

Chinese in the Civil War:
Ten Who Served
by Ruthanne Lum McCunn

© 1995 Ruthanne Lum McCunn

INTRODUCTION

The foreign-born population of the United States at the outbreak of the Civil War was 13 percent of the population at large. It stands to reason, then, that foreign nationals served in both the Union and Confederate armies and navies. Since 86.6 percent of the foreign-born population inhabited the free states, more fought for the Union than the Confederacy. Indeed, the Union Army boasted entire units of foreign born, such as the Forty-fifth New York Regiment, German Rifles No. Five (or Platt Deutsch Regiment); the Thirty-seventh New York Regiment, Irish Rifles; and the Fifteenth Missouri Infantry, Swiss Rifles.¹

At least one estimate of the North's military strength places the number of foreign-born soldiers at close to one fourth of the Union Army, another at one fifth.² Yet there is so little literature on the subject that Ella Lonn's *Foreigners in the Confederacy* and *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, published in 1940 and 1951, remain the standard references in the field. And neither one of these volumes includes any mention of Chinese combatants.

Chinese American participation *has* been acknowledged in a few books on the war, from a single sentence in George R. Stewart's *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863* to several pages in Arthur Bonner's *The Chinese in New York 1800-1950*;³ a newspaper's bicentennial supplement, titled "Chinese Volunteers in the American Civil War";⁴ and Charlie Chin's "Different Shades of Blue and Gray," in which he drolly recounts his serendipitous discoveries of five Chinese who fought for the Union and two for the Confederacy.⁵ But the profiles that follow are the first known attempt to give a collective voice to Chinese American Civil War veterans by reconstructing their lives through a combination of military

records, pension files, newspapers, family papers and reminiscences, archival documents, and published accounts of the Civil War.⁶

JOHN AKOMB⁷

On August 11, 1878, John Akomb, a cigar manufacturer, was arrested in New York—along with three other Chinese—for selling cigars on which no revenue tax had been paid. Since none of them could pay the fine of \$250, they were all imprisoned.

Akomb told reporters that he had served in the Civil War as a steward on the gunboat *Massachusetts*, under the command of Captain Hudson, then as a cook during the Red River expedition. He also claimed he had been twice wounded, once seriously in the chest.

At the time of his arrest, Akomb was almost blind—just barely able to distinguish between light and darkness. Living at 62 Cherry Street, he was married to an Englishwoman by the name of Kitty. Their three children were all dead.⁸

Two days later Akomb, pleading ignorance of the law, was discharged on his own recognizance.⁹ The three other Chinese were discharged the following day.¹⁰

CHRISTOPHER WREN BUNKER AND STEPHEN DECATUR BUNKER

During the Civil War, North Carolina—although a relatively minor arena for actual battles—contributed 111,000 men to the Confederate forces. The area around Mount Airy, where the Bunker cousins were born and raised, contributed 700 soldiers to the Confederacy and more than 100 to the Union. Some of the latter were drafted by the Union Army's Major General George Stoneman who, charged with destroying the tracks and facilities of the North Carolina Railroad and the Piedmont Railroad, as well as military stores, swept through North Carolina, reaching Mount Airy on April 2, 1865. "Pausing in the area, Stoneman decided to draft some of the locals—no matter what their sympathies—into his division," and the names of all males over eighteen were put into a lottery wheel.

One of the names drawn was Eng Bunker, the father of Stephen. But not only was Eng a staunch Confederate, he was bound to his twin brother, Chang, by a five-inch ligament of flesh at the chest. The two

also shared a liver. Chang, as strong in his southern sympathies as his brother, refused to go, and since his name had not been drawn, Stoneman dared not take him and was forced to resign his claim to Eng.¹¹

Eng and Chang, known as "the Chinese twins" in their native Siam, arrived in the United States in 1829. Ten years later, they bought 110 acres in the Blue Ridge Mountains from their earnings as "Siamese twins" on exhibit.¹² Soon after, they became naturalized citizens, taking oaths of allegiance to the state of North Carolina as well as to the United States. Fishermen in Siam, they read widely on agriculture and soon became skilled farmers. They were among the first in the state to produce the "bright leaf" tobacco, which was especially prized in the manufacture of cigarettes. And using the most modern methods available, they raised milk cows, cattle, sheep, pigs, and fowl; grew wheat, rye, Indian corn, oats, peas, beans, and potatoes; kept bees; and cultivated orchards—all with the help of slaves.¹³

The twins' ownership of slaves—twenty at the outbreak of the war—seems ironic as they themselves had been "purchased" from their mother for exhibit by a Captain Coffin, becoming "their own men" only with difficulty. Perhaps, as historian John Kuo Wei Tchen argues, Eng and Chang felt that "[b]y fully adopting the values of Southern planters, [they] could improve their own sense of personal self-worth and personal liberty."¹⁴ Certainly, their acceptance by the community in which they chose to settle was marginal: When Eng and Chang proposed marriage to the Yates sisters, people in the area vigorously opposed the union as "unnatural," while the young ladies' parents tried to prevent it because the twins were Chinese.

The twins persisted and eventually prevailed. On April 10, 1843, Eng married Sarah, Chang married Adelaide, and they raised their children—twenty-two between them—as such staunch southerners that their eldest sons both enlisted as soon as they came of age.

Christopher, born to Chang and Adelaide, enlisted in Company I of the Thirty-seventh Battalion, Virginia Cavalry, on April 1, 1863, "for the war." But he was not called up for service until September 14, 1863. Of course, as the son of loyal Confederates, he had been aiding the war effort long before he entered active service: The Bunkers offered warm and generous hospitality to the troops, from providing food and clothing to nursing the wounded. Active service, however, brought Christopher onto the battlefield.

In the summer of 1864, Brigadier General John McCausland—under orders from General Jubal Early to invade Pennsylvania and take Chambersburg—crossed the Potomac with twenty-six hundred caval-

rymen, including Christopher. Sweeping aside the Union cavalry, McCausland took control of Chambersburg on July 30 and demanded either \$100,000 in gold coin or \$500,000 in U.S. currency to spare the city. When the inhabitants failed to raise the money in the three hours he'd allotted, McCausland ordered Chambersburg destroyed, and while the city burned, drunken soldiers plundered freely, going so far as to tear brooches, finger rings, and earrings off women in the streets.¹⁵

From Chambersburg, McCausland skirmished with pursuing Federals, then moved on to Moorefield, West Virginia. Three miles outside the town, certain he had left Union troops far behind, he ordered his men to set up camp in an area that was flat and militarily indefensible. Within twenty-four hours, Union cavalry ambushed a Confederate scouting party, then (disguised in gray) surprised and overwhelmed Confederate sentinels, pickets, and a small detachment on night duty, thus riding into camp without raising any alarm. In the mayhem that followed, Christopher became one of the many Confederates who were wounded and captured.

The largest federal military prison at the time was Camp Chase, four miles west of Columbus, Ohio. Under the charge of Colonel William F. Richardson, the prison was surrounded by a twelve-foot-high wooden wall. Christopher, housed in a small wooden barrack with 197 other prisoners, slept on a straw-covered bunk and passed his waking hours reading the Bible and carving boats and musical instruments out of wood. Packages from home supplemented his meager rations. His father also sent him money with which he could buy items from the prison store. Nevertheless, Christopher was probably, like most of his fellow inmates, short of clothing and infected with lice. At least once he was reduced to eating a cooked rat, and on September 9, 1864, he was hospitalized from "variola," a virus that could have been either smallpox (which was then raging through the camp) or the less serious chicken pox. Finally, on March 4, 1865, he was exchanged for a Union prisoner of war, and his family welcomed him home on April 17, 1865.

His cousin Stephen's military experience was similar. Enlisting in the very same cavalry battalion on July 2, 1864, Stephen escaped the debacle at Moorefield. But on September 3, 1864, he was wounded in fighting near Winchester, Virginia. According to Judge Jesse F. Graves (who wrote an unpublished biography of Eng and Chang), Stephen "bore himself gallantly," going back into action despite his wound.

Indeed, Stephen's two sons claim that shortly before the end of the war their father was wounded a second time and then captured by the Union Army.

After the Confederate surrender, Stephen and Christopher both chose to live in Mount Airy, farming like their fathers—but without slaves.¹⁶

EDWARD DAY COHOTA¹⁷

Edward Day Cohota's middle and last names are clearly derived from Sargent S. Day, the sea captain who "adopted" him, and the ship *Cohota*, which brought him from China to Massachusetts. It is not clear, however, whether Cohota "added 'Cohota' [because he] thought the name 'Day' was too ordinary to account for being Chinese" or "he was given the name of the ship" upon his enlistment in the Civil War.¹⁸ How Cohota came into the Day family is even less clear.

