of home yet.”

4/6/1864

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“rained all nigh last night. cleared off this morning. drilled mounted this afternoon under Major Bennett (Regimental). wrote a leter to H.A. Shead for B. Barrett, inclosed for him thirty five dollars. no mail for me.”

4/7/1864

“pleasant. pickets releived. Brigade drill by Col. Preston. I was on camp guard. 7 men on releif, cpl. 1st releif. Lieut. Stone came back tonight, brought my photographs. got leter from home. good night to be on guard.”

4/8/1864

“went to Brandy Station. came back and found Alf and Jim Camard in camp. he he gave a pair of Martingels. bot two lbs Pickerel [for] 25 c[en]ts pr lb. I paide CP 4.50 for photographs.”

4/9/1864

“raind hard all day. stayd in tent most fo the time. wrote home home sent twenty dollars in the letter, treasury note No. 14693 date Feb 15, 1862. got leter from home and one from Hub Eastman. he has received my leters and the money I sent him for Hinkley. new canteen and p[air of] socks.”

4/10/1864

“Pickets releived. pleasant in forenoon, raind in afternoon. wrote leter to Hub Eastman. orders came to have everything ready to moove at a moment’s notice. no mail to night. got seven dollars ration money. Eddaumer arrest. cleaned and greased saddle.”

4/11/1864

“pleasant. we have no mail yesterday or today on account of the bridges being gone between here and Washington. Brigade drill. Co M detailed at 2nd Corps Hd. Qtrs.”

4/12/1864

“pleasant. drilled. wrote leter for Barrett to M.A. Sheekel. went to commissary, bot some potatoes and Bread. we have had no hay for our horses for more than a week, they are growing poor fast.”

4/13/1864

“verry warm and pleasant. pickets releived. Battalion drill forenoon and afternoon. got the news that Kilpatrick was releived by Gen. Wilson. drew more rations. drew carbines, the number of mine is 807.”

4/14/1864

“Pleasant. got leter from home. forwarded leter to Hub Eastman. mounted drill forenoon and afternoon. sutlers all getting ready to leave the army. got hay for horses.”

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4/15/1864

“on guard acting sergent. had thirty three men and three corprols and four prisoners. there was a brigade drill. wrote leter home No. 11. verry warm with sings of rain. saw Gen. Mead and Gen. Sedgwick.”

4/16/1864

“rained most all night last night. rainey day. relieved from guard at eight this morning. pickets relieved today. Gen. Kilpatrick took a parting leave of us in person today. he has command of Gen. Sherman’s cavalry.”

4/17/1864

“sunday morning inspection. wrote to A.J. Harve[y]. sent him seven dollars. sent for some photographs. pleasant day. dress parade at night dismounted. quit using tobacco.”

4/18/1864

“warm and pleasant. drilled dismounted with carbines in forenoon, mounted in afternoon. Col. Preston is in command and again we have got orders to moove everything tomorrow. Streeter is sick today.”

4/19/1864

“mooved camp to Mitchel’s Station, I was left back for guard. had charge of four men. had a verry lonesome time. teams came back about dark and loaded up but will not go til tomorrow. cold and windy. we hate to leave our old camp.”

4/20/1864

“started for the regt about eight this morning. was about two hours on the way. got leter from home No 12. worked all day fixing tent stockade with [the] boys. wrote home No. 11.”

4/21/1864

“warm and pleasant. this Division reviewed today by Gen. Sheriden. our camp is in a verry sightly plase. we are in sight of a rebel camp. I helped the sutler make beer in the afternoon.”

4/22/1864

“drilled in forenoon dismounted. the regt drilled mounted in the afternoon but I did not. I tended the sutler’s shanty becaus he was sick. I sold nearly thirty dollars worth of beer for him.”

4/23/1864

“got a letter from home & Delia No 13. very warm but windy. drill mounted in forenoon, skirmish drill under Major Bennett. policed grounds in afternoon. all extra luggage ordered to the rear.”

4/24/1864

“Brigade inspection by Gen. Custer took most all day. very warm. stayed at the sutler’s tent most all day. dress parade at night. rained at night. packing more stuff to sent to the rear.”

4/25/1864

“rained last night. had today monthly inspection by Maj. Drew. our regiment is reorganized, our Co is the first in the regt. we are the 1st Co, 1st regt, 1st Brigade, 1st Div, 1st Corps of cavalry. cloths washed. Jim Learnead came here today.”

4/26/1864

“drilled dismounted in forenoon, mounted in afternoon. got the news that we were transferred into the 3rd Division. Gen. Custer is going to Washington to try and get us back again.”

4/27/1864

“Lieut. Clark detailed at the ambulance corps. sent my overcoat back home today. Sergt. Wright carried it to Washington and will express it from Washington. I went to Brandy Station with him, came back and found the regt had started to move to Stevensburg. I followed, went into camp on the hill.”

4/28/1864

“in the old Division again. very windy place were our camp is. our Company on the right of the regt. I went back to the old camp after stuff that was left. gave my note to Tom E. Pierce for forty five dollars money to buy a horse. got my pen holder.”

4/29/1864

“drilled afternoon mounted. warm. bought horse saddle & bridle, paid forty five dollars. wrote home No. 12. got letter from home No. 14. Jim Learnerd came to see me.”

4/30/1864

“warm. on guard acting sergeant. guard has twenty six men and three corporals.ustered for pay for March and April. My Brother and Sergt. French called to see me. we are under strict discipline. Darwin Wright came back tonight from Washington.”

5/1/1864

“sunday morning inspection. relieved from guard. went to see Brother. Col. Sawyer resigned and started for home today. Dan Foster came over to see me. Dress parade at night, very fine day. Gen. Wilson visited camp, he is a “Posey”.”

5/2/1864

“on police today. Brigade review by Gen. Wilson. thunder showers at night and a Hurricane that lasted about half an hour. very terrific, tore down everything in its way.”

5/3/1864

“windy. drew cap. drilled mounted in afternoon. pickets relieved. everything looks like a moove. sold saddle for five dollars. got letter from Harvey’s folks.”

5/4/1864

“Army of [the] Potomac mooved last night. our division crossed Gemana ford about daylight. marched about ten miles during the day but found no body of the enemy. camped near Chancellorsville. very pleasant. strong picket & guard.”

-from memoranda

“we packed up eveything last night and broke camp. started out at twelve at night, our Brigade in advance of the army. crossed the Rapidan at Germania Ford about daylight. drove the enemy pickets away. marching along the plank road about eight miles where our skirmishers found the rebs in force. a strong picket was sent out and we encamped for the night.

