

SONS AND SOLDIERS: DEERFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS AND THE CIVIL WAR

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THE CIVIL WAR MONUMENT in the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts is inscribed as a memorial to the 42 "lamented sons and soldiers who for their country and for Freedom laid down their lives in the war of the Great Rebellion." These 42 were among the 303 individuals credited to Deerfield in the Union's war records, 167, or 55 percent, of whom were Deerfield's "sons"—men who resided in the town—and 136 of whom were "soldiers"—recruits hired from near and far to fill the town's quotas (see Table 1). The story of how these troops were raised, and of who they were, provides an instructive case study of one northern community's war experience. It is essentially a record of how the community accommodated its behavior to constant national demands. At the outset of the war, Deerfield accepted responsibility for inspiring self-sacrifice among its citizens. By the end, the town expressed its commitment to the Union by assuming a collective financial burden. For the most part, Deerfield's "sons" who went to war left home in 1861 and 1862. Starting in 1863, the town answered the Union's calls primarily with "soldiers" who were not Deerfield natives, but this shift occurred within the context of constant local patriotism.¹

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¹ Few historians have approached the Civil War from the point of view of a northern town's community experience. One exceptionally good model for this approach is Michael Frisch, *Town into City: Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Meaning of Community 1840-1880* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972). Chapter 3 addresses the local response to the war and its impact on the changing definition of community. "The Civil War," chapter 8 of Paul Jenkins's *The Conservative Rebel: A Social History of Greenfield, Massachusetts* (Greenfield: 1982), suggests a transition from enthusiasm to a mood that was "subdued," but does not offer any details of the town's response after 1863. Studies which provide insight into the later response are Richard H. Abbott, "Massachusetts and the Recruitment of Southern Negroes, 1863-65," *Civil War History*, 16 (September 1968): 197-210; Adrian Cook, *The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974); Hugh C. Earnhart, "Commutation: Democratic or Undemocratic?" *Civil War History* 12 (June 1966): 132-42; Peter Levine, "Draft Evasion in the North during the Civil War, 1863-1865," *Journal of American History* 67 (March 1981): 816-34; Eugene C. Murdock, *One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971); Arnold M. Shankin, *The Pennsylvania Anti-War Movement* (Cranby, New Jersey: As-

TABLE I
Deerfield "Sons" and "Soldiers" by Year of Enlistment

Year	SONS			SOLDIERS			TOTAL SONS AND SOLDIERS		
	No.	% of Total Enlistees for Year	% of Total Sons	No.	% of Total Enlistees for Year	% of Total Soldiers	No.	% of Total Who Served for Deerfield	
1861	49	65	29	26	35	19	75	25	
1862	80	82	48	18	18	13	98	32	
1863	17	50 ^o	10	17 ^o	50	13 ^o	34 ^o	11	
1864	13	30 ^{oo}	8	29 ^o	70 ^o	21 ^o	42 ^o	14	
1865	8	23 ^{oo}	5	26 ^o	77 ^o	15 ^o	34 ^o	11	
Unknown				20 ^o		19	20 ^o	7	
Total	167	55		136	45		303		

^o The totals and percentages of "soldiers" for 1863-65 are low because enlistment dates for these men could not be substantiated.

^{oo} These percentages are high because of the group of "soldiers" for whom enlistment year is unknown.

When the "Great Rebellion" began in 1861, Deerfield's population was approximately 3,073, an increase of 27 percent over 1850. Roughly 17 percent, or 510, of Deerfield's residents were men between the ages of twenty and forty-five, and therefore potentially eligible to serve in the Union army. Much of the population growth in this New England farming village resulted from the influx of native and immigrant laborers who came to work in the cutlery in Cheapside (the town's northern section), on the railroads, or in smaller industries such as wallet making in South Deerfield. In this essay Deerfield refers to the area covered by Old Deerfield, South Deerfield, and Cheapside, all of which shared one town government.²

Deerfield's first response to the war was enthusiastic. The *Greenfield Gazette and Courier* reported that patriotism in Deerfield was "universal and genuine." In April 1861, citizens burned an effigy of Jefferson Davis on the common and a thirty-four-gun salute was fired as the crowd cheered the Union. The month of May 1861 brought further public ceremonies and an agreement in a town meeting to spend \$1,600 for a militia company, \$1,200 for the support of volunteers, \$20 per man who enlisted, and \$10 per month for each volunteer in addition to his government pay. The total represented well over 10 percent of the town's expenditures for the year. While recruiting papers circulated, citizens raised a war banner in the center of town.³

sociated Press, Inc., 1974); Judith Lee Hallock, "The Role of Community in Civil War Desertion," *Civil War History* 29 (June 1983): 123-34.