According to Cohota's daughter, Elizabeth Bouza, "Captain Day and his wife were sailing on the square-rigged ship *Cohota* only two days out of Shanghai, China, on December 27, 1845, when two little half-starved Chinese boys were found aboard. The older one, about six, died at sea despite all their efforts. The younger, estimated to be four years old, was Edward."¹⁹ According to a newspaper story based on an interview with Elizabeth Bouza, "Mrs. Day and their two children sailed with the captain always, and taught the children as they went, she being a school teacher. Edward became a cabin boy and when the captain retired, they took him to their home."²⁰

Lucy Day did indeed sail with her husband on the *Cohota*. But the oldest Day child, Lucy Elizabeth, was not born until 1855, and the second, Elias Elwell, until 1863. Also, as will be shown below, the year of birth for Cohota is incorrect. So it is difficult to credit Elizabeth Bouza's account.²¹

Cohota himself told reporters that he "was born in Scow Jow, 60 miles from Shanghai [and] left China when he was about five years old. His father was then dead, having been drowned in a flood of the Yangtsee Klong. [He] wandered down to the docks and was there picked up as a stray [by Captain Day]. This was about the year 1852." When the captain sold the *Cohota* in 1857, he and his wife took Cohota with them to Gloucester, where they lived "in a big square house in Captain's Row

on Pleasant Street." Day bought a wharf, built three first-class fishing vessels, and engaged in the fishing business. Cohota, affectionately nicknamed Ned, went to school.²²

Cohota never did say whether he was cabin boy or adopted son to the captain, or both.²³ But Day signed as Cohota's guardian on the Consent in Case of Minor form for volunteers in the Civil War.²⁴ And Cohota named his first and second daughters Lucy and Elizabeth for Day's daughter Lucy Elizabeth. He also gave his second son the middle name Day in honor of the captain.²⁵ Moreover, he maintained a lifelong correspondence with Lucy Elizabeth, who began her letters to him with the salutation "Dear Brother Ed" and signed them "Sister Lizzie."²⁶ And when Lucy Cohota visited Gloucester with her father in 1928, Lucy Elizabeth asked her namesake to call her "Aunt Lizzie" because Cohota "was brought up like a brother."²⁷ Lucy Elizabeth also gave Lucy family heirlooms for herself and Cohota's grandchildren.²⁸

Cohota enjoyed a closer relationship with the Days' daughter than with their son, probably because the son was only a baby when Cohota enlisted.²⁹ According to Lucy Elizabeth Day, Cohota "did not like school and gave his age a year older than he was in order to enlist."³⁰ Curiously, his army discharge certificate, issued in New Berne, North Carolina, on June 25, 1865, states his age as eighteen, the same age claimed on his behalf by his guardian when Cohota enlisted on February 12, 1864. But Cohota's daughter Lucy wrote "15" in green ink above the "18" beside his name in the family's copy of James A. Emmerton's *A Record of the Twenty-Third Regiment Mass. Vol. Infantry in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865*.³¹

During his sixteen months of service in Company I, Cohota fought with Grant at Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and Appomattox.³² He seems to have been extraordinarily lucky. The Battle of Drury's Bluff on May 16, 1864, was fought in dense fog. "Even before the action became general a column of the enemy, almost within a stone's throw, was only detected by a momentary lift of the fog, showing their massed feet on the opposite slope. Those on the right flank of the 23rd were first made aware of the crushing attack on their right-rear by the splashing of feet through the pool." As the battle continued, the fog became "doubly thick with smoke."³³ Yet Cohota came out of the battle with "seven bullet holes thro' clothes. None touched his flesh."³⁴ Then, at the Battle of Cold Harbor, Virginia, on Friday June 3, 1864, where Union troops suffered seven thousand casualties in a single hour, "a Confederate minie ball parted his hair permanently when it grazed his scalp."³⁵ But he was not otherwise hurt.

In the same battle, he saved the life of William E. Low. As Low recounted the incident to his family, he was "severely wounded by a bullet through his jaw [and] lay suffering and helpless among the dead and wounded" until Cohota "picked him up and hid him behind a rock" under the shade of some trees, then "rejoined the fighting line." After the battle, Cohota went back to where he'd hidden Low and carried him to an ambulance station in the rear. Low "often spoke with deep gratitude and affection of Ned Cohota," calling him "a fine soldier who did his duty nobly." So when Cohota visited Gloucester in 1928, friends arranged for the veterans to meet. Low was quite deaf and nearly blind. "The two old soldiers faced each other and relatives gathered closely, waiting expectantly, but then almost despairingly as Low showed no response to their shouted efforts to enlighten him. Suddenly his face flamed with recognition and his whole being was electrified as he leaped to his feet with a cry of 'Cohota!' [and] the two embraced with tears."³⁶

Cohota told his daughter Lucy that "he hadn't liked the army at all. It wasn't what he'd expected and he was relieved" when the war ended and he could go home to Gloucester. Like many returning veterans, however, Cohota was unable to find work. So he went "to Boston hoping to sign onto a ship and unexpectedly ran into some army friends, among them a recruiting sergeant. They all went to a saloon to celebrate their reunion and ended up drunk and in the army before they knew it." Cohota apparently harbored no hard feelings over his return to the army. "He used to tell the story and roar with laughter—seemed to think it had been a good joke on the whole."³⁷ Moreover, he reenlisted repeatedly, even after his marriage to a young Norwegian woman, Anna Dorothea Hallstenson, in 1883.³

Cohota met his wife while serving a dinner at an officer's mess at Fort Randall, Dakota Territory. Anna, a very attractive young woman, was nursemaid to an officer's children. "She seemed very much interested in him," and after a brief courtship they were married in the Episcopal chapel at the fort. For a wedding gift, Cohota presented his bride with "a very pretty garnet necklace and earrings."³⁹ Together they had six children: Lucy in 1886, Edward in 1888, Elizabeth in 1891, William in 1894, Daisy in 1896, and Miles, named for General Miles, in 1898.⁴⁰

Besides serving meals at Fort Randall, Cohota also did guard duty—he stood guard over Chief Sitting Bull, whom he described as "friendly" and "kind." And being in the infantry—the Fifteenth Infantry, Company C for his first twenty years, Company H for his last ten—he did a lot of walking throughout the West. He often spoke of what he'd

seen to Lucy "and always in a voice of wonder even after so many years." There were, he said, "prairies where the grass was up to the knees of a man on horseback, far above the stirrups [and] buffalo as far as the eye could see—the prairie would be black with them." His longest march was from Kit Carson, Kansas, to San Antonio, Texas. By the time they arrived, "he had blisters on his shoulder from carrying a rifle and blisters on his feet from shoes that were too large."⁴¹

Soon after his marriage, Cohota was transferred to Fort Niobrara in Nebraska. Although he worked at Fort Niobrara as a baker, he and Anna lived between the fort and the town of Valentine "on the west bank of the Niobrara . . . on the bottom near the stream; part of this dwelling was a dugout, excavated in the bank. The exterior part was covered with slabs of tin." And after his retirement in 1894, he ran a "livery barn that hauled soldiers to and from Valentine."⁴²

Widowed in 1898, Cohota fell ill. When he recovered, he took up indoor work, opening a restaurant in Valentine, where he became a respected merchant who had "the regard of all its people."⁴³ As "a good citizen," he was "interested in every work of charity that he could possibly help"; and he "always exercised his franchise as a voter." And had he taken out his second papers of naturalization (his enlistment papers being his first) before the 1882 Exclusion Act, he would indeed have been a U. S. citizen as he supposed. But believing citizenship came automatically with Civil War service, he had not. So when he tried to take up a homestead in 1912, he was notified that "he was not a citizen of this country and could never become a citizen and therefore could never prove up his homestead."

Cohota protested: "I have fought in the country's service as a soldier, and I served in its regular army from which I was retired for long continued honorable service of over thirty years, and I believe that I, if anyone, have earned the right to be pronounced a citizen of the United States and enjoy all of its rights and privileges."

Told he could only become a citizen through an act of Congress, Cohota sought the help of Nebraska's Senator Norris Brown through Frank E. Edgerton, then assistant attorney general of Nebraska, who was in Valentine on business. "I respectfully ask that some action be taken that will enable me to become a citizen of the United States of America which is the only country that I have ever known or claimed as my own. I have the utmost respect for the United States, and I honor its flag and laws, and on days on which the flag is honored, one always appears over my place of business."

Edgerton agreed to intercede on Cohota's behalf. And a Valentine reporter concluded, "It is probable that [the people of Valentine] will unanimously petition Congress to enact into law this bill if it is introduced by Senator Brown." If any action was taken on Cohota's behalf, however, it has not been discovered, and so far as is known, he never was permitted to become a citizen. After thirty years without missing an election, he was forced to stop voting.

Cohota was more successful in contesting the commissioner of pension's rejection of his application for a Civil War pension.⁴⁴ "I have before me 'Rules of the Committee on Invalid Pensions,' and have read, re-read and thoroughly studied it," he wrote the commissioner, "and I am satisfied that under the Act of May 1st, 1920, first section, that I am fully entitled to the pension due Civil War veterans."

"I served in the dark days of 1864," he continued, "at Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and many other battles, being in the thickest of the fray and as this act specially provides for Civil War Veterans, honorably discharged, I believe that my service, my work, during those times entitles me to this pension."

Told by the commissioner he would have to be "discharged from the Retired List of the Army before [his] application for a pension will be considered," Edward sought the aid of an Hon. M. P. Kinkaid. "I do not want to appear arbitrary in this matter but it appears to me that Mr. Gardner [the commissioner] just makes a statement of his own without referring to any law on the subject."