5/5/1864

“started this morning at daylight. marched about five miles and found the Rebs. our regiment deployed as skirmishers. had a smart fight, drove them about a mile then they drove us and I was taken prisoner.”

-from memoranda

“this morning took our breakfast before daylight and mooved forward, our regiment in the advance. we took a road to the left and parallel with the plank road. we advanced about five miles when we came upon the rebel skirmish line. our regt was nearly all dismounted and sent on the skirmish line. about twenty of our Co, myself among the rest, were sent mounted under command of Seargt. Bartleff to support the right of our skirmishers. we drove them back about a mile, our lines extending at right angles with the road. the country here is completely covered with wood and a thick underbrush. we held the ground for about two hours and were forced to fall back. our party of mounted men had to protect the right flank and give the dismounted me a chance to get to their horses. our mode of action was to draw up in a line and wait until they came upon us then give them a volley and fall back. this we repeated seven times with success but they gained upon us fast. when we got back to a small clearing we found our men flying in confusion and the rebs coming like hail. here we found Major Wells, he succeeded in ralying about a hundred men and formed them on to our squad and we charged with revolvers which checked them for a few minutes. so that many of our men got away by that means. I stood my ground firing my carbine as fast as I could load. I was about eight hundred yards from the road to the right. I had been in that position but a few minutes when the rebs charged again. on turning my horse around I found I was standing

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alone. I ran my horse as fast as I could but before I could get to the road at the corner of the woods I found myself in the midst of a squad of Rebel cavalry. two rufians of the 12th VA Cavalry came up to me and I gave them my arms. one took my hat, the other took my pocket book out of my pocket. in short they took everything that I had except this Diary and its contents which they did not find, it being in my brest pocket. I asked them to let me have some keepsakes of no value to them that were in my pocket book but [they] would give me nothing. General Rosser wrode up to me when I was giving up my arms and asked me how many men we had engaged. I told him I did not know but if he kept on in that road he would soon find out to his discomfort. I was then taken about a mile to the rear and delivered to the provost guard. there was about forty prisoners there, some of them wounded. four of co G were badly wounded and we left them at a house near by. Corporal Brainard was badly [wounded] in the groin. his cousin was mortaly [wounded] through the breast. Little of the same Co was lef[t] there badly wounded through the shoulder. about two o'clock we were started on foot, fifty four of us in number, for the rear. we reached Videresville, a distance of eleven miles about dark. on the road we met Gen. Longstreet's Corps. we were verry tired and hungry. we found a wagon train at that plase and drew a small handful of cracker crumbs. I devoured mine quickly and camped for the night."

5/6/1864

"marched from Lidersville to Orange Court House. the sun was verry hot. we arrived about noon, [a] distance [of] eleven miles. drew rations [of] hardtack and bacon. during the afternoon & evening more prisoners arrived making in all of our squad two hundred fifty."

-from memoranda

"on looking around this morning I find that fifty more of our men are here, [they] came in during the night. I also find that there are some of my regiment besides myself: thre[e] from A, two from B, two [from] D, two from F. Tuttle of my Co is badly wounded in the arm above the elbow there are hundreds of the rebel's wounded scattered all along the road. we took an early start with nothing to eat and arrived at Orang Court House about two o'clock. there is one continuous train of wounded coming to this plase. we were put into the Court House Yard with a strong guard around. our names were registered and we drew four crackers and about four ounces of bacon. the people here are verry insolent and insulting to us. there is about a thousand rebel deserters here in a gang. they keep them at work, some wear balls and chains, some have pieces of railroad iron chained to them. sometimes two or three are chained together. so mutch for southern shivalry. soon after dark there was about a hundred and fifty more prisoners come in."

5/7/1684

"were all on board of the carrs at four o'clock this morning. started for Gordonsville. there we were all sarched and our names registered. almost everything was taken from us. we drew another day's rations but the men were so hungry that they I did not get any. during the night three hundred more prisoners arrived."

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-from memoranda

“we were all put on board of freight carrs this morning at three o’clock for gordonsville with a long train of wounded. when we arrived we were marched through the town into a open field where we were taken one at a time and our pockets and luggage searched, our money and everything taken. some of the men had been beter treated than I and had been permitted by their captors to fetch everything with them but now everything was taken from them except a woolen blanket and a shirt if they had such. all Rubber goods & shelter tents, writing paper and such things were taken. all the watches that were taken were returned, so were small pocket knives. we had some crackers issued to us but few got them. the men were so near starved that they went in like ravenous wolves. here is where I can see human nature in its true light. the men with brussels on their backs got crakers, the smoothbacks got none. I was one of the smoothbacks this time. there are but few guards around us and they are horrid sick of the war. during the night four or five hundred more prisoners arrived. these men did not get here in season to be robbed by the provost marshal. several trains of wounded have passed through here today. I wrote a leter and sent to my wife unsealed two envelopes. one was directed [to] Capt. Hatch, commissioner of exchange at Richmond VA.”

5/8/1864

“no rations for me. paid a dollar for a small piece of pie and the same for a piece of corn cake. wrote a leter home. took the carrs for Lynchburg down near Charlotsville and some were left on the way under guard.”

-from memoranda

“we can hear nothing reliable from the front. about two o’clock this afternoon we were put on board of freight carrs and started for Lynchburg. I don’t know the distance. we passed through sharlotts ville which is a beautiful city. vegetation is as farr advanced here now [as] is it usually is in Vermont in the middle of June. a few miles below Sharlotts ville our Engine gave out and part of the train was left with part of the guard.”

5/9/1864

“arrived at Lynchburg this morning about three o’clock. went to camp about one mile south of the city. we are under a strong guard of infantry and artillery. there was about ten hundre prisoners here when we arrived, our squad making about fifteen hundred. we drew more hardtack and bacon.”

-from memoranda

“those of us that came on arrived at Lynchburg about three o’clock this morning and were marched through the city. camped about one mile south of the city by the side of a stream of water in a low plase hemed in by high hills. we are guarded by the malitia; they are composed of the blind, the halt lame and the fools of the country. they have got some old guns planted on the hill north of us and I suppose we should get some canister if we should rebell. there was about one thousand prisoners here before we came. we were nearly starved in the afternoon. we drew five crackers a piece and four ounces bacon. this is to be our daily allowance while we are here. it will just keep us from starving; many is the time I have eat[en] four times the amount at one meal.”

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5/10/1864

“some more prisoners came today, I don’t know how many. washed cloths and myself. drew five more hardtack and a little piece of bacon. that is our rations for each day. we hear nothing reliable from the front.”