² General information on Deerfield is compiled from George Sheldon, *A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts* (Greenfield, Massachusetts: E. A. Hall, 1896), and the excellent resources of the Historic Deerfield Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts. These include Historic Deerfield Summer Fellowship papers; of particular note for information on population are Stacey Flaherty, "Cheapside's Story" (1978), and Stacy Pomeroy, "A Fragile Community: The Irish in Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1850-80." Statistics and information on individuals referred to in this essay are compiled from *Finance Reports of the Town of Deerfield for 1862-63; 1863-64* (Greenfield: 1864, Manuscript Collections of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Deerfield, Massachusetts, hereafter, PVMA); *Greenfield Gazette and Courier*; "Rebellion Record: Complete Record of the Names of All the Soldiers and Officers in the Military Service and of All the Seamen and Officers in the Naval Service of the United States from the Town of Deerfield, Franklin County, Massachusetts, during the Rebellion Begun in 1861" (Town Office, South Deerfield, Massachusetts). The Records of the Provost Marshall General's Bureau (Civil War) (Record Group 10), National Archives, Washington, D. C., were an invaluable source. They include "Consolidated Lists of All Persons of Class I Subject to do Military Duty in the Ninth Congressional District, Counties of Franklin, Hampshire and Worcester, Massachusetts," June 1863, also Class II and Class III (hereafter referred to as enrollment lists); "Descriptive Books of Drafted Men and Substitutes," June to September 1863 and May 1864; "Record of Drafted Men Who Paid Commutation Money, July 1863 to June 1865"; "Record and Descriptive List of Volunteer Recruits Enlisted and Mustered into Service." Other sources are "Town Records," Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1847-1868 (microfilm Reel #3, Henry N. Flynt Memorial Library, Historic Deerfield, Deerfield, Massachusetts, hereafter cited as "Town Records"); U.S. Census Bureau, "Eighth Census of the U.S., Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1860."

³ *Greenfield Gazette and Courier*, vol. 24, no. 8, May 11, 1861, p. 3; vol. 24, no. 9, May 16, 1861, p. 2, hereafter referred to as *Gazette and Courier*. All volume and number ref-

In June, three Deerfield residents left with the Greenfield and Shelburne Falls Company. In July, after the Battle of Bull Run had dispelled hopes of a quick Union victory, thirteen Deerfield "sons" left with the Tenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. Among them were Dwight C. Pervere, a twenty-eight-year-old farmer with two children, and his brother, Horace Pervere, a thirty-seven-year-old married farmer. In September, twenty-year-old Rufus and twenty-two-year-old Russell Pervere enlisted in the same company with their older brothers, leaving only one son on the family farm. The departure of an entire family in one regiment illustrates the fervored and self-sacrificing response of Deerfield's citizens to early calls to arms.⁴ The extension of family and community into the battlefield became a common experience throughout the Union, as each town raised its own companies. Deerfield would follow suit in 1862.⁵

Citizens of Deerfield viewed participation in the war as an opportunity to establish continuity with the town's Revolutionary War heritage. A community resolution at an 1862 mass meeting exemplifies local rhetoric: "Remembering the ancient patriotism of our stock and desiring to secure for our posterity the blessing of a country free, Christian and respected among nations, we will come forward like sons of brave and loyal men, and if need be like our fathers in behalf of our country, pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."⁶

In accordance with this spirit, the community celebrated each departure of troops. Even soldiers passing through from other towns and states were recognized, such as the three Vermont regiments who were cheered at the Deerfield Depot by a crowd and canon fire in July 1861.⁷

erences are to *Courier* numbers. Citations with no page number or title are to the weekly columns entitled "The News from Home." George Sheldon, "Diary" (PVMA), April 20, 1860 to July 12, 1867. Entries on April 13, May 25, 1861.

⁴ Other brothers and cousins who enlisted were brothers Arthur and Francis Ball and their cousin Charles M. (all Fifty-second Regiment, Company D, 1862); Calvin S. and William H. Clapp and cousins Alfred D. and Rollin N. Clapp (all Fifty-second Regiment Companies D and F); brothers Charles, George, Henry, and Lorenzo Hastings, all of whom enlisted in 1861, all sons of Alvah, all workers in cutlery; brothers George and Isaac Rice (Twenty-seventh Massachusetts Company C, 1862) and possible relative, Luther (Tenth Massachusetts Company A, 1861); half brothers Orrin D. and William P. Saxton (different regiments); brothers Henry M. and Erastus C. Smith (different regiments); father, Hiram M., and Son, Hiram B. Stearns (different regiments); brothers Albion L., Bushrod Washington, and Wellington H. Stebbins and their cousins, James T. and William H. H. Stebbins (also brothers, various regiments); brothers Charles, Cyrus O., and Myron E. Stowell (different regiments); Asa E., David E., and William H. Todd (different regiments).