Receiving yet another rejection, Edward enlisted the aid of Frank Fischer, a former county judge.⁴⁵ When that failed, he wrote the secretary of the interior: "I have taken up this matter several times with the Commissioner but have never received any satisfaction. In his last communication, he stated that if I thought an injustice had been done me, I was at liberty to appeal to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior." He concluded by asking for "the proper blanks for an appeal together with the necessary instructions to perfect an appeal."⁴⁶

The difference between the regular army pension that Edward was receiving and the Civil War pension he was seeking was five dollars. But Edward's finances were solid (he owned his restaurant, land, and a great deal of stock), so it is doubtful that it was the money he was after. Indeed, every piece of his voluminous correspondence on this issue from 1921 through 1926 indicates he was pressing his claim as a matter of principle, not need. His steadfast refusal to seek a discharge from the retired list of the army and then apply for the Civil War pension, as

advised, also indicates his fear that he could end up without either, a fear that his experiences regarding naturalization well justified. But it was only after he gave in on this point in 1926 that he finally received his due. By then he was eighty-two years old, required "the regular personal aid and attendance of another person on account of the following disabilities: old age, rheumatism, varicose veins, pleurisy, kidney trouble," and was living in the Battle Mountain Sanitarium for Veterans in Hot Springs, South Dakota.⁴⁷

He apparently felt no bitterness towards the United States over his treatment, for during "flag-down" at the sanitarium, it was "no uncommon thing" to see Cohota—"a refined, splendid-looking grand old gentleman [with] thinning, silvered locks"—"standing uncovered and at attention with reverence and respect."⁴⁸ Nor did Cohota allow his poor health to tie him down. In 1928 he purchased a brand new Oldsmobile, and with his son Ed at the wheel, motored to Gloucester, Massachusetts, with his daughter Lucy for a reunion with Lucy Elizabeth Day. Lelia H. Thomas, a friend of Lucy Elizabeth, found Cohota "a well dressed man with a pleasing personality. He carried a box of stones in his pocket. These looked like diamonds, were cut and shaped like diamonds but did not have much sparkle. They were cut from the Black Hills of South Dakota. He gave me one and one to Mr. Richardson where he was staying." She also noted that the Cohotas cooked all their own meals, with Cohota doing the shopping for the food and buying "the best of everything."⁴⁹

Cohota considered Valentine his home, however. When he died, that was where his family took him for burial. And since he had been a master Mason (he'd joined a lodge at Fort Randall), Cohota's last rites were performed on November 20, 1935, by the Minnechadusa Lodge No. 192 in Valentine.⁵⁰

ANTONIO DARDELLE⁵¹

Antonio Dardelle was brought to Connecticut as a seven-year-old by Captain David White, a Guildford mariner. "Captain and Mrs. White found him in a Chinese port, an orphan, and Mrs. White took such a liking to him that she prevailed upon her husband to permit her to bring him back to this country. He received his early education at the Clinton Academy and lived as a member of Captain White's household."⁵²

When Dardelle, at eighteen, enlisted in Company A, Twenty-seventh Connecticut Volunteer Infantry on August 23, 1862, he gave his place of

residence as Clinton. Since the Twenty-seventh was a nine-month regiment, he mustered in as a private at Camp Terry, in New Haven, on October 3, 1862, and mustered out on July 27, 1863.⁵³ He later told people he had suffered a severe wound in his right shoulder during heavy fighting in the Battle of Marye's Heights, which was a part of the Battle of Fredericksburg, and his military records confirm that he was indeed "in hospital" in December 1862, but the notation is "sick" rather than wounded. On January 27, 1863, he was transferred from the General Hospital at Portsmouth Grove, Rhode Island, to the one in New Haven, and he remained "sick in hospital at New Haven" from January through June. When speaking of his wound, however, he claimed that "after a brief period of treatment, he returned to his company and served until the end of the war."⁵⁴

As a veteran, Dardelle joined the New Haven Grays.⁵⁵ He also used his service to secure U. S. citizenship, the Court of Common Pleas in New Haven accepting his enlistment as the equivalent to "the taking out of first papers."⁵⁶ "With his American citizenship, [Dardelle] embraced the Christian faith and became a member of the First Methodist Church." Moreover, he entered the Masonic Order in Guilford in 1865, changing his affiliation to the Wooster Lodge in 1882, and he was "an active worker with the Young Men's Republican Club, as well as the organization of the party in the ward where he made his home."⁵⁷

For several years after Dardelle mustered out, "home" continued to be Clinton. But on April 9, 1868, he married a Mary C. Payne from Madison, and the following year, they moved to New Haven. All three of his daughters were born there—Minnie on November 7, 1873, Carrie on July 7, 1875, Alice on November 18, 1880—and he supported his family as a tinner and plumber.⁵⁸

Dardelle worked well into old age, perhaps in part because for many years he could not secure the veteran's pension due him. Whether he had served was never in doubt. His exact age, however, was. When he first applied for a pension on February 20, 1907, under the Act of February 6, 1907, Dardelle claimed he was sixty-two and therefore entitled to twelve dollars a month. But he left the year of his birth blank. Pressed by the Bureau of Pensions to give a date, he responded with an affidavit from a Charles Spreyer, who had served with him, explaining, "I left my Native country when but a child. Brought up by a sea capt. who is now dead for this many years and his wife is in dotage therefore I make this [affidavit] under oath of a man who has known me this fifty years."⁵⁹ But the Bureau of Pensions must have denied Dardelle

because eight years later he was still submitting these same explanations regarding his lack of acceptable birth records.

Under the various pension acts, the amount a veteran received increased in direct proportion to the veteran's age, and Dardelle, when finally granted a pension, was apparently given the monies due a man younger than his seventy-two years, for on March 6, 1916, he submitted a request for an increase in pension, this time giving a specific year of birth: 1844. Whether this application was successful or he gave up on trying to convince the government cannot be determined from existing records, but he did not stop working until he was eighty-one.⁶⁰

In addition to his work and the activities already noted, Dardelle was an omnivorous reader, with a special interest in books on philosophy and travel. Because of his daily walks through New Haven, he was well known in the town. He even "enjoyed the friendships of Governors Ingersoll and Woodruff."⁶¹

After he was widowed in 1930, his one unmarried daughter, Alice, kept house for him until his death from pneumonia on January 18, 1933.⁶² At his funeral, members of his Masonic Lodge acted as pallbearers, and the New Haven Grays sent a delegation, including a bugler and honor guard.⁶³ His hard backpack is on display in the New Haven Grays' Museum Room at the 102nd Regimental Armory, New Haven, Connecticut.⁶⁴

JOHN/WILLIAM HANG

When Hang enlisted in the Civil War at the Brooklyn Navy Yard on July 24, 1863, he did not sign his name but made his mark, and his navy records are under the name John Ah Heng.⁶⁵ At the County Court of Richmond on Staten Island twelve years later, he signed William Hang on his declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States.⁶⁶ As a cigar manufacturer in New York City in 1904, his letterhead read Hong Kee Kang.⁶⁷ And his applications for a certificate to replace his lost discharge papers in 1910 and 1918 are signed John Hang.⁶⁸ Notwithstanding this confusion of names, parts of his history have been recovered.

Hang was born in Canton, China. Twenty-two at his enlistment, he had already been in the country for five years. He served as a landsman (a sailor of little experience rated below an ordinary seaman) on the *North Carolina* (until August 13, 1863), then the *Albatross* (until May 14, 1864).⁶⁹ He later claimed to have been on board the *Hartford* as well

as the *Albatross* during Admiral Farragut's blockade of Mobile. "Not fight," he told a reporter, "but handed out powder, all same."⁷⁰ Transferred to the *Penguin*, his rating remained that of a landsman until July 31, 1864, at which time he was made cabin steward. He was discharged at the Boston Navy Yard on September 30, 1864.⁷¹

From Boston he went to Staten Island, where he opened a grocery store.⁷² On September 22, 1875, he personally appeared at the Court of Common Pleas for the city and county of New York and made his sworn declaration of intention to become a citizen. His citizenship was granted on October 6, 1892. Still working as a grocer, he was living at 13 Pell Street in Manhattan.⁷³

Once a citizen, he "always voted." But on August 17, 1904, he was arrested—along with two other Chinese—by Dempsey P. Meetze, a special employee of the Department of Justice, for exercising his franchise.⁷⁴ All three men had documents proving their naturalizations. But Joel M. Marx, assistant United States attorney, said, "I consider the judges who issued the papers responsible for the dense and almost inexcusable ignorance shown by them in not knowing of the naturalization laws passed in 1870 and reiterated in 1882 in section 126 of the Revised Statutes, which explicitly states that Chinese cannot be naturalized."⁷⁵ Four years later, on October 21, 1908, Hang's citizenship was "vacated and set aside" by New York's Supreme Court.⁷⁶

As noted earlier, Hang twice applied for a certificate to replace his lost discharge papers. On his first application, he claimed, "I was living at West Brighton, Staten Island, when I was moving to New York and in the confusion I believe I burnt [my discharge] with a lot of old memorandums that I wished to destroy." Eight years later, he wrote, "Just after leaving the Supreme Court of New York City in City Hall Park of New York City I was jostled and shortly afterwards upon looking for any papers which I had carried to the Court with me, as I was a witness in a case, I discovered they were gone." His reason for wanting proof of his service was "I would like to leave it to my relations at my death."⁷⁷

JOSEPH L. PIERCE

There are at least four versions of how Joseph L. Pierce came to Connecticut from China.⁷⁸

According to an unnamed "comrade" from the Civil War, Pierce was born in China on May 10, 1842, "drifted to Japan when small and was there picked up by Capt. Joseph A. Pierce of New Britain, who finding

he had no friends, brought him up at his own home."⁷⁹ Pierce, however, signed his name with the middle initial "L" rather than "A," and in his pension declaration, he gave his birth date as November 16, 1842.⁸⁰ Moreover, an extensive search for a Captain Joseph A. Pierce in Connecticut directories revealed no one by that name.