-from memoranda

“it is verry hot weather, the sun burns severly. the malitia are verry strict with us. some more prisoners came today, I don’t now how many. drew our five hard tack and the bacon. have got rested a little.”

5/11/1864

“this morning eleven hundred of us were taken out and put on boa[r]d of the carrs for Danville, a distance of a hundred and twenty five miles without rations. started about two o’clock.”

-from memoranda

“today eleven hundred of us were taken out and marched to the depot. there waited about two hours for the carrs. we had a chance to buy some bread for two dollar pr loaf. the loaves would not weight one half pound. I bot one loaf for two of us. at two o’clock we were put on b[o]ard of freight carrs without rations except the bread we bought for Danville, a distance by railroad of one hundred and thirty miles. we rode until night and stoped at a station where we were shut into the carrs for the night to rest as best we could. some of us had to stand up through the night.”

5/12/1864

“rode as far as grand junction last night then stoped until 12 A.M. today then wrode all [day] until night then stoped for the night at a station twenty two miles from danville. we had to stay in the carrs all night. sixty of us in a common freight carr. we are nearly starved and cramped to death for soon it rained nearly all day.”

-from memoranda

“this morning we were let out to get water and take the air. we staid around as we liked until noon when we were again got under motion. it rained all the afternoon. at night we again stoped at a station, 22 miles from Danville. we were again shut into the carrs almost in a starving condition and we are to cramp ourselves up for the night on the space of one foot square.

5/13/1864

“cleared off this morning. started at ten o’clock. last night was one of the most miserable that I ever passed. arrived at Danville about half past twelve o’clock. drew a day’s ration, more than we have drawn before since we were prisoners: half loaf corn bread, some boild bacon and rice soups for dinner.”

-from memoranda

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“pleasant again this morning. last night was a hard one for me. I can hardly walk, I am so weak and lame. this is a hard looking lot of men. started about ten o’clock, arrived at Danville half past twelve. we were taken to the north end of the town and put into a three story brick building. there are six hundred of us quartered here. I am on the first floor that is occupied, there are two hundred and fifty of us on this floor. a seargeant of the 1st Maryland regt is sargeant of the house and Seargeant Ellis of the 46th NY is seargeant of our floor. each floor is divided into squads of twenty with a seargeant to each squad. Seargt. Chapin has charge of the squad that I belong to. we draw our rations every day which consists of one half loaf corn bread, ¼ lb boild bacon and about ¾ of a pint of rice soup. our rations are of a verry inferior quality but the quantity is sufficient as we have no labor to perform. water is not plenty[ful] and [of] poor quality. we get it out of the river Dan, brought in pails by a detail from our men under guard and put into barrels, one being plased on each floor for the purpose. there is a detail [that] goes twice each day for water but we get short every time. it is hard work to get a chanc to wash every day. we are closely guarded, if a man puts his head out of the window he gets a ball though it.”

5/14/1864

“verry long day. showery. the rebel malitia are all mustering, getting their rations of meal and Bacon. I guess there is trouble somewhere. we are closely confined. water is scarce. some more prisoners came today.”

-from memoranda

“we have two rool calls a day, it is done by our all getting into four ranks and being counted by the officer in command. there are several buildings in this vicinity of the same description as this, they are also filled with prisoners with guards around each building. I think these buildings were built for tobacco factories. this afternoon the malitia are mustering and collecting in the yard to the number of about two hundred. they are composed of the old men and young boys. this is no doubt the last that can be raised in this vicinity. they are drawing rations of meal and bacon. it looks to us though they were needed at the front, probably Richmond is in danger. we can get no news from the front, the rebs tell us nothing. there is one allowed to come in here with things to sell. tobacco is about the same as we have to pay our sutlers. playing cards he sells for eighteen dollars pr pack confederate or ten dollars in greenbacks. everything on the route that we have come looks as though the confederacy was on its last legs, everything seems to be strained all that it will bear.”

5/15/1864

“showery today. everything goes on, today the same as yesterday. I had a moovement of the bowels, the first I have had since the fifth of this [month]. there is talk of us leaving this plase tomorrow. time seems long to us here, nothing to read.”

5/16/1864

“pleasant. Tuttle has gone to the hospital with the rest of the wounded this afternoon. the major informs us that we are going to start for Georgia tomorrow morn. we have drawn our rations for tomorrow. we shal walk [at] four A.M.”

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5/17/1864

“picked up for a start four this morning. started on the carrs at eight, rode thirty miles then had to walk six to connect with the railroad. about three o’clock arrived at Guilford station and camped for the night.”

-from memoranda

“this morning at four o’clock we were ordered to get ready to leave. we were put in freight carrs, some on top and some on the inside, sixty to each carr under our old guard that came with us from Lynchburg commanded by a captain of a Florida regt. he is a fine man and the guards are good. we started at eight, wrode thirty five miles then walked six to connect with the other end of the railroad. this is a new good railroad nearly completed which connects Danville with Greensboro, a distance of forty eight miles. our walk brought us to guillones station NC where we camped for the night.”

5/18/1864

“started about two ten. I rode on the outside of the carr. passed through several pretty towns after we started from Greensboro. we wrode verry fast. drew a loaf of bread at salsburg. arrived at sharlotte about twelve at night. drew two days rations of flour and bacon.”

-from memoranda

“this morning at ten we were again loaded onto the carrs. arrived at Greensboro abouty twelve o’clock. it is a prety town, looks like a city in the woods. we passed some verry pretty towns. we passed through Jamestown, Thomasville, Highpoint and a residence station, Linwood through Lexington and Lolsbury. this is a business plase, extensive government works and railroad shaks. there we drew a small loaf of wheat bread, arrived at Charlotte at twelve at night where we drew rations of flour. got off the carrs and camped by the side of the road.”

5/19/1864

“baked out flour on stones this forenoon, mad[e] a great waste of it. started at four o’clock, crossed the line into South Carolina about five. wrode in inside, sixty in a carr, a hard night’s job. it rained a little.”

-from memoranda

“we baked our flour on stones, mixing it up as best we could but we could not help wasting a great deal for want of cooking utencils. wenches were plenty[ful] with little small biscuits to sell at three dollars pr dozen, the smallest sized green onions at one dollar pr dozen. started at four o’clock, crossed the line into South Carolina about five. we had to wride on the inside of the carrs during the night. it is small room, sixty men in a common freight carr with no seats.”

5/20/1864

“arrived at Columbia at daylight, a hundred and ten miles from Charlotte. stayd until twelve then started. we passed through miles of swamp. verry strait road. passed the georgia line about 12 o’clock.”