⁵ Numerous regimental histories attest to this pattern. In addition, see Marvin R. Cain, "A 'Face of Battle' Needed: An Assessment of Motives and Men in Civil War Historiography," *Civil War History* 27 (March 1982): 15; J. C. Randall and David Donald, *The Divided Union* (Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1961), ch. 17.

⁶ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 25, no. 19, July 14, 1862, p. 3. Frisch, *Town into City*, pp. 53-66, notes similarly that war rhetoric in Springfield constantly evoked "The Spirit of '76."

By the close of 1861, seventy-five enlisted men, forty-nine of whom lived in Deerfield, were credited to the town. In the summer of 1862, an additional eighty of the town's "sons" left for war. While enlistments dwindled during the winter and spring, the president's call for 300,000 "three years men" in July 1862 stimulated renewed community recruitment efforts.⁸ At a patriotic mass meeting on Saturday, July 12, Deerfield citizens resolved to ignore differences of opinion over the conduct of the war and promised "more whole-hearted sacrifice of ourselves and all that we have." In their statement of purpose they declared: "conviction in the justice of our cause and . . . confidence in the integrity of the present administration, and recognizing the overwhelming embarrassments of the situation, burying all minor differences, we regard as our first duty the suppression of the rebellion and are not disposed to judge too cautiously the conduct of affairs."⁹ These citizens viewed the war as a threat to American democracy, and the preservation of democratic institutions was, they believed, the "Cause of God and humanity."¹⁰

Soon after this meeting, Elisha Wells, chairman of the Board of Selectmen, was authorized to enlist men at the railroad depot in Old Deerfield. The town voted to raise \$3,400 to go toward paying a bounty of \$100 to every volunteer counted towards the local quota, which was filled by August 14.¹¹

Even before this quota was filled, the president issued a call for 300,000 "nine months' men" on August 4, 1862. On August 27, 1862, the town voted to raise a bounty of \$125 for each man. This was subsequently reduced to \$100, possibly because the extra financial incentive was not necessary to stimulate enlistments. Deerfield met its quota of forty-seven by November 1862. Forty-five of the new recruits mustered into the Fifty-second Regiment, Company D, known as "The Franklin County Nine Months' Volunteers." At least thirty-five men in Company D lived in Deerfield, while the remainder were from the neighboring towns of Conway and Whately. Like towns throughout the Union, Deerfield now had its own company in the Union army.¹²

Recruiting to fill this quota culminated on September 3 and 4, 1862. In war meetings in Old and South Deerfield, prominent citizens and outside speakers addressed assembled crowds. In South Deerfield,

⁷ For examples, see *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 24, no. 20, July 22, 1861, p. 2; Sheldon, "Diary," July 24, 1861.

⁸ "Town Records," Warrant for July 23, 1862, p. 646.

⁹ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 25, no. 19, July 14, 1862, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 25, no. 20, July 21, 1862, p. 3; vol. 25, no. 24, August 18, 1862, p. 3; "Town Records," Meeting of July 23, 1862, p. 646.

¹² *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 25, no. 31, October 6, 1862, p. 3; vol. 25, no. 27, September 8, 1862, p. 3; vol. 25, no. 38, November 24, 1862; John F. Moors, *History of the Fifty Second Regiment* (Boston, 1893); see note 4 above.

stores were closed and a procession formed, including bands from Conway and Greenfield, twenty men on horseback, citizens, and town officers. After a thirty-four-gun salute, the crowd marched to the church as the bells tolled.¹³

The meetings and processions mixed celebrations of the Union cause with poignant and difficult decisions. For example, eighteen-year-old Cyrus O. Stowell sat at a war meeting with his father, who had already sent his two older sons, Myron and Charles, off to the war. According to a later account, a call for volunteers at the close of the meeting produced only two or three responses followed by a "painful" pause until:

Cyrus Stowell rose, his eyes kindling with great purpose. . . . He was next seen whispering in his father's ear. Then that father rose, and with tears and choking emotion said, "I have felt that I could not spare my only remaining son—that the time had not come that required of me such a sacrifice—but I do not know but that the time has come now. All I can say is that he is at liberty to go if he choose!" No sooner had he finished that Cyrus sprang across the platform, his face wreathed with smiles, and wrote his name. The effect was electric. Cheers filled the house, bouquets were showered upon the young volunteer, while sobs and tears witnessed to the deep sympathy of the crowd.¹⁴