Another war comrade, Private Edwin Stroud, claimed Pierce was "picked up 40 miles from shore in the China sea by Capt. Peck, Kensington."⁸¹ And the Pierce story *has* "long been a Peck family tradition." But even within the family there are two conflicting accounts of how Captain Amos Peck III, who was in the China trade, came upon Pierce. In one, "He is said to have bought Joseph Pierce, then 10 years old, from the lad's father in China, in or near Canton, for \$6, the father desperately needing the money to feed his starving family." In the other, "the boy's elder brother, like the father, literally sold his kid brother for about \$50-60 into foreign slavery to get rid of him." The stories then converge. When Peck, a lifelong bachelor, went home, he "handed his 10-year-old 'slave' over to his mother to rear since he was starting on another voyage. Mother Peck taught Joe how to read and cipher [and] he went to school with Amos' younger brothers and sisters in the same country school in Kensington they attended." Here the boy, who had been called Joe by Peck's crew, "formally became Joseph Pierce, named after Franklin Pierce who in 1852 was campaigning for the Presidency or had just become the fourteenth President of the United States in March 1853."⁸²

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Pierce was farming in Berlin, Connecticut. He enlisted in Company F, Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry (a three-year regiment that drew men from eighty-six towns) in New Britain on July 26, 1862, and was mustered in at Camp Foot, two miles outside Hartford, on August 23, 1862.⁸³ Two days later, "The regiment left camp with bands playing and flags flying, marching in a column of four into Hartford to the Hartford-New York Steamboat Wharf at the foot of State Street," where the men boarded the steamers *City of Hartford* and *Dudley Buck*. Spectators lined the streets and the banks of the Connecticut River. One veteran recalled, "The dock [at Middletown] and all the space about was black with people. Many came to the boats with baskets of fruit and food which were greatly appreciated by the boys. At Cobalt, a great gun on the hill gave us a roaring godspeed, and there were hearty greetings from a crowd of friends at Middle Had-dam." In New York City, the regiment boarded a troop train for Washington, and a few weeks later it was "fighting for its life" at Antietam.⁸⁴

The regiment's losses during this battle were heavy: 20 killed, 48 missing, 88 wounded. Among the wounded was Pierce, who fell over a fence during the fierce fighting, injuring his back so badly that he was "sick in Hospital at Alexandria" for over a month.⁸⁵ In November and December, he was sufficiently recovered to work as a cook in a Virginia Convalescent Camp. But January, February, and April of 1863 found him back in the hospital; in March he was "on detached service in Hospital Div."⁸⁶

Returning to his unit in May, he distinguished himself in Gettysburg, where he was among the first to go out on the skirmish line on July 2 and volunteered for the critical attack against the Bliss farm on July 3, the day of Pickett's charge.⁸⁷ "The Bliss barn and farmhouse, bordered by a 10-acre orchard and a field of wheat," lay roughly halfway between the Confederate and Union armies. "Because of its sound masonry construction, the barn became a miniature fortress," and the two armies "struggled for its possession." On the morning of July 3, Confederate sharpshooters, once again in control, were firing at Union positions on Cemetery Ridge, and General Alexander Hays ordered Colonel Thomas A. Smyth "to rid his troops permanently of this vexation." Smyth called upon the Fourteenth Connecticut to carry out the order, which they did under "savage fire, [thus] contributing to the great Union victory later in the afternoon."

That evening Pierce was among the men detailed to gather the Confederate wounded. As Pierce and his comrades worked, "the slanting rays of the setting sun filtered through the woods along Seminary Ridge and the whole battlefield softened into twilight." But even the half light could not hide the horror of the battle's aftermath. There were bodies with limbs torn off by shell and cannon fire, and dead men still clutching photographs of wives and children in their hands. The wounded, scattered or lying in heaps, writhed in agony, calling for water, an end to their suffering.

Pierce was charged for a new canteen (44 cents), rubber blanket (\$2.55), half-shelter tent (\$1.62), and bayonet sheath (45 cents) that he presumably lost in battle and had to replace. Promoted to corporal on November 1, 1863, he was assigned to "recruiting service" in the following month, and was sent back to conscript camp in New Haven from February 9 through September 1864, when he returned to his company, mustering out with them at Baileys Crossroads, Virginia, on May 31, 1865.⁸⁸ This promotion was significant as there were only three corporals and three sergeants to a company.⁸⁹

Pierce did not return to Berlin or to farming. Instead, he settled in Meriden (boarding at first with a member of the Peck family), where he worked as an engraver in its famous silverware industry.⁹⁰ "A confirmed dandy with his silk hat and everything that went with it," he did not marry until November 12, 1876, when he was past thirty. His bride, a Martha A. Morgan from Portland, was twenty-one.⁹¹ Together, they had four children—Sula on April 24, 1879, Edna Bertha on January 22, 1881, Franklin on May 13, 1882, and Howard on January 2, 1884—but only the sons survived infancy.⁹²

Pierce's injury at Antietam continued to trouble him, especially after he turned forty, and as of October 25, 1890, he began collecting an "invalid pension" of ten dollars a month under the act of June 27, 1890.⁹³ But when he requested an increase the following year, explaining, "I am weak and at times have difficulty in voiding urine," the Commissioner turned him down, declaring, "No record found showing wound or injury as alleged."

Given the records in Pierce's military files that clearly show he was hospitalized for months after Antietam, the commissioner's response is difficult to understand. Pierce must have thought so, too, for he continued to press his claim.

A doctor in 1891 verified that "Lameness and pain are alleged and probable. . . . He is very ill fed and quite thin and notably feeble." Nevertheless, the doctor gave Pierce a 5/9 disability rating—4/18 on account of muscular rheumatism, 2/18 for heart disease, 4/18 for "debility, cause not evident"—and refused him an increase.

On December 5, 1904, a physical examination showed that Pierce had shrunk from five feet five inches to five feet three inches, had dropped from 130 pounds to 104, and that his hair was completely gray. The examining physician further noted that Pierce was laid up in bed from one to three months nearly every year, suffered pain in his stomach nearly every morning, and had an irregular appetite. But he, too, concluded these disabilities only warranted "a rate of \$10."

Rejected by the Bureau of Pensions yet again on January 10, 1907, Pierce was finally granted a \$2 increase on March 8, 1907, and another \$6 on May 22, 1912, with a rate of \$24 per month commencing on November 16, 1912. But he was apparently forced to supplement these meager sums since he continued to work until 1915.

Suddenly, on May 22, 1913, the Bureau of Pensions demanded proof of Pierce's birth date. Since he had no birth certificate, he responded with an affidavit signed by Albert A. May that stated: "I have known

Joseph Pierce for a good many years, and he certainly looks and would pass for a man much older than seventy. I am nearly seventy myself and I know he looks ten years older than I." Indeed, Pierce's signature on the affidavit is so shaky one wonders how he could have still been working as an engraver.