-from memoranda

“at daylight this morning we arived at Columbia SC where we changed carrs, stayd there until twelve o’clock. we passed through miles of swamp which were filled with a great variety of trees, plants and flowers that were new to me. the air was fragrent with the scent of bog flowers. the sycamores and magnolia trees loomed up like giants. ocasionaly I saw a palmetto tree. these swamps are inhabited by aligators and other animals of the sort. bamboo was plenty[ful] (a good chance to get a fish[ing] pole). passed into Georgia about twelve at night.”

5/21/1864

“arrived in Augusta GA about three this morning. were turned over to new guards, they were all boys except the officers. we were kept verry close all the time. drew good rations of crakers for one day. started about three o’clock. did not have a chance to see mutch of the camp.”

-from memoranda

“arrived at Augusta about daylight where our old guard left us. we were put into [the] charge of the Augusta reserves. they are all boys under eighteen years of age except their officers. we were now all kept inside the carrs. kept in close confinement, we suffered for lack of water and air, it being verry hot weather and we could have only one door of the carr open. we drew a good day’s ration of hard bread and a little bacon. had no chance to see the country, left at three o’clock.”

5/22/1864

“arrived at Macon about daylight, one of the guards fell off the carrs and was killed. arrived at Andersonville about noon. this was our destination. I will give a description of the plase and its ocupants in the memorandum. drew rations of corn bread and bacon.”

-from memoranda

“arrived at Macon at daylight. one of the guards fell off the carr and was killed. we arrived at Andersonville about noon. this is the end of our journey for the present. here we are counted off into detachments of two hundred and seventy and into messes of ninty with a seargeant in charge of each to draw rations and assemble for rool call. we are put in the stockade where there are about thirteen thousand prisoners. there is about ten acres of ground enclosed a stockade which is made of hewn pine logs set in the ground like fence posts standing about fifteen feet out of the ground. the timbers are about eight or ten inches through. there is a sentry box that comes up above the top of the stockade about twenty feet from and on the inside of the stockade is a railing which is called the dead line. if a man gets outside of this rail he is shot without any warning by the sentry. across the camp the ground is swamp & several rods each side of the stream so that there

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is nearly half an acre of ground that is used for a sink and for gambling. this is the most filthy, nasty patch of ground that I have ever beheld. the ground rises each way from the stream so that the ends of the camp are thirty to forty feet higher than the centre. the camp is nearly square but a little longset from north to south. there are two gates on the west side through which our rations are drawn by a mule team. our rations consist of about three ounces boiled bacon and from one third to three fourths of a loaf of cornbread per day and occasionally a spoonful or two of rice or half cooked mush. they are cooked by a detail from the prisoners in a building made for the purpose just outside the stockade. we are divided into detachments of two hundred and fifty, each detachment divided into three messes, ninety in each with a sergeant in charge of each to draw rations and call the roll. Sergt. English of the 14th NJ has charge of the mess that I belong [to]. I am in the fifty-first detachment, second mess. I think that all the prisoners that they have got are here, some of them have been prisoners nine months or more. many of them came here from Dell Island and Libby Prison. some of them are almost naked and seem to have forgot that they are human beings. they lie around in the sand like dogs, eat their corn doger and scratch. there are but a few that are naked but many that have nothing but a shirt, some an old pair of drawers, some have an old overcoat thrown over their shoulders to cover their nakedness. they have been here so long that they are nothing but skin and bones. they are discouraged and have grown to be almost Idiots. they never wash, have no cover and live like hogs. there is another class here that are gamblers and what we call raiders. they are our city roughs, burglars, robbers, thieves, jewes and bounty jumpers. here they play all sorts of games of cards and dice, sit in the hot sun all day with their monty bank on the sweat board, taking what money they can get. some have made small fortune[s] speculating, buying bean soup, tobacco and such stuff of the guards and selling it again to the prisoners. we get a piece of black soap about an inch square for twenty five cents greenbacks or one dollar confederate money, corn meal one dollar and twenty five cents per quart, other things in proportion. there is another class here that is interprising and respectable. such men are good soldiers. the raiders go in gangs and charge on tents and when the occupants are asleep and rob the rations, blankets and everything they can get.”

5/23/1864

“have been looking around today. found several boys from our regt. Norman Morris is here, [he] was captured last November. this is an awful plase, it beggars description.”

5/24/1864

“more prisoners came here today. there must be here now over fifteen thousand men here, some have been prisoner more than a year but they hardly look like human beings. my prayer is to be delivered from this hell of torment.”

5/25/1864

“verry hot weather. had a thunder shower last night. more prisoners arrived this afternoon, I should [think] about eight hundred. some were captured as late as the twelveth of this month. they bring good news from the front. everything works well.”

5/26/1864

“the Rebs are getting scared. they think that we are going to make a break and I guess afraid that our forces will make a raid and recapture us. they have issued big orders to us.”

5/27/1864

“the rebs are trenching all around inside of the stockade to find tunnels. they have got reenforcements and got them all in line around the camp. I tried to sent a leter but could not. all sorts of rumors are afloat.”

5/28/1864

“mooved to the other side of the brook to bunk with Fred of Co C. he has been here eight months. a few more prisoners came in today, their reports are favorable. our rations are verry small.”

5/29/1864

“I am weak and nearly sick. spent my last three dollars for a quart of beans. prisoners are dying at the rate of twenty five per day. eight or ten hundred more prisoners today.”

5/30/1864

“our rations are getting shorter. today we got not more than two ounces of meat and one third loaf of bread and the loafes are smaller. more prisoners come in today. there must be about eighteen thousand of us here now.”

5/31/1864

“drew meal today in place of bread. got about a small teaspoonful of salt. if we can get as mutch meal every day we shall have plenty to eat. [speculators] are plenty[ful], meal [sells for] forty cts pr qt, beans [for] fifty cts pr qt.”

6/1/1864

“sick today, in great pain. have gotten a severe cold and [it] settled all over me. heavy thunder shower at night, got wet.”

6/2/1864

“had a hard night last night but am beter today. bad head ache, can hardly walk witho[ut] cane. thunder showers at night.”

6/3/1864

“beter today, able to go to rool call but it was hard work. prisoners coming in every day. Tuttle came in from Danville, his wound is doing well. another hard shower tonight.”

6/4/1864

“rainey day. plenty vegetables in camp for sale. cabages three dollars a piece, turnips & beets & m all one dollar a piece. green peas one dollar pr dozen. salt twenty five cents for two spoonfuls.”