The formation of Company D illustrated the broad base of local support for the Union cause and provided the community with a forceful link to the battlefield. Young, single men were joined by at least five who had children and nine who were married. Brothers and cousins were comrades-in-arms with neighbors who were new arrivals in town. The Reverend James K. Hosmer marched with Irish-born farm laborer Richard Costello, whose wife had done the minister's washing.¹⁵

From October 11 to November 20, 1862, Company D was stationed at Camp Miller in neighboring Greenfield, which became an extension of the community. Prominent citizens visited the troops daily and special trains were advertised.¹⁶ Crowds attended a farewell meeting in November. Hosmer described the regiment's poignant departure in his war journal, which was sent back to town in installments and later published:

It rains harder and harder, but Greenfield streets were full of people and the nearer we came to the Depot, the thicker the crowd. Now came the last partings and hand shakings, eyes were full and lips in a tremble. I had my cry the night before. . . . The heart came

¹³ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 25, no. 27, September 8, 1862, p. 3.

¹⁴ Rev. Perkins K. Clark, *Sacrifices for our Country: A Discourse Delivered July 17, 1864, in The First Church, South Deerfield, Massachusetts at Funeral Services for James T. Stebbins and Myron E. Stowell Who Were Killed in the Armies of the Union*. With an Appendix containing sketches of other deceased soldiers from the same place (Greenfield: S. S. Eastman & Co., 1864), pp. 32-33.

¹⁵ See note 2 above; James K. Hosmer, manuscript of "Civil War Diary," PVMA, Box 8H, p. 8 (Later published as *The Color Guard*, without names of men).

¹⁶ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 25, no. 33, October 27, 1862, p. 3, Adv.; Sheldon, "Diary," 1862, especially entries for September 21, October 20, October 21; Elisha Wells, Letterbook, 1863 (PVMA "Deerfield Town Records," Box 5-40).

out grandly in some of these fellows. There was Dodge, the cook, heavy and rough, who pulled his little girl up from the platform into the car window to kiss her through his tears. Stout George Wells, too, as the train went off had his head on the window sill, and little Ed Hoyt whimpered as he did when a baby. We swept through Deerfield, the white spire, the strict and familiar houses going behind, seen through that pouring rain perhaps for the last time. Now forward.¹⁷

As citizens of Deerfield bade their enlisted neighbors and relatives farewell, they probably expected a rapid end to the national crisis. By the time these enthusiastic recruits returned home in August 1863, however, it was clear that their optimism was naïve. Expectations about the war and solutions to meeting its demands changed as the town faced the reality of extended conflict.

On both national and local levels, 1863 marked a break with tradition. In Deerfield, the search for new solutions to the problem of meeting quotas had three basic characteristics. First, it continued to rely heavily on patriotic rhetoric and sentiment. Second, the search reflected local class and ethnic differences. Finally, it made use of "corporate" tools, which shifted the burden from individual self-sacrifice through enlistment to collective financial expenditures.

In 1863, the Union made its first attempts at conscription. These symbolized the magnitude and complexity of the national crisis. Voluntarism and community recruiting were no longer sufficient sources of manpower. Across the Union, citizens found conscription a distasteful concept because, as historian Eugene C. Murdock explains in his 1971 study of the draft: "There was something un-American about it; it was coercive; it was almost unpatriotic to allow one's community to be drafted; the draft simply had no place in a free society."¹⁸ Despite public opinion, the draft was finally implemented as a necessary evil.

Deerfield first experienced conscription on January 19, 1863, when eleven men were drafted. Three days later, in a town meeting, the selectmen were directed "to obtain substitutes in cases where the originals do not enlist at as reasonable a rate as possible." To meet the cost, the town voted to raise \$100 per drafted man. Eleven substitutes were hired from the town of Lowell, Massachusetts, probably with the assistance of the Greenfield recruiting office, which advertised its ability to help towns locate substitutes. Each received \$75 from Deerfield's coffers.¹⁹

After this first experiment, the Enrollment Act of March 1863 was enacted to establish formal drafting mechanisms. It allowed those who paid \$300 commutation or furnished a substitute to remain at home.²⁰

¹⁷ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 25, no. 36, November 11, 1862, p. 2. Hosmer, "Civil War Diary."

¹⁸ Murdock, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 25, no. 46, January 19, 1863, p. 2; *Finance Report, 1862-63*; "Town Records," Meeting of January 22, 1863, Articles 2 and 3, p. 667.

²⁰ Murdock, ch. 1.