The Bureau, satisfied, continued to send Pierce his pension until his death from a combination of grippe, arteriosclerosis, and chronic bronchitis on January 3, 1916.⁹⁴ Survived by his wife and two sons, Pierce was buried in the Walnut Grove Cemetery after a private funeral without any military honors.⁹⁵

Seventy-six years later, John Dynia, a retired U.S. Army colonel and Civil War enthusiast, became interested in Pierce when he read in George Stewart's *Pickett's Charge* that he was the only Chinese in the Army of the Potomac. Figuring Pierce was then "likely the only such person in the approximately 160,000 men taking part in the Battle of Gettysburg," Dynia submitted a photograph along with a recommendation for the veteran's inclusion in the Gettysburg Wall of Faces to the chief of interpretation at the Visitor's Center in Gettysburg National Military Park. The pictures on this wall are of men "who were present at the Battle, none above the rank of captain." And in August 1993, Pierce's image—a dashing figure in Western attire with a Chinese queue—was added to the wall.⁹⁶

JOHN TOMNEY⁹⁷

John Tomney arrived in New York City shortly after the war began.⁹⁸ General Daniel E. Sickles, under special authority from the War Department, was recruiting a regiment that came to be known as the First Regiment Excelsior Brigade, or sometimes simply as Sickles' Brigade.⁹⁹ Although Tomney was "entirely ignorant" of English, he was somehow "induced to enlist" on May 15, 1861, to serve three years. He was eighteen years old.¹⁰⁰

On June 21, 1861, he was mustered in as a private in Company D, the Seventieth New York Infantry at Camp Scott on Staten Island.¹⁰¹ Described as "bright, smart, and honest," he soon became "a favorite" and "was at once the butt and wit of the whole regiment."¹⁰²

The regiment left the state July 23, 1861, and served at and near Washington, D.C., from July 1861; in Sickles' Brigade, Hooker's Division, Army of the Potomac from October 15, 1861; and in the same, Sec-

ond Brigade and Second Division, Third Corps, Army of the Potomac, from March 1862.¹⁰³

On March 17, 1862, Tomney "fell out of ranks" while on the march in Stafford and Prince William counties in Virginia. Whether he fell out with a detachment of the regiment or alone because of fatigue is not clear, but he was captured at Stafford on March 30.¹⁰⁴

As a prisoner, Tomney was "brought before General Magruder, who surprised at his appearance and color asked him was he a mulatto, Indian, or what? When Tommy told him he was from China, Magruder was very much amused and asked him how much he would take to join the Confederate Army. 'Not unless you make me a Brigadier General,' said Tommy." The secesh officers, delighted with this retort, "treated him very kindly." Indeed, Tomney "soon became a lion in the rebel camp."¹⁰⁵

Confined at Richmond, Virginia, he was paroled at Newport News on May 13, 1862, and for the next several months Tomney "employed his time attending upon his sick and wounded comrades. He was the kindest of nurses, and expended his little remand in providing delicacies for his sick fellow soldiers."¹⁰⁶

Then, either on August 15 or September 23, 1862, he reported at Camp Parole, Maryland, where he became a member of Captain Dimmick's Detachment, Second Battalion of Paroled Prisoners, an organization made up of paroled prisoners of war for duty compatible with their parole. He finally returned to camp December 17, 1862, and was promoted to corporal on February 8, 1863.¹⁰⁷

The Excelsior Brigade, taking part in eighteen engagements, was known as "the bravest of brigades," and John Tomney as "one of [its] bravest soldiers." On July 2, 1863, at Gettysburg, "he was struck by a shell which tore off both legs at the thighs, and he shortly bled to death."¹⁰⁸ He left no personal effects.¹⁰⁹

MARSHALL TSAO AND HONG NEOK WOO¹¹⁰

At least one family in China had members who fought on opposing sides of the war. According to Dr. C. Y. Shu, one of his great-aunts was married to Confederate veteran Marshall Tsao, another to Union veteran Hong Neok Woo.¹¹¹

Unfortunately, all that is known about Tsao is that he returned to China after the war and became an Episcopalian minister, and that one of his sons served as president of Tsing Hua University in Beijing.¹¹² There is considerably more material available on Woo, however.

Woo was born on August 7, 1834, "in a little hamlet called Antowtson, 5 miles outside the south gate of the city of Chang Chow, in the district of Yanghuhsien, China." His people were poor but industrious farmers with ambitions for their son to work in a *hong*, one of the large companies through which the Chinese government forced foreign merchants to trade. When Woo's father, who frequently went to Shanghai to sell farm products, learned of the Shanghai Mission School—opened by Bishop William J. Boone of the American Church Mission—he enrolled his son.¹¹³

Woo, then thirteen, boarded at the school. Two years later he was baptized by Bishop Boone in the school chapel. The following year he was confirmed. Under the tutelage of a Miss Fay, who took kindly to the "patient, plodding boy," Woo "generally stood well in his classes." Then a new superintendent arrived and took over the instruction of Miss Fay's twenty boys. This man was extremely strict, and when he called Woo a dunce, the boy ran away. Nor was Woo the only student to do so. Many of his classmates also "disappeared." Soon after the superintendent left for the United States, these same boys returned one by one and asked to be readmitted. "For the sake of discipline," Bishop Boone refused. Instead, "he found the boys places of employment."¹¹⁴

The American Church Mission was, at that time, the only American mission in Shanghai. So when the frigates *Susquehanna* and *Powhatan* from Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan visited that city, their officers attended Sunday services at the mission. Since Woo expressed an interest in seeing the United States, Reverend Points, who was attached to the mission, persuaded the officers on the *Susquehanna* to take Woo on as a cabin boy.

During the ship's eight-month voyage, Woo waited on the ship's surgeon, Dr. John S. Messersmith. And when the ship landed at the Philadelphia Navy Yard in March 1855, Woo accompanied Messersmith to the doctor's home in Lancaster, living in the same household until Messersmith's marriage.

The strict superintendent's indictment of Woo apparently left its mark, for he turned down an opportunity to study at a parochial school, saying he was a poor student. Due to an economic depression, he failed

to find employment. A sympathetic neighbor, Joseph Clarkson, suggested Woo learn the trade of a printer, so he worked seven years at the *Lancaster Examiner and Herald*—four years as an apprentice, three as a journeyman—after which he was employed by the *Daily Express* as a pressman.

It was there, while oiling a machine, that Woo's right hand got caught in a cogwheel, and the flesh, skin, and nail were torn from his middle finger. This terrible experience, he said, left him with a lifelong desire to help those suffering illness or pain.¹¹⁵

On September 22, 1860, Woo became a naturalized American. He took his citizenship seriously. Moreover, he had a powerful sense of duty, and "with him an impulse of duty [was] followed by corresponding action." In his middle years, after he was married and a father, he even left his dying child to conduct ordinary chapel services simply because it was "his turn." Not surprisingly then, when the Confederate Army invaded Pennsylvania, Woo answered Governor Curtin's call for fifty thousand volunteers to protect the state and strengthen the Union Army.¹¹⁶

"I volunteered on June 29th, 1863, in spite of my Lancaster friends being against it, for I had felt that the North was right in opposing slavery. My friends thought I should not join the militia and risk my life in war, for my own people and family were in China and I had neither property nor family in America whose defense might serve as an excuse for my volunteering."¹¹⁷

As a member of Company I, Fiftieth Regiment Infantry, Pennsylvania Volunteer Emergency Militia, commanded by Captain John H. Druckemiller, Woo was immediately sent to Safe Harbor, a camp on a hill at the mouth of Conestoga Creek. Seeing no action there, he returned to Lancaster and mustered into the service of the state on July 2, 1863. His company was sent to Harrisburg, where it was equipped, then transported by train through the Cumberland Valley to Chambersburg. After a short stay, the men marched on to Hagerstown and Williamsport, Maryland, doing picket duty at Dam No. Five on the Potomac River. In August, the company returned to Camp Curtin in Harrisburg, and Woo mustered out of the service at Lancaster on August 15, 1863, still having seen no action.¹¹⁸

The following February he decided to return to China, again working on board to pay his passage. Back in Shanghai, he interpreted for an English establishment that employed Chinese workmen. At the

same time, he "began a course of study with Mr. Thompson, preparatory to being admitted to Holy Orders."¹¹⁹

Ordained a deacon in 1867, Woo advanced to the priesthood in 1880. According to his former teacher, Miss Fay, he was an eloquent preacher with "a wonderful gift of speaking, seizing upon the most simple and effective truths of our holy religion, and impressing them upon the hearts of his hearers." He also "showed great love for the theory and practice of medicine, nursing and caring for the sick," and helping to establish a dispensary that eventually developed into St. Luke's Hospital.

A man of "untiring energy," he served as catechist, hospital assistant, physician, and chaplain, organizer of (and teacher in) the boys' schools, as well as general missionary of the diocese. "Generous, warm-hearted, and impulsive," he also possessed an "unfaltering self-confidence." At seventy-two, an age when he might have entered a well-earned retirement, he began a vigorous—and ultimately successful—campaign for the establishment of an Industrial Home for poor widows, raising sufficient money to purchase land and erect a building for more than one hundred women.

Ironically, it was in his mission work that Woo finally "saw action." While he was attempting to open Taitsing to mission work, the conservative literati in the town raised such strenuous opposition that the local magistrate had Woo seized and taken to the Yamen, where he was severely beaten.¹²⁰

Undaunted, Woo remained dedicated to spreading the Gospel until his death on August 18, 1919. He was buried in Shanghai's Westgate Cemetery.¹²¹

CONCLUSION

Clearly, only a few Chinese Americans served in the Civil War. Yet the range of their participation was broad, and the significance of their service should not be lightly dismissed. Even if no additional veterans of Chinese ancestry are discovered, the level of combatants in proportion to the Chinese population seems substantial: 2 out of 11 in Connecticut, 1 out of 28 in Massachusetts, 3 out of 77 in New York, 1 out of 21 in Pennsylvania—and these figures do not take into account how many of the Chinese population were male and of age for military service.¹²²

Nor do they take into account men like Yung Wing, a naturalized citizen, who offered his services as a volunteer, including paying for all his own equipment, only to be told, "We have plenty of men to serve, both as couriers and as fighting men to go to the front."¹²³

Why did such a high percentage of Chinese volunteer? Did naturalized citizens from Europe feel the same imperative to serve as Yung Wing and Hong Neok Woo? Did those torn from their own families (like Cohota, Dardelle, and Pierce) identify with the abolitionist cause? Or were they taking on the values of their adoptive families in the same way the Bunker cousins did their fathers'?