See collection description at vermonthistory.org/documents/findaid/crosby.pdf

See *Vermont History* article at vermonthistory.org/journal/76/VHS760102_19-45.pdf

Transcriptions by Patrick Gallagher, 2005-2006

From the collections of Vermont Historical Society, Barre, VT 05641-4209

6/5/1864

“just a month today since I was captured. there is great talk in the camp of an exchange or parool verry soon. they drew new rations on this side of the brook this week. Norman mooved up with us, hand and Tuttle together.”

6/6/1864

“our detachment drew cooked rations this week. it is verry hot and showery. blak peper twenty five cts for a teaspoonful unground. rice seventy cents pr pint. these prices are for greenbacks, confederate money is four for one.”

6/7/1864

“more prisoners. Cook, Patrick, Spaulding and Cunningham of our Co came in. they were taken on the raid [of] the first of march. they have been to Richmond since. showers at night.”

6/8/1864

“a verry hot day. more prisoners. washed cloths and body. I cannot stand the hot sun, have to stay in the shade; it makes my head ache and dizey. drew verry small rations. did not get them til after dark.”

6/9/1864

“showers. men are dying at the rate of sixty every twenty four hours, mostly of scurvy and diareah. thousands have not even a blanket for a cover. water is poor and dirty. fighting occurs several times a day, alas for human depravity.”

6/10/1864

“every day is verry hot. this is the first day of the month that we have not had a shower. if our government lets us remain here through summer I have verry little hope of of ever seeing home again.”

6/11/1864

“not many prisoners coming in the past few days. I have been looking around and find over sixty men of our regt here: A 6, B 12, C 2, D 5, F 8, G 4, H 10, I 11, K 2, L 1, M 5. there must be more than I do not know of. men are dying verry fast. here are the horrors of war. thunder showers all night.”

6/12/1864

“I should write to my folks, but I have got no envelope or stamp and I can get none. I have not much faith that a leter would go to our lines. we drew for today’s ration one pint boild rice and a small piece of bacon. cook came over to bunk with us. rained at night.”

6/13/1864

“cold rainy day. rained all night. Cook went back today, he thinks there is not [enough] room. great excitement in camp about being paroled. report that the officers already paroled. rations [the] same as yesterday.”

6/14/1864

“cold and rainy. the camp is getting muddy. the rheumatis bothers me a good deal. Tuttle is verry hard up. the rebs found an other tunnel today. drew bread and meat again today. many are making their escape and the guards go with them.”

6/15/1864

“over a hundred died in the last twenty four hours out of the hospital and camp. this storm kills many. about a thousand more prisoners came in today. stormy but warmer. drew bread. I have got the Rheumatis to that I can hardly walk.”

6/16/1864

“storming. more prisoners, among them Barnes, Taylor, Carrol, Pierce, Donehue and Witt of our Co. they were captured [on] the first of June. I am no beter today. this is bad weather.”

6/17/1864

“another rainy day. our boys that came in yesterday report that Lieut. Stone was a prisoner, Bartteff kileld, McCarthy, Hashel, Smith and several others of our Co wounded & prisoner and more were wounded and not prisoners. Col. Preston killed.”

6/18/1864

“It was a verry rainy night last night and the same today. I have so mutch pain in my hips and legs that I can sleep but little at night. the time seems verry long to me. more prisoners today.”

6/19/1864

“Showery today. I am sick, have got the diarhea and the rheumatis. went to the Doctor, got six pills and a powder. more prisoners. drew rice. my apetite is poor, I feel hard.”

6/20/1864

“hot and showery. no roll call. me medicine did not do mutch good. I could not get my medicine today becaus I was not able to go to the Dr. many are dying. it seems as though I could not die without seeing my folks once more.”

6/21/1864

“a little rain. a fiw more prisoners today from the south south west. we have had no roll call for two days. I suppose it is becaus there is not room. I am a little beter today. went to the Dr. and got more medicine, the same as before.”

6/22/1864

“no rain nor prisoners today. I am feeling beter than for several days before. stories are numerous that we are going to be parolled soon. our rations are varied from bread to mush, from mush to rice.”

6/23/1864

“verry warm. a few prisoner came in today. the rebs found another tunnel today. the camp is full but they don’t amount to mutch. the rheumatis have left me but the diareah sticks to me. yet a great deal of talk about a paroll soon.”

6/24/1864

“verry warm. Bailey gave me some Blakberry root for my diareah. I am verry weak and growing weaker every day. I cannot eat my rations, they are not fit for a well man. a few more prisoners today, some are drawing fresh meat.”

6/25/1864

“I am some beter today. sold my yesterday and day before’s meat and bot flour. made some cakes. we drew meal today and fresh beef. I intend to have a good breakfast in the morning.”

6/26/1864

“verry warm. the raiders are getting to be verry bold. they take the new comers and take everything away from them, murder some in a horrible manner. there is an organized band of them of probably more than two hundred. they are city roughs, house breakers and pickpockets. several efforts have been made to put them down but to no effect. prisoners coming in every day. no news that is reliable.”

6/27/1864

space overwritten by 6/26/1864 entry

6/28/1864

“thunder shower today. my detachment draws new rations now for the present. it consists of one qt meal, three fourths lb beef or three ounces bacon, [a] teaspoonful [of] salt for a day’s ration.”

6/29/1864

“the rebs have commenced today to help us get rid of the raiders. they have arrested a large lot of men and have not got through yet. the[y] are puting an adition of ten acres onto our enclosure which will be done in a few days.”

6/30/1864

“verry hot. Corpl. Cook is quite sick with the diareah. they [are] at the raiders again today. they got a jeury of twelve sergts of our men to try their cases. the charges, evidence and sentinc will [be] sent to our government for approval. today finishes the first half of the year.”

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7/1/1864

“the stockade is finished and all the detachments above the forty eighth moved in. Tuttle and I came. things look hard. we have a pint cup between us to do our cooking and everything else.”

7/2/1864

“put up blanket. we drew new rations. nothing to cook in and it is hard to borrow. we hear that five of the raiders are sentenced to be hung. our new camp is nearly as crowded as the old one. water is a good ways off and poor.”

7/3/1864

“drew no rations today. today Baker of the 11th VA came to tent with us, he belongs to 10th detach & 3rd mess. he has got a three pint cup, a half canteen, spoon and blanket. now we can cook out rations if we can get wood. he is a godsend to us.”

7/4/1864

“this day was not spent much like a day of independence but like a day in a bull pen. we had a small shower in the afternoon. it is a hard look for prisoners.”

7/5/1864

“two months since I was captured. the sun is burning hot. I have got a bad cold and a hard diareah. we draw fresh beef and cornmeal most of the time. Bennett is 74-1, Tuttle is 50-2, Cook is 52-1, Taylor is 62- , I am 25-2. the camp has been reorganized and numbered new.”