The draft of eleven men in January 1863 was only a hint of what was to come. On July 14, 1863, under the new Enrollment Act, eighty-three men were drafted from Deerfield. This time the town took no official action to hire substitutes or raise funds, perhaps not believing that a draft of so many men could be legitimate. The *Gazette and Courier* attempted to reassure its readers by informing them of the draft's inaccuracies: "A cripple has been drafted in Ashfield . . . a deaf and dumb man in Deerfield . . . in South Deerfield, several of its leading citizens and businessmen."²¹ For the first time in response to a call for troops, Deerfield's patriotic citizens seemed mute. The town focused its attention on the two other events, both related to the draft. First, on July 18, 1863, an incident in Cheapside, where most of Deerfield's immigrant population resided, prompted speculation that the sentiment expressed by antidraft rioters in New York, Boston, and elsewhere was not absent from Deerfield. That night the Connecticut River Railroad Bridge over the Deerfield River was burned. The *Gazette and Courier* reported that this was the act of "secession incendiaries" and linked it to the Irish community. A week later the paper reported:

A reward of \$1,000 has been offered for the incendiaries. The Republican thinks the burning of the bridge had nothing to do with the draft. People here think different. If it had not been for the draft and the riots elsewhere, the bridge would not have been burned. They are all connected and more damage was intended to the property of loyal people.²²

While citizens' committees were formed in neighboring Greenfield in response to this perceived threat, no record of formal action exists in Deerfield. Nevertheless, the incident focused local patriotic sentiment on a local enemy. It accurately reflected class and ethnic tensions within Deerfield. During the first two years of the war, local rhetoric painted a picture of unity, highlighting such incidents as the Reverend Mr. Hosmer's departure as a fellow soldier with the husband of his Irish washerwoman. In contrast, the bridge-burning incident emphasized the socioeconomic divisions in the town, which would also be reflected in enlistment patterns from 1863 to 1865.

The second event coinciding with the July 1863 draft was the return of the Fifty-second Regiment on August 3, 1863. They were welcomed at the Greenfield Depot by a crowd, a band, and the engine company, and carried with cheers to the Greenfield Town Hall. Fifteen of Company D were dead. Among them was Cyrus O. Stowell, the eighteen-year-old recruit who had enlisted with such ceremony just nine months earlier. The moving memorial sermon preached on August 23 by South Deerfield's Rev. Perkins Clark, as well as those by other ministers for

²¹ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 26, no. 20, July 20, 1863, p. 3; "Proceedings of the Board of Enrollment, May 1863 to June 1865," in Records of the Provost Marshall General's Bureau (Civil War) (Record Group 10), National Archives, Entry 961, also, "Consolidated Lists of Class I, II and III," and "Descriptive Book of Drafted Men."

²² *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 26, no. 21, July 27, 1863, p. 3; Jenkins, pp. 123-25.

other volunteers, replaced mass war meetings as the dominant collective activity in Deerfield during this call for troops.²³

With this sad homecoming the town was poignantly reminded of the grim reality of war. Men who were called in the July 1863 draft were confronted face-to-face with relatives and friends, many sick, who had just returned from the front. For instance, twenty-nine-year-old Alden Sprout, a married wagonmaker, was among the drafted. When he went for his medical examination, his twenty-four-year-old brother, Dana, who had just returned with the Fifty-second, lay dying at home. The day after Alden Sprout's examiners found him physically fit for service, he paid the \$300 commutation fee; six weeks later, his brother died.²⁴

Alden Sprout was not alone in his decision to avoid the draft. Of the 83 men drafted from Deerfield, one was in service, 49 percent (40) were found to be exempt for medical reasons, 20 percent (16) were aliens, and 7 percent (6) were exempt for other reasons. Twenty men (24 percent) were found eligible for the army. Seventeen of these paid the \$300 commutation fee required to avoid service, and two furnished substitutes. One, Lorenzo Brizee, a twenty-seven-year-old married farm laborer with one child, enlisted.²⁵

Less than half (9 or 47 percent) of the 19 drafted men who paid commutation or furnished substitutes were, like Sprout, between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine. Over half (5 or 56 percent) of this younger group were married. Of the remaining 10 men between the ages of thirty and forty-five, 70 percent (7) were married.²⁶ The men who were drafted and found eligible were those who had already decided, during previous calls, not to go. Perhaps the return of the Fifty-second Regiment further contributed to their antipathy. Given their financial ability to avoid the draft, apparently without town assistance, it was unlikely that any would enlist.

The payment of commutation was socially acceptable, and among those who paid were such prominent citizens as William Wells, brother of the chairman of the Board of Selectmen, and the wealthy South Deerfield manufacturer and merchant, Benjamin R. Hamilton. Henry C. Haskell, who would serve as a selectman in later years, hired a substitute. While the draft may have been a greater burden for the ethnic poor, draft avoidance was not purely the province of the native born,

²³ Clark, "Sacrifices for our Country"; Hosmer, "Diary"; Moors, *History of the Fifty-Second*.