Of the five Union soldiers profiled, two earned promotion to corporal. That, too, seems disproportionate. Then there were the difficulties over citizenship that so many of the veterans encountered. In short, these profiles—collectively and individually—seem to beg for further research. It is my hope that others will continue to explore this scarcely mined area of the Chinese experience in America.

NOTES

1. See Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951) (hereafter cited as *Foreigners*); and *World Almanac* 1995 (N.J.: Funk & Wagnalls, 1994).
2. See Lonn, *Foreigners*; and William F. Strobbridge, "Siam's Union Army Veteran," unpublished manuscript in possession of the author.
3. See George R. Stewart, *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1959); and Arthur Bonner, *The Chinese in New York, 1800–1950*, unpublished manuscript.
4. This clipping was sent to me by Dr. C. Y. Shu, who believes the newspaper was the *Chicago Tribune*, but is not certain.
5. Charlie Chin, "Different Shades of Blue and Gray," *The New Asian Standard* (August 1991): 18, 19.
6. I am indebted to all those whose work in this area preceded mine. I am also indebted to Him Mark Lai and Judy Yung for their encouragement and help; Col. William Strobbridge and Col. John Dynia for sharing their information and expertise on the Civil War and matters military (any errors remaining being mine); the sources named in each of the profiles; and, as always, the many archivists and librarians all across the United States who, once again, made my quest theirs. Without them, there would be no article. For ease in reading, no [sic] follows any of the many spelling and grammatical errors in the quotes used in these profiles.

7. John Akomb was also known as John Anderson. One of the difficulties in identifying Chinese combatants was their frequent use of non-Asian names. Also, the use of multiple names by many of the Chinese combatants has led to added difficulty in their discovery and then to confusion in attempts to recover their records.
8. See "Pining for Their Poison," *New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1878; *New York Sun*, Aug. 11, 1878. Since the navy did not begin to maintain personnel files for enlisted men until 1885, it has not been possible to verify these claims. Deck logs for the *Massachusetts* covering the period of the Civil War show no references to a Captain Hudson. But several individuals named Hudson did serve as officers during the war. Also, the reporters' claims that the Chinese arrested were opium addicts (hence the title for the article) may be the result of the stereotypes prevailing at that time rather than true addictions.
9. *New York Herald*, Aug. 13, 1878. Akomb's age was given as 46 in the *New York Times*, 60 in the *New York Herald*.
10. *New York Herald*, Aug. 14, 1878.
11. See Irving Wallace and Amy Wallace, *The Two: A Biography*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978) (hereafter cited as *The Two*). In a letter to the author (Jan. 27, 1995), Col. John Dynia points out that it was highly unlikely "an experienced officer like Stoneman would arm [rebell] conscripts and incorporate them into his division, which is what the quote implies." He goes on to say that Stoneman's purpose in drafting locals was most likely "to use them as laborers or possibly as guides."
12. See John Kuo Wei Tchen, "New York Before Chinatown: Orientalism, Identity Formation, and Political Culture in the American Metropolis, 1784–1882," (Ph.D. dissertation. New York University, 1992), chapter six (hereafter cited as "New York").
13. See Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*.
14. Tchen, New York, 236.
15. In fairness it must be noted that Union commander General David Hunter, who was General Early's ultimate target, had been burning civilian homes in Virginia and generally treating unarmed Southern citizens like enemy soldiers.
16. See Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*.
17. I am grateful to Edward Day Cohota's great-grandson, Melville Brown, for introducing me to Cohota's granddaughter, Marilu Cooper, and to Ms. Cooper for generously sharing her grandfather's history through a telephone interview, wonderfully detailed letters, and Cohota's personal papers, newspaper clippings, and photographs. In the sources used, "Cohota" is often misspelled "Cohata" or "Cahota."
18. See Barbara H. Erkkila, untitled article, *North Shore '70*, May 23, 1970, which draws heavily on a letter from Elizabeth Bouza to Barbara Erkkila, Oct. 14, 1965; files of Cape Ann Historical Association (hereafter cited as *North Shore*; and Olive Van Metre, *North Country, Volume I: The Old Town 1880–1889*.

19. Erkkila, *North Shore*.
20. Anna Lindsay, "Elizabeth Bouza's Story," undated clipping, files of Marilu Cooper (hereafter cited as "Bouza's Story"). Bouza's "story" was repeated in Will Spindler's "Oriental Accent Given to Sheridan County During its Early History," *Sheridan Country Star*, July 6, 1967 (hereafter cited as "Oriental Accent"), which was later reprinted as "Chinaman Served in Civil War," *Western Outlook*, Apr. 1971. It is likely that the capsule summary in Cohota's obituary (*Valentine Republican*, Nov. 20, 1935, files of Marilu Cooper) stemmed from Bouza's "story" as well.
21. See *Biographical Review*, Vol. XXVIII, *Essex County, MA* (Boston, 1898), 140, 141 (hereafter cited as *Biographical*); "Veteran of the Sea," *Gloucester Daily Times*, Mar. 3, 1902 (hereafter cited as "Veteran").
22. See "Chinaman Who Was Civil War Soldier Patriotic American," newspaper clipping, July 19, 1930, files of Marilu Cooper; "Man Without a Country," in *Nebraska State Journal*, Sept. 16, 1912 (hereafter cited as "Man"); Erkkila, *North Shore*; "Veteran"; letter from Barbara Erkkila to Elizabeth Bouza, June 14, 1970, files of Cape Ann Historical Association. The *Nebraska State Journal* reporter claimed Edward once "had a letter from his brother in Shanghai. He was compelled to send this letter to San Francisco to have it interpreted and then to send his own letter in reply to San Francisco for translation into Chinese before it went back to the old country." But it seems incredible that Edward could have maintained any contact with his Chinese family, especially since he told his children he did not even know his Chinese name.
23. In "Only Chinese G.A.R. Vet Visits Gloucester, His Boyhood Home," newspaper clipping, Aug. 8, 1928, files of Cape Ann Historical Association (hereafter cited as "G.A.R. Vet"), the reporter claims that "[Day] took on a Chinese cabin boy of eight years who proved such a likeable chap that the captain adopted him under the name of Edward Day Cahota." And this article was written on the occasion of Cohota's visit to Gloucester. But the only information in the article that is attributed to Cohota is "Mr. Cahota claims to be a Gloucesterite, which accounts for his visit here." On the other hand, Cohota's occupation at his enlistment was given as mariner.
24. Edward Day Cohota, Military Records, National Archives, Washington D.C. Curiously, although Cohota went to school and was literate, his enlistment paper has an X in place of a signature.
25. Letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Feb. 10, 1994.
26. Letter from Lucy Elizabeth Day to Edward Cohota, Nov. 19, 1931, files of Marilu Cooper.
27. Letter from Erkkila to Bouza, June 14, 1970.
28. Letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Feb. 10, 1994.
29. That Elias Elwell Day lost touch with Cohota can be seen in the wild misinformation he passed down to his grandson Harold K. Roach: "When Ed was about 12 years old he ran away from home [and] became the youngest soldier to fight in the Union Army during the Civil War. He was a drummer boy. He grew to be over 6 feet tall. Years later he lived in El Paso, Texas, and ran a large gambling operation across the border in Juarez,

- Mexico." (Letter from Harold K. Roach to Paula B. Richter, Dec. 15, 1983, files of Cape Ann Historical Association.)
30. Letter from Erkkila to Bouza, June 14, 1970.
31. Letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Nov. 15, 1994. Cohota continued to give December 27, 1848, as his birth date on all subsequent documents. Obviously, a man who did not remember his birth name would not have known his day of birth either, and according to Elizabeth Bouza, December 27 was actually the day her father boarded the *Cohota*. The year of his birth that he changed at his enlistment must have been an educated guess by Captain and Mrs. Day. Cohota was definitely still a growing boy even after his Civil War service: at his discharge, he was five feet and 4 3/4 inches; four years later, he was five feet and 7 3/4 inches. (See Army Discharge Certificates June 25, 1865, and November 26, 1869, files of Marilu Cooper.) Interestingly, although this height is no more than average, Cohota was consistently described as "tall," "over 6 feet," and "stately." Only his granddaughter, Marilu Cooper, describes him as "short and stocky," which is how his photographs show him.
32. See "Man."
33. James A. Emmerton, *A Record of the Twenty-Third Regiment Mass. Vol. Infantry in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (Boston: William Ware & Co., 1886) (hereafter cited as *Record*).
34. Handwritten note by Lucy Krauss on page 223 of Cohota's copy of Emmerton, *Record*.
35. Erkkila, *North Shore*.
36. See letter from Hestor Cunningham Williams to editor, *Gloucester Times*, undated, files of Cape Ann Historical Association; handwritten note by Lucy Krauss on back of photograph of Low & Cohota taken at their reunion; Erkkila, *North Shore*; and "G.A.R. Vet," which is the only source that claims Cohota instigated the visit with Low. Cohota's military records indicate he was "Absent sick" from February 29 through August 1864. They also include a casualty sheet that has him arriving at Central Park Hospital on July 21 (no year) with lumbago. According to historian Col. William Strobridge, it was not unusual for Civil War soldiers in hospital to quit their beds for the battlefield, so Low's account can and should be credited.
37. Letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Mar. 14, 1994.
38. See Edward Day Cohota File, 23rd Regiment, Cape Ann Historical Association; Erkkila, *North Shore*; Van Metre, *North Country*. Cohota's feelings regarding a career in the army seem to have been ambivalent. He gave his occupation as "seaman" when enlisting in the regular army. When he reenlisted in 1874, he still gave his occupation on enlistment as "seaman."
39. See Erkkila, *North Shore*; Lindsay, "Bouza's Story"; letter from Elizabeth Bouza to Emma Krauss, undated, files of Marilu Cooper; letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Mar. 14, 1994.
40. Letter from Marilu Cooper to author Mar. 3, 1994. It was through General Miles that Cohota was transferred from Company C to Company G. More about their relationship is not known.