7/6/1864

“a few more prisoners today. my cold is bad. today we drew meal, bacon and about three spoonfuls of vinegar. it is the first we have drawn. it is made of sour cornmeal, poor substitute for real vinegar. roll call is reestablished.”

7/7/1864

“Eleven men of our regt came in yesterday, Serjt. Pop of Co C among the rest. we have over a hundred from our regt here now. shower at night. traded meat for wood to cook with.”

7/8/1864

forty more of our regt came in today captured 25 of June at Stoney Creek, Darwin Wright among the rest. he says that my wife received the letter I wrote at Gordonsville, that is good news. there was none come in from my company.”

7/9/1864

“our boys that came in yesterday are destitute of everything. no blankets. our meat is very poor. we get more meal than we can eat. the weather is very hot. we have meetings every evening, commenced last night. I don't know the preacher's name. thunder showers.”

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7/10/1864

“verry hot. more prisoners, a few few from out regiment, Ingraham of our Co among the rest. my health is beter. the meetings that we are having will be of great benefit to the camp.”

7/11/1864

“thunder shower at night. extremely hot. more prisoners. six of the raiders were hung at five o’clock. they were proven guilty of murder, tried, sentenced and hung by our men with the sanction of the rebels inside of our camp. they were all hung at once. the rope broke with one but he was soon put back up again.”

7/12/1864

“hot as usual. more prisoners today. the men that were hung yesterday protested their innocence to the last. they were a hard lot of men and richly merrited their punishment. I do not know their names or regiments.”

7/13/1864

“this morning I found Everet Aldin of the fourth VT. he is 1st Sergt. of Co F, 20 of his Co came with him. his detach is 107+2. the weather is extremely hot.”

7/14/1864

“Bathrick went to the hospital yesterday. Francis Drew of Co F died in his quarters of diareah [on] the eight of this month. I have got a verry bad cold and sore throat. my diareah has stoped. we draw all our rations raw, wood is scarce.”

7/15/1864

“verry hot. a few prisoners came in from Sherman’s army. they report that the rebs are clearing everything out of Atlanta. there are petitions getting up to send to the different States praying for an exchange or release from prison.”

7/16/1864

“verry hot. Sergt. English of my mess was buried in a tunnel by the dirt caving in. he had to dig out about five feet outside the stockade and the guards helped him out. he was put in the stoks [for] 12 hours.”

7/17/1864

“verry hot. drew molasses in the plase of meat today. this is the first sweet that I have tasted since I was captured [on] the fifth of May. it appears that the rebs are out of meat.”

7/18/1864

“mass meeting in the camp to see about sending a petttion to our government for our releas from prison. shower at night. rations come late tonight, they came in on the train today. the confederacy is hard up.”

7/19/1864

“hot as usual. got a little wood today. it is just in time to keep us from eating out rations raw. Siders died this morning, he is the first from my mess that has died.”

7/20/1864

“the rebs have been building earth works all day and several trains have arrived loaded with comhall malitia. there is a scare somewhere, probably a raid. several more tunnels have been discovered today.”

7/21/1864

“more tunnels found today. extreme[ly] hot. Tuttle died verry suddenly of heart disease. he died not speak nor struggle [but] died almost instantly. I have taken his minurtures and keepsakes, shal try and send them to his folks. the rebs ar at work on earth works yet. drew molases.”

7/22/1864

“wrote home and to Mrs. Tuttle. rebs at work. yet more prisoners came in today, a few from our regt. they were most all captured on Wilson’s raid [of the] 21st of June.”

7/23/1864

“Ferry and I finished our oven today. the weather is quite cool today and comfortable. men are dying verry fast in camp. it seems barbarous for our gov[ern]m[en]t to let us stay here and die as we are now doing.”

7/24/1864

“cool last night, I was verry cold. these cool nights and hot days are killing men that have no covering. there are thousands in camp that have no blanket and no kind of covering of any sort.”

7/25/1864

“anothe[r] cold night last night. it is warm today. we drew rice yesterday and fresh meat today; we got bacon again. rice in plase of meal, it is a good thing for our health.”

7/26/1864

“the rebs are yet fortifying. they are geting some formidable forts. four prisoners came in today. we have sold meat from our rations and bot a water bucket, paid 1.25 for it. a light shower at night, warme[r] than last night.”

7/27/1864

“about five hundred more prisoners came in today but I have heard no news that they have brought. the diareah troubles me badly and my apetite is verry poor. the weather is changeable and badd.”

7/28/1864

“seventeen hundred more prisoners today from Sherman’s army. Segt. Bailey of Co H died last night in the hospital. a smart shower in the afternoon. a shell fired over the camp.”

7/29/1864

“showery. a few more prisoners from Sherman’s army. I am verry weak and nearly sick. the stockade is getting nearly as crowded as it was before the adition was put on. our cup is spoiled so that we [have] nothing to cook in but a half canteen.”

7/30/1864

“I have plenty of time but nothing to do write. to write thoughts as they occur would look silly to myself and others as they are trifling. verry hot.”

7/31/1864

“to[day] Ferry and I heated our oven for the first [time]. we burned nearly all our wood but the oven was so wet that our bread did not bake any. this is a bad goe.”

8/1/1864

“great talk of a parole soon. the whole camp is excited but I am afraid that it is a hoax. they are taking the sick out fast. I don’t know where they are puting them.”

8/2/1864

“the sick are yet going out. some say they are paroling them but I think they [are] mooving them to a hospital somewhere. a verry heavy shower this afternoon, it came down in torrents.”

8/3/1864

“I think this is the hottest day we have ever had yet. we are drawing Rice nowadays in plase of meal. my health is beter than it has been for a long time.”

8/4/1864

“verry hot. I am entirely out of wood. this comering a man close, raw rations and no wood. we drew a piece of green pine four feet long and an inch and a half square for three days’ rations of wood.”

8/5/1864

“verry hot. drew fresh beef in plase of pork, traded mine for wood. a ration of beef sels for about thirty cents. pork used to sell for twenty five but not it [is] worth only five cents a ration, it is poor at that. three months today since I was captured.”

8/6/1864

“verry hot. we have had no rool call for two days on account of the taking out of the sick.”

8/7/1864

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“no news. nothing worth writing. verry hot.”

8/8/1864

“a verry hard shower in afternoon. we are drawing bread, fresh beef and Georgia beans for rations. nowadays we get verry small rations.”

8/9/1864

“another hard shower this afternoon. we do no get wood enough to half cook our rations.”