²⁴ See note 2 above, also Deerfield Monument; Grand Army of the Republic, "Personal War Sketches Presented to the Myron E. Stowell Post No. 84, S. Deerfield," 1895, PVMA, Sketch on Dana Sprout.

²⁵ See note 2 above.

²⁶ Of the married men who enlisted in 1861-62, 19 were between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine and 16 were between thirty and thirty-nine; married men comprised 50 percent of the thirty to thirty-nine-year-old age group, demonstrating a strong willingness to sacrifice during the early years.

for Gottlieb Decker, German-born farmer, and Frederick Kiplinger, a mechanic originally from Prussia, were among those able to pay commutation.²⁷

In Deerfield, the draft, the bridge burning, and the solemn return of the Fifty-second Regiment were symbols of the second half of the Civil War, as mass meetings, effigies of Jefferson Davis and processions had been symbols of the conflict's first two years. There is no evidence that the town's commitment to the Union cause diminished in 1863, but its capacity to contribute did change fundamentally. On the national level, the Enrollment Act of 1863 addressed the same problem which faced Deerfield: how to raise the army needed to win the war after two years of recruiting volunteers. Comparison of the men drafted in 1863, a study of enrollment lists for the town, and an analysis of the men who were counted as part of Deerfield's quotas between 1861 and 1865 underscore the message implied by the almost mute response to the July 1863 draft. Local volunteers were no longer available to meet the demands of the Union army. Deerfield's capacity to sacrifice her "sons" was exhausted.

The combined total of men on Deerfield's enrollment and enlistment lists indicates that approximately 510 of Deerfield's male inhabitants were between the ages of twenty and forty-five between 1861 and 1865, and were thus eligible to be enrolled as candidates for the Union army. If the draft of 1863 is an accurate random sample of men of eligible ages, 75 percent of the total were actually exempt from serving for medical reasons, alienage, or unusual family circumstances. This suggests that only 25 percent of the men on the enrollment lists, or 128 men, could actually be expected to serve in the Union army.

By the end of 1862, 129 residents of Deerfield had enlisted, that is, the total number of men between the ages of twenty and forty-five who were qualified for service. The town, then, had sent all the men it could be expected to in the first two years of the war. As a further measure of the town's patriotism, by the end of the war an additional 38 "sons" of Deerfield had enlisted. There is probably no coincidence that the number of additional recruits matches the number of enlistees under the age of twenty.

Regardless of the demographic realities, the Union continued to call upon Deerfield for troops. The solution, in addition to continuing the search for recruits among the town's male residents, was to seek "soldiers" elsewhere. Although recruiting from outside Deerfield's town limits was not new in 1863, of the 171 troops counted towards Deerfield's quotas in 1861 and 1862, 129, or 75 percent, lived in Deerfield. Of the 44 others, 18, or 41 percent, lived in neighboring towns or had family ties to Deerfield. In contrast, during 1863, 1864, and 1865, of the total of 130 enlisted men counted for Deerfield's quotas, only 29 percent were

²⁷ "Descriptive Book of Drafted Men and Substitutes, June-September 1863" (Record Group 10); Sheldon, *History*, for miscellaneous personal information.

Deerfield's "sons." The remaining 71 percent or 92, "soldiers" were recruited as volunteers from other towns or hired as substitutes. Only 4 of these "soldiers" were neighbors or relatives of Deerfield. The remaining 88 had more tenuous connections (see Table 2).²⁸

TABLE 2
Deerfield "Soldiers" by Place of Origin

Year	NEIGHBORS ^o		OTHERS		TOTAL	
	No.	% of Soldiers for Year	No.	% of Soldiers for Year	No. for Four Years	% of All Soldiers
1861	8	31	18	69	26	19
1862	10	56	8	44	18	13
1863	0		17	100	17	13
1864	4	14	25	86	29	21
1865	0		26	100	26	15
Unknown						
1863-65	0		20		20	19
Total	22		114		136	100

^o Men positively identified as residents of neighboring towns in the vicinity of Deerfield (e.g., Conway, Whately, Greenfield) or with family ties to Deerfield.

Despite the increased reliance on recruited "soldiers," the town's actions to meet quotas from 1863 to 1865 continued to demonstrate its firm patriotic commitment. In fact, when a call for troops came on November 2, 1863, and Deerfield was given until January 5, 1864 to fill its quota, the town turned back to its traditional recruiting method. In December 1863, Deerfield held its last war meeting.