41. See Erkkila, *North Shore*; Spindler, "Oriental Accent"; Lindsay, "Bouza's Story"; letter from Marilu Cooper to author Mar. 3, 1994; Cohota's Army Discharge Certificates, Nov. 26, 1869, Dec. 1, 1874, Nov. 30, 1879, Nov. 30, 1884, and Nov. 30, 1889, files of Marilu Cooper.
42. See Van Metre, *North Country*; Erkkila, *North Shore*; Spindler, "Oriental Accent."
43. The following account of Cohota's efforts to become a citizen is from Lindsay, "Bouza's Story"; "Man," *Nebraska State Journal*; "Chinese Who Served in Northern Army During Civil War Succumbs," newspaper clipping, Nov. 22, 1935, files of Marilu Cooper; undated typewritten affidavit by Edward Day Cohota, files of Marilu Cooper.
44. The following account of Cohota's efforts to secure a Civil War pension is from Edward Day Cohota, Pension Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Pension Records).
45. Letter from Frank Fischer to John W. Morris, May 17, 1922, files of Marilu Cooper.
46. Cohota, Pension Records.
47. See Cohota, Pension Records; letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Mar. 12, 1994. Also, letter from Department of the Interior to Edward Day Cohota, July 15, 1924; letters from Edward Day Cohota to Adjutant General, U.S. Army, July 22, 1924, and Feb. 18, 1926; letter from Edward Day Cohota to Wilder S. Metcalf, May 7, 1925; and Cohota's certificate of Discharge from retired list of the army, Mar. 11, 1926; all from files of Marilu Cooper.
48. "Chinaman Who Was Civil War Soldier Patriotic American," newspaper clipping, July 19, 1930, files of Marilu Cooper.
49. See Oldsmobile Service Card 8787, files of Marilu Cooper; letter from Erkkila to Bouza, June 14, 1970.
50. See Obituaries, *Valentine Republican*, Nov. 20, 1935; and *Omaha World Herald*, undated, files of Marilu Cooper.
51. I am grateful to Col. John Dynia for telling Andrew Cusati about my interest in Dardelle, and to Mr. Cusati, a reenactor in the 27th Connecticut Regiment, for generously sending me copies of Dardelle's military records and other data. It should be noted that Dardelle's military records are available from the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and that in some of the sources cited Dardelle is misspelled "Dordelle" and "Dardell."
52. "Lone Chinese Civil War Vet Dies in City," *New Haven Register*, Jan. 19, 1933, 5 (hereafter cited as "Lone Chinese").
53. See Adjutant General's *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the Army and Navy of the United States During the War of the Rebellion* (Hartford: The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1889), 830; Antonio Dardelle, Military Records.
54. See "Lone Chinese"; Dardelle, Military Records.
55. "Grays Will Attend Services for Dardell," undated and unnamed newspaper clipping, files of Andrew Cusati (hereafter cited as "Grays").
56. *New York Times*, Mar. 17, 1882.

57. "Lone Chinese."
58. See "Lone Chinese"; Dardelle, Pension Records; *Benham's New Haven Directory, 1870-71*; *New Haven City Directory, 1899*.
59. Dardelle, Pension Records.
60. Ibid.
61. "Lone Chinese."
62. See "Lone Chinese"; Application for Burial Flag, Jan. 19, 1933.
63. See "Grays"; "Burial Services Tomorrow for Antonio Dardell," undated newspaper clipping, files of Andrew Cusati.
64. Photocopies of photograph taken Mar. 1993 and handwritten note on the reverse, files of Andrew Cusati.
65. John Ah Heng, Naval Records, National Archives, Washington D.C.
66. William Hang, Naturalization Records, National Archives, Northeast Region, New York City. I am grateful to John Kuo Wei Tchen for pointing me in the right direction for locating these records by telling me that Staten Island was once Richmond County.
67. Letter from Arthur Bonner to author (quoting "Worthless Naturalization Papers," *New York Tribune*, Sept. 28, 1904), June 14, 1994. In the article quoted, Hang's name is apparently given as William A. Hong.
68. Ah Heng, Naval Records.
69. See *ibid.* and William Hang, Naturalization Records.
70. See Ah Heng, Naval Records; and letter from Bonner to author. In a letter to the author (Jan. 21, 1995), John H. Friend, Jr., an authority on the Blockade of Mobile, wrote: "Landsman Hong did serve in Admiral Farragut's West Gulf Blockade Squadron on both the USS Albatross and USS Penguin in 1864. However, I can find no evidence that he participated in the Battle of Mobile Bay on the USS Hartford, Farragut's flagship, and the Albatross and Penguin were not in that action."
71. Ah Heng, Naval Records.
72. Letter from Bonner to author.
73. Hang, Naturalization Records.
74. *New York Tribune*, Aug. 17, 1904.
75. *New York Tribune*, Aug. 18, 1904.
76. Hang, Naturalization Records.
77. Ah Heng, Naval Records.
78. I am grateful to Edith B. Nettleton at the Guilford Free Library for bringing my interest in Joseph L. Pierce to the attention of Col. John Dynia, who heads the Civil War group that meets in the library, and to Col. Dynia for generously sharing the fruits of his research, including Pierce's military records, with me. These military records are available from the National Archives, Washington, D.C.
79. Extract of Minutes of 1916 Reunion of 14th Connecticut, files of Col. John Dynia.
80. Joseph L. Pierce, Pension Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
81. Handwritten note on back of a photograph of one of Joseph Pierce's daughters. The photograph is the property of Stroud's grandson, Harold

- Harrison, of East Berlin, and was reproduced in Herbert J. Stoekel's "More About the Chinese Yankee," *The Courant Magazine* (Aug. 4, 1963): 4 (hereafter cited as "Chinese Yankee").
82. Stoekel, "Chinese Yankee."
 83. See Joseph L. Pierce, Military Records; Adjutant-General, *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the Army and Navy of the United States During the War of the Rebellion* (Hartford: The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1889), 570. Joseph L. Pierce should not be confused with Joseph Pierce in Company F, the 15th Regiment Infantry.
 84. Herbert J. Stoekel, "Oriental Yank from Berlin," *The Courant Magazine* (June 30, 1963): 6 (hereafter cited as "Oriental Yank").
 85. See Stoekel, "Oriental Yank"; Pierce, Pension Records; Pierce, Military Records.
 86. Pierce, Military Records.
 87. See *ibid.*; letter from Col. John Dynia to author, Sept. 29, 1944; and Charles P. Hamblen, *Connecticut Yankees at Gettysburg* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1933). The Gettysburg account that follows is taken from Hamblen, *Connecticut Yankees*.
 88. See Pierce, Military Records.
 89. Col. William Strobbridge, interview with author, Feb. 1, 1995.
 90. See "Nutmeg Notes," *Telephone News*, undated; Meriden Directories, 1870-71, 1873, 1873-74, 1874-75, 1875, 1878, 1879, 1882, 1885, 1915.
 91. See Stoekel, "Oriental Yank"; Stoekel, "Chinese Yankee."
 92. See Stoekel, "Chinese Yankee"; Pierce, Pension Records.
 93. The following account of Pierce's efforts to secure a pension is taken from Pierce, Pension Records.
 94. See *ibid.*; and Certificate from Meriden's Registrar of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, April 18, 1916.
 95. Obituary, *Meriden Daily Journal*, Jan. 3, 1916.
 96. See letter from Col. John Dynia to author, June 27, 1994; letter from Col. John Dynia to Chief of Interpretation & Visitor Services, Gettysburg National Military Park, Oct. 12, 1992; letters from James C. Roach to Col. John Dynia, Oct. 20, 1992, and Aug. 9, 1993.
 97. John Tomney is the name under which this veteran was enlisted. But the spelling of his surname in his military records and in newspaper articles is often Tommy, and on p. 540 of the *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York for the Year 1901* (hereafter cited as *Annual Report*), the notation is made "also borne as Tommy."
 98. "China at Gettysburg," *Daily Alta California*, Aug. 5, 1863, 1 (hereafter cited as "Gettysburg").
 99. Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1865*, 3rd ed., vol. IV (Albany: 1912), 2709 (hereafter cited as *Rebellion*).
 100. See "Gettysburg"; *Annual Report*; and John Tomney, Military Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
 101. Tomney, Military Records.
 102. "Gettysburg."
 103. See Phisterer, *Rebellion*.