8/10/1864

“no pork drawn in camp. all fresh beef and small rations. mooved my quarters, bunk with Lunge of the VT 2nd. hardest shower that I ever saw.”

8/11/1864

“another hard shower today. stil continue to draw beans, beef and half rations of bread. Spaulding of our Co died today, 53-2.”

8/12/1864

“verry hot. no showers today. my health is a great deal beter than it has been. Lunge has got wood so that we can cook our rations.”

8/13/1864

“verry hot. big stories going around camp about a parool on the fifteenth but I guess it is all lies. our rations are verry small.”

8/14/1864

“hot as can be. went to see Witt, he is verry hard up. I am afraid he will never get out of the bull pen. many are confident of getting out of here tomorrow.”

8/15/1864

“this day has come but no signing of any parool. I am not disappointed.”

8/16/1864

“verry quiet in camp. a few prisoners coming in every day or two from Sherman’s army. the rebs are building barracks in camp; the work is all done by our men that are out on parool of honor. they are framed on the outside.”

8/17/1864

“verry hot. went to see Witt, he is verry sick. [I] am afraid he will never get out of here alive. I have no way to help him. we drew double rations of bread today by mistake.”

8/18/1864

“got some rice for Witt. Patrick Donohue of Co F died today the Hospital. I have been to see Ingraham, his detachment is.”

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8/19/1864

“shower at night. verry hot. Witt is beter. they are putting up barracks quite fast. they [are] in regular rebel style, a hundred and thirty feet long, four in bunk, three tiers of bunks. parayes on the outside. heads of bunks towards the centre.”

8/20/1864 - 9/2/1864

No entries made.

9/3/1864

“the reason that I have left this blank space in my diary is partly becaus I have had nothing worth writing and partly on account of having a fellon on by left thumb which has been verry painful. in the meantime everything has gone on as usual. stories of parool and exchange are plenty[ful]. I have passed many a sleepless night in the last two weeks on account of the felon on my thumb. I can get nothing from the surgeon here for it, all the medicine I can get is cornmeal and soup. I have had it lanced twice with a broken lance but it was premature. it seems as if I should go crazy. I cannot rest day or night. there is a report that we are going to be parooled immediately, few beleive it.”

9/4/1864 – 9/6/1864

Spaces written over by 9/3/1864 entry.

9/7/1864

“today seventeen detachments left the bull pen, the rebs say to Charlestown to be exchanged. my tent mate’s detachment has gone but Lunge was not able to go so he and I are left the tent alone.”

9/8/1864

“more detachments are leaving today but are not taking any sick. the rebs say they are shurly going to our lines. every one is alive and stirring.”

9/9/1864

“more detachments going out today. they are all confident that they are gong to our lines. there is a great deal of flanking. my thumb is verry painful, grows worse every day. I hardly know what I am doing.”

9/10/1864

“more going out today. we draw no meat and our rations are verry small but I guess we shal all get out soon. today my thumb has commenced to discharge and it feels easier.”

9/11/1864

“today at three o’clock my detachmt we ordered to moove. we went to the gate and layed in the sand all night. all is excitement. I am sorry to leave my chums behind.”

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9/12/1864

“this morning at daylight we were let out of the bull pen and we [were] put into freight carrs, sixty men in each carr with one forth pound bacon and half loaf corn bread. no man is allowed to step out of the carrs, if he does he gets shot.”

9/13/1864

“we wrode all night, passed griswoldville. saw the destruction of carrs and other things of Stoneman on his raid. passed through Augusta at daylight. the guards all say that we are going to our lines. I sold my boots which hurt my feet so that I cannot wear them. got six dollars and bought bread.”

9/14/1864

“six dollars got me bread enough for one meal. I was verry hungry. the sitizens say there is no exchange. arrived in Charlestown 3 this morn the travailed north. arrived at Florence 1 P.M. lay in the carrs all night.”

9/15/1864

“[at] five the rebels ordered us out of the carrs. we are naerly dead of hunger and suffocation. we lay in the hot sun until 3 P.M. then fel in line and marched two miles to an open field. it has been four days since we drew rations. this is indeed suffering for the Country.”

9/16/1864

“the sun is verry hot. I put up my blanket with Farley & Dennet of the 12[th] Mass. no rations today, several have died of stavation. God help us poor wretches, some are selling their clothing for food.”

9/17/1864

“drew a pint of meal this morning, the first rations we have drawn since we left Andersonville. no meat nor salt, nothing but meal.”

9/18/1864

“many have money to buy potatoes and such things but I have none. at dark tonight we drew a piece of corn bread, not enough for half a meal but I must make a sup[p]er and breakfast of it. they will starve us this time.”

9/19/1864

“drew [a] half pint meal and one fourth pound bacon [and a] half pint [of] peas. the nights are verry cold. sold my cup for a piece of tin to make a pail to cook my rations in. got a dollar in confed to boot.”

9/20/1864

“drew a pint of rice and one fourth pound bacon. Harper of the 12[th] Mass gave me a dollar to get the kettle made so that he could use it when I did not want it.”

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9/21/1864

“every man who can rais a dollar is speculating in rations. drew three fourth pint meal, some rice, half pint meal, one fourth pound bacon. this is beter, I can live if they will give me as mutch every day.”

9/22/1864

“they ahve come down on us. no rations to day. our men run away every day but are brought back in a day or two [later]. the country is full of swamps and full of rebel scouts and pickets picking up their own deserters.”

9/23/1864

“drew half pint meal, same of beans, no rice, one fourth pound bacon salt. heavy shower in forenoon. South Carolina is a Godforsaken hole.”

9/24/1864

“rations today are one fourth pound beef, one fourth pint meal, [one] fourth pint beans, three spoonfuls rice. confed money is worth only twenty cents on the dollar in greenbacks.”

9/25/1864

“rations today half pound beef, three fourths pint meal. sweet potatoes plenty[ful] in camp but I have no money to buy them. the rebs sell them to us for 25 dollars pr bushel confed or five dollars greenbacks.”

9/26/1864

“rations today half pint meal half pint of rice. a great deal of talk about parool and exchange but it amounts to verry little.

9/27/1864

“last night was verry cold, so cold that I could not sleep. our rations today are one fourth pint meal, one half pint peas [and] one half pound beef salt. Maynard came to tent with us today of the 12th Mass.”

9/28/1864

“our rations today are one half pint meal, four spoonfuls stock peas salt. starvation seems staring us in the face. we cannot live long on these rations. they fetch in men every day that have run away from camp.”