The dominant message at this meeting was that despite its record of sacrifice, the town must continue to contribute its "sons." Deacon Stowell was president of the day, a symbol to the town that a man, who had sent three sons to the war and lost his youngest, still believed in the Union cause. Edgar P. Squires, a veteran of the Fifty-second Regiment, Company D, announced in an impassioned speech that he had reenlisted three days earlier and urged others to join him again.²⁹

Apparently, the selectmen's recruitment efforts following this meeting were successful, for there was no draft in Deerfield in January 1864. It is not clear from the available records, however, who filled this quota. Given the aggregate statistics for the men who mustered into service in 1863 and 1864, probably the majority of the 41 men who met this quota were not from Deerfield. The *Gazette and Courier* reported in Decem-

²⁸ See note 2 above.

²⁹ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 26, no. 42, December 7, 1863, p. 2.

ber that towns were enlisting men wherever they could be found and warned that this might affect quota counts. Although the town still relied outwardly on such customary recruitment channels as war meetings, the audience it reached was fundamentally different, primarily made up of recruits from outside the town limits.³⁰

The character of Deerfield's "sons" who did enlist in 1863, 1864, and 1865 also changed. These few "sons" were generally younger than those who had enlisted in the first two years of the war and were more often single. The percentage of enlistees over thirty dropped dramatically from 22 percent of the total "sons" who enlisted in 1861 and 1862 to 2 percent in the last three war years. Many of those who enlisted after 1863 had just come of age, and a high percentage, particularly in 1865, were under twenty when they enlisted. The "sons" of Deerfield likely in service at the end of the war were those who had perhaps jealously watched older relatives depart earlier and had fewer responsibilities on the homefront (Table 3).

TABLE 3
Deerfield "Sons" by Age and Marital Status

Year	Total "Sons" Enlisted	19 or Under		20-29		30 or Over		Married		Single	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1861	49	13	27	27	55	9	18	14	29	35	71
1862	80	12	15	48	60	20	25	30	38	50	62
1863	17	5	29	11	65	1	6	3	18	14	82
1864	13	2	15	10	77	1	8	6	46	7	54
1865	8	6	75	2	25	0	-	0	-	8	100
Total	167	38	23	98	59	31	18	53	32	114	68

Furthermore, after 1862, the immigrant community sacrificed its "sons" in much greater proportion, suggesting that those most likely to enlist were those who had less power or financial ability. Of the 129 residents of Deerfield who served in 1861 and 1862, 9, or 7 percent, are known to have been foreign born. In contrast, the 38 Deerfield residents who enlisted between 1863 and 1865 included 14, or 37 percent, who were born abroad. Occupational statistics also suggest that the "sons" who served for Deerfield at the end of the war came in greater proportion from the industrial working-class community. In 1861 and 1862, 66 percent of those who served were in farm-related occupations and 16 percent were professionals or craftsmen, while 17 percent were cutlers or mechanics. In 1863, only 11 percent of those Deerfield residents who enlisted were cutlers or mechanics, but in 1864 this group composed 77

³⁰ Ibid.

percent of the 13 "sons" who enlisted and, in 1865, 2 of the 4 Deerfield citizens who enlisted were cutlers.³¹

The majority of the men who met Deerfield's quotas between 1863 and 1865 lived outside the town, but the most dramatic change in recruiting activities came in May 1864, after 26 men were drafted. Following medical examinations, 17 of these men were found eligible for service. On May 24, 1864, the day after the examinations, Deerfield's citizens voted in a town meeting to raise \$300 for each drafted man. The selectmen were directed to procure substitutes with this sum "provided that 8/10 of the taxpayers representing 8/10 of the property will pledge themselves to pay the amount necessary to raise a sum sufficient to raise \$300 for each drafted man."³² This unprecedented financial burden on the town received the consent of the taxpayers. Their action would prevent those who paid commutation from being counted towards future quotas.

Eleven of the men drafted in May 1864 paid commutation. Five of them furnished substitutes, and one apparently went to war. Like the men drafted in 1863, most of these 17 men were over thirty and married. Only 24 percent (4) were under twenty-nine, and of the 13 over thirty, all but one were married. Single men between ages twenty and twenty-nine who were eligible for service simply did not remain in Deerfield. To replace these men and help fill the quota set in this draft, the town's own "Rebellion Record" lists 13 men "Bot [bought] in Washington, D.C. at \$325 each and accepted 26, July 1864" and an additional man hired for \$325 to enlist in June.³³ The town in 1864 met its quotas through a combination of individual and community willingness to bear the financial responsibility of seeking and purchasing substitutes.

Even while the town was securing men to fill the May draft, its requirement to supply manpower was growing. In a July call for troops Deerfield's quota was 41 men. The citizens of Deerfield did not turn again to town government to meet this quota but called a public meeting, which was not recorded in the town records. At this meeting, the decision was reached to circulate a subscription paper raising money to hire substitutes as necessary. By August 1, the townsmen reported having obtained 22 men out of its quota.³⁴ Even if the established channels of town government were overburdened by the requirements of the draft, the community rallied to fulfill its responsibilities.