9/29/1864

“Reb officers in camp giving the oath of Allegiance to all who wish. about a hundred and fifty have taken it. our rations today are one fourth pint rice, five spoonfuls molasses [and a] piece [of] potatoe [the] size of a walnut.”

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9/30/1864

“it is reported that a thousand men from this camp have sent in their names yesterday & today to take the oath of Allegiance, curses upon them. rations [to]day one fourth pint meal, same of rice, four spoonfuls beans [and] one fourth pound Beef salt.”

10/1/1864

“Rations today less than a fourth pint meal, one hard tack, four spoonfuls molasses salt. rainy in the afternoon. sweet potatoes selling at five dollars pr bushel greenbacks, twenty five confed. I go to bed tonight verry hungry. I think of home & its comforts.”

10/2/1864

“this morning made a little gruel out of all the meal I had, three spoonfuls. 8 o'clock [we were] ordered to pack up, mooved about a mile to a stockade that has been prepared for us. starvation drove me to sell the ring that my wife gave me. I bot some meal & sweet potatoes. got a dollar for the ring.”

10/3/1864

“drew a pint of meal and three spoonfuls of molasses last night after dark. today we drew less than half a pint of flour and three ounces of beef. this stockade is similar to the one at Andersonville only there is plenty of wood and brush.”

10/4/1864

“I have written to my wife today for a box we expect to get it. [I] have directed as the Col. told me to. drew three fourths pint rice and three fourths pint flour, salt [and] five spoonfuls molasses. they are sending our prisoners from Charlestown here.”

10/5/1864

“five months today since I was taken prisoner. sent my leter today. drew three fourths pint Beans, half pint of meal [and a] fourth lb beef salt. prisoners from Chalrestown.”

10/6/1864

“today we had to pack up and moove to an other part of the camp nearer the gate. the No. of our detachment is altered from the 18th to the 13th. our rations today are a pint of peas, half pint of flour [and] six spoonfuls of molasses.”

10/7/1864

“the camp is now all layed out in streets and detachments in regular order. Maynard has left us and gone in with Harper. it was a rainy night last night but I did not get [wet]. drew a pint of rice and half pint of meal molasses.”

10/8/1864

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“prisoners come in from Chaleston every day. everything cheap in camp. our rations are getting beter. drew fourth pint rice, same [of] meal and beans & flour molasses.”

10/9/1864

“today drew a big pint of flour, half pint meal, no molasses nor meat. the weather is cold. I have got the diareah again, it runs me hard. a new Colonel took command of the camp today, I don’t know his name.”

10/10/1864

“Darwin Wright died today. I could not sleep last night on account of the cold. rations same as yesterday. I have mad[e] some shoes out of my old blouse sleeves, they save my feet from freezing. it is verry cold and I am verry poorly clad.”

10/11/1864

“drew a fourth pint of flour, fourth pint meal, some beans, no salt, molasses nor meat. we suffer for the want of meat. a cold night last night but warmer today.”

10/12/1864

“verry cold last night. a fellow came to tent with us by the name of Brown. he brings a blanket to put over us. no rations today. warm and pleasant but we are going to have a cold night. no roll call.”

10/13/1864

“drew fourth pt meal, same of beans, three fourth pt flour, eight spoonfuls molasses. my thumb is getting so I can use my hand a little but I have got two stone bruises coming in on my lef[t] foot. I am sorely afflicted.”

10/14/1864

“some are taking the oath of allegiance to the rebs almost every day. drew a pint of beans & three fourths pt meal. nothing else, salt is scarce.”

10/15/1864

“I think there must be nearly a thousand taking the oath today. we drew a pint of meal, same of beans and ten spoonfuls of verry poor watered molasses. I guess they have got done issuing meat to us.”

10/16/1864

“tore down our shanty and went to work building one of mud. my foot is verry sore, hard work to get around. drew three fourths pt meal, pint of beans salt. Brown is a deadbeat.”

10/17/1864

“did not work on shantie today. Brown went out and took the oath. no rations today.”

10/18/1864

“drew bean, flour and molasses and rice today. did not work today. found Lunge; he came in two or three days ago, has got well. my foot is verry sore. drew fresh beef today and salt.”

10/19/1864

“drew a pint of flour, a pint of beans, some good molasses [and] a pint of meal. Quimby came in to tent with us. worked on tent some. my foot is verry badd. the rebs are issueing blankets, five to the one hundred.”

10/20/1864

“drew some more good molasses, three fourths pt flour, half pt meal, half pt meal, some salt. lots of men are taking the oath, they are starved and froze to it.”

10/21/1864

“Prof Buckingham”

10/22/1864 – 12/13/1864

No entries written.

12/14/1864

“today they are examining again to take out the sick for parool. I am one of the lucky ones to get out. signed the parool papers and bid farewell to the bull pen.”

12/15/1864

“had a hard night last night, no blanket and verry cold. did not sleep any. at four o’clock P.M. got on board the carrs for Charleston, seventy in a carr.”

12/16/1864

“arrived at Charelston at 10 A.M. took the flag of truce boat, met the stars and stripes about 1 P.M. went about the steamer New York. this is a hapy day for us all. drew a suit of cloths.”

12/17/1864

“this morning we find ourselfs at beautiful DC. we are here for coal and rations. it took us all day to coal up. the inhabitants brought us apples and and tobacco. at night we ran to Hilton Head, there changed boats [and] went on to the Illinois.”

12/18/1864

“today is foggy and we lay around beaufort all day. time seems verry long. we have got good bunks to sleep in.”

12/19/1864

“this morning the fogg cleared away and we started on our way. good day. we go by steam and sail.”

See collection description at vermonthistory.org/documents/findaid/crosby.pdf

See *Vermont History* article at vermonthistory.org/journal/76/VHS760102_19-45.pdf

Transcriptions by Patrick Gallagher, 2005-2006

From the collections of Vermont Historical Society, Barre, VT 05641-4209

12/20/1864

“the sea is verry rough. a verry high wind. many are dying every [day]. one is sea sick.”

12/21/1864

“the wind blows so hard that me cannot stand on deck. calmer towards night.”

12/22/1864

“we are all getting sick. our bread is mouldy and [our] meat greasy.”

12/23/1864

“this morning we find ourselves at anapolis. about ten the steamer NY came in to take us ashore. drew a big ration of whiskey. verry cold. New England troops were all put in one building.”

12/24/1864

“we drew a suit of cloths complete last night, left our old ones. washed ourselves, were mustered for pay furloughs & I was sent with the sick to the Hospital, the rest to paroled camp.”

12/25/1864

“I think they have got a poor arrangement for sick men. wrote home.”

12/26/1864 – 12/31/1864

No entries written.