The frenzied and expensive efforts to fill quotas by outside recruiting and hiring substitutes ended in March 1865 when a new procedure

³¹ See note 2 above.

³² "Descriptive Book of Drafted Men, May 13, 1864"; "Town Records," Meeting of May 24, 1864, pp. 738-39.

³³ "Descriptive Book of Drafted Men and Substitutes, May 13, 1864"; "Rebellion Record," page directly after list of men who furnished substitutes and paid commutation.

³⁴ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 27, no. 21, August 1, 1864.

drafted men from the state at large and assigned them to the towns.³⁵ Finally, the state government recognized what was apparent in Deerfield by 1863: the town had furnished all the native manpower it had to give. While the financial burden continued, recruitment responsibilities were over.

The ramifications of the financial burden extended into Deerfield's governing structure. The town's budget increased by 61 percent between 1861 and 1863, and more than doubled between 1863 and 1864. Even accounting for Civil War inflation, the increase in town expenditures from \$11,874 in 1861 to \$19,150 in 1863, to \$41,596 in 1864, and \$44,563 in 1865, was far greater than the incremental growth of previous years. This increase suggests a dramatic shift in local fiscal responsibility and sophistication. The budget stayed in the \$40,000 range after the war and did not change substantially until new accounting and taxation procedures were implemented in the 1870s.³⁶

By its end in 1865, the Civil War had left Deerfield a number of legacies. One was the collective experience of raising troops, an effort which shifted from mass meetings directed toward inspiring enlistment to the circulation of subscription papers, the enactment of new levies, and the far-reaching recruitment of substitutes. A second legacy was an expanded budget, which included new levels of debt to Greenfield banks and wealthy citizens. Finally, the town had celebrated the return of approximately 133 "sons" home from the front and shared the loss of 34 "sons" who gave their lives for the Union.

The town's Civil War monument symbolized these legacies for Deerfield's citizens when they gathered to dedicate it in 1866. Cyrus and Myron Stowell, Dana Sprout, and Edgar Squires, who spoke at Deerfield's last war meeting in 1863, are among the 42 names engraved on the monument. With them are Michael Glasset, an Irish-born worker in Cheapside's cutlery who enlisted in 1864; Edward J. Hosmer, not a "son" of Deerfield, but a "soldier" from Buffalo, New York, who served for the town because of his connection through his brother, the Rev. James K. Hosmer; and Leonard A. Barnes, about whom no information survives. In total, the monument lists 34 "sons" and 8 "soldiers," comprising 14 percent of the 303 men who served for the town and 20 percent of its "sons" who went to war. In dedicating the monument a civic leader stated:

³⁵ *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 28, no. 3, March 20, 1865, p. 3. Law passed March 8, 1865. "Rebellion Record," p. 90, lists 22 soldiers furnished by the state at large and assigned to Deerfield.

³⁶ Town Expenditures compiled from yearly "Recapitulation of Money paid from the Treasury," in *Finance Reports*, first published for the year ending February 25, 1858, PVMA. Accounting techniques vary, and payments rather than totals are used here because they are comparable on an annual basis. The reports also indicate a dramatic increase in municipal indebtedness during the war years. Frisch, *Town into City*, suggests a similar change in Springfield.

The town bore cheerfully and with alacrity its full share of the burdens of the war. Its ancient prestige and ancestral renown inspired the patriotic impulses of its inhabitants and clothed the privations and perils of the service with a poetic charm, making the voice of duty as powerful as the command of God. She responded to every call for her young men, and she parted with her substance that they might be sustained without a murmur.

Buried in the cornerstone of the monument were documents including lists of enrolled men, town finance reports showing the expanded budget, and newspapers which told the story of the war in greater detail.³⁷

This monument commemorated individuals and Deerfield's shifting community response to the national crisis. The third year of war brought home the war's tragic realities and the recognition that the town had a finite number of "sons" to contribute. The collective response to the second half of the war, no less patriotic than the first, shifted the burden of fighting from individuals to the community as a whole. When the state finally took over recruiting responsibilities in the final year of the war, it recognized that the ability of local communities to meet national responsibilities was exhausted, despite the growing sophistication of towns like Deerfield as they turned to a variety of governing mechanisms to provide troops. Deerfield truly responded to the Union's calls with a willingness to "part with her substance." The monument to her "sons and soldiers" memorialized the range of activities which that willingness implied.

³⁷ "Dedication," *Gazette and Courier*, vol. 30, no. 28, September 9, 1867, p. 2; "War Memorial Papers," 1866-1867 (PVMA "Deerfield Town Records," Box 540); "Contents of Cornerstone" and "Statement of Nathaniel Hitchcock."