104. Tomney, Military Records.
105. "Gettysburg."
106. See Tomney, Military Records; and "Gettysburg."
107. Tomney, Military Records.
108. "Gettysburg."
109. Tomney, Military Records.
110. In the sources consulted, Hong Neok Woo's name appears variously as W. Hoong Neok, Hong Niok Woo, and Woo Hung Neok.
111. Letter from Dr. C. Y. Shu to author, July 30, 1986. The sister of Union veteran Hong Neok Woo married Dr. Shu's maternal grandfather's younger brother, while Confederate veteran Marshall Tsao married the sister of Dr. Shu's maternal grandfather.
112. Letters from Dr. C. Y. Shu to author, July 8, 1986, July 30, 1986.
113. See William Frederic Worner, "A Chinese Soldier in the Civil War," *Lancaster County Historical Society*, vol. 25, no. 1, January 1921 (hereafter cited as *Chinese Soldier*); Rev. F. L. H. Pott, D.D., "The Late Reverend H. N. Woo," March 1920 (hereafter cited as "Late Reverend").
114. See Worner, "Chinese Soldier"; Miss Fay, "Hong Niok, Chinese Convert and Candidate for Orders, A Sketch of His History," in *Spirit of Missions* (November 1871): 532-35 (hereafter cited as "Hong Niok").
115. Worner, "Chinese Soldier."
116. See Worner, "Chinese Soldier"; Fay, "Hong Niok."
117. H. N. Woo, "Autobiography of the Rev. H. N. Woo," published in Chinese and translated into English (but not published) by the Rev. Andrew Yu Yue Tsu, Ph.D., of St. John's University, Shanghai.
118. Worner, "Chinese Soldier."
119. The following account of Woo's work in China is taken from Worner, "Chinese Soldier"; Fay, "Hong Niok"; Pott, "Late Reverend."
120. Pott, "Late Reverend."
121. Worner, "Chinese Soldier."
122. U.S. Census, 1860.
123. Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909), 157-59.

APPENDIX 1

The Cohota Children

It is not known exactly when Edward Cohota's wife Anna contracted galloping consumption. But according to their firstborn, Ed, Anna was ill while carrying Miles, both parents had explosive tempers, and Cohota was a gambler. One evening, when Cohota failed to come home on time, Anna went after him on foot, slogging through deep snow all the way to Valentine. When Anna died shortly after Miles's birth, Ed

believed this long walk was as much responsible for his mother's death as her consumption.¹

Cohota was not well either. In notes he made years later for his daughter Daisy, he wrote, "I was crippled up with rheumatism and could not move. [It] took all the money I could make and scrape to pay Dr bills to try and save your mother. Then all church people wanted me to send all you children to orphans home."² Since the children, with the exception of Miles, were baptized in the Episcopal church in Niobrara, it might have been members of that congregation who persuaded Cohota to send his four young children to the Nebraska Children's Home Society in Omaha.³ His understanding was that this placement would be temporary. But the records at the Nebraska Children's Home Society indicate it had the authority to offer the children for adoption with the one stipulation from Cohota that they know "their mother was a good woman." Baby Miles, the first of the children to be sent to the Home, died before he could be adopted. (See Appendix 2 for details.) But Elizabeth, William, and Daisy were placed in different adoptive families, and "it would appear that these adoptions were legally completed."⁴

The two eldest children, Lucy and Ed, were sent to a farm family named Granger, where they could work for their room and board. "The Grangers were very poor. Mr. Granger hauled freight all week between Valentine and Crookston with a team of horses. [He] was an alcoholic who often drank up his salary before he came home on weekends, arriving without the staples that they needed so badly [and the children] had to work terribly hard." Lucy, who was naturally cheerful and optimistic and enjoyed living out in the country, tried to make light of the bad situation. Ed, suffering from asthma, hay fever, and various other allergies, openly hated everything about it. Both left as soon as they could, Lucy to work as a hired girl at a ranch in the Sandhills, Ed to go back to their father, who had, by then, recovered and was running a restaurant in Valentine. Ed, except for his time with the Grangers and military service during World War I, lived continuously with Cohota, working with him in the restaurant after graduation from high school.⁵

One by one the other children found their father.⁶ Elizabeth came home in 1908. Her adoptive mother had died in July 1907. "Next Spring I received an Endless Prayer chain saying to write one each day and on the fifth something would happen that would change my whole life. On

the fifth day I received a letter from my sister Lucy." After her return, the family sent letters to all the counties in the state of Nebraska asking for information about William and Daisy. When that failed to turn up anything, Elizabeth personally visited the Children's Home Society in 1914. The manager still refused to release any information but agreed to send Elizabeth's address to her brother and sister. "Within three weeks I had heard from Willie. He had been in Sweden but came back to the U.S. when the World War began. He was in South Carolina when he received the letter from the manager and he came home for Christmas. . . . He looked exactly like Dad. Same build, same stride, and even laughed the same." There was no response from Daisy, however.

Then one day in 1933 a visitor to the Battle Mountain Sanitarium, noticing the name at the foot of Cohota's bed, asked him if he had any relatives in Nebraska. When Cohota said, "Yes," the man told him his father had adopted a little girl by the name of Daisy Cohota. Daisy, married and a mother of three boys, wrote Cohota from her home in California. "It really seems like a dream to learn that I have a real Father and such a comforting thought. It's hard to realize the truth as I have tried to find you and had given up hope. I want to hear from you right away and please tell me everything."

Although only three when taken from her father, Daisy had apparently talked a lot about him to their adoptive family. Indeed, all of Cohota's children seemed to care for him deeply, and during his final years at the sanitarium, he would go and stay with Lucy in Parmelee, South Dakota, for months at a time. "He was very chatty," Lucy's daughter, Marilu Cooper, recalls, "and he gave everyone lemon drops which he sucked all the time and kept in his pocket."⁷

It was at Lucy's home that Cohota died on November 18, 1935. He'd not been "feeling as well as usual" for several days. But on November 15, he seemed improved, telling Lucy, "I'm not going to die yet." Two days later he had a choking spell. But the next morning he again seemed better. Lucy's husband had a general store that "sold everything from an ice cream cone to a coffin." And Marilu remembers that before "leaving for the store, my father had dragged my grandfather's big chair out onto the porch that morning as it was a very nice day." After a while, Lucy went out to the porch. "[She] said it was suddenly getting chilly, didn't he want to come in the house? And he opened his eyes (he seemed to have been half-dozing) and said, 'No, no,' and died. His heart simply stopped as if he were drifting to sleep." That was the

first time Marilu ever saw her mother cry. At Cahota's burial, she recalls, "Before they closed the casket my mother reached down and stroked back his hair (he had very little) and kissed his forehead and whispered goodbye."⁸

According to Marilu, Ed eventually gave up the restaurant and opened a dime store in Valentine. He suffered terrible attacks of asthma and was a diabetic. A voracious reader, he liked to fish and hunt, won medals for skeet shooting, and was a serious bridge player. Generous and good-natured, he had many friends although he never married. He was very close to Lucy, her children, and grandchildren. William married a psychic named Blanche. He traveled with a Wild West show, playing the part of an Indian, and also may have worked at the Chicago World's Fair. He was killed in a car accident in 1934.⁹

Notes

1. See Erkkila, *North Shore*; obituary, *Valentine Republican*, Feb. 17, 1899; letters from Marilu Cooper to author, Feb. 10, 1994, Mar. 3, 1994.
2. Handwritten jottings by Cohota on the back of a letter from Daisy Cohota Martin to Edward Day Cohota, May 10, 1933, files of Marilu Cooper.
3. See Erkkila, *North Shore*; letter from Bouza to Cooper. The Days raised Cohota as a Unitarian but he became an Episcopalian out West. (Letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Feb. 10, 1994.)
4. See Erkkila, *North Shore*; letter from Harris Van Oort, executive director, Nebraska Children's Home Society, to author July 5, 1994; letter from Irma G. Allen to Mrs. Charles Sherman, June 4, 1899; letter from Harris Van Oort to author, Aug. 1, 1994. The records at the home are questionable since they indicate that Ed, who was then ten years old, had graduated from high school and even "taken civil engineering at a state university."
5. Letters from Marilu Cooper to author, Mar. 3, 9, 1994.
6. The following account of how the children found their father is from Lindsay, "Bouza's Story;" letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Mar. 12, 1994; letter from Bouza to Cooper, June 14, 1970, and letter from Daisy Martin to Edward Day Cohota, Apr. 25, 1933, files of Marilu Cooper. It is unclear whether William was in Sweden or Denmark. Each country was named by Elizabeth Bouza on separate occasions.
7. Letter from Daisy Martin to Edward Day Cohota, May 10, 1933, files of Marilu Cooper; letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Mar. 3, 1994.
8. Letter from Erkkila to Bouza, June 14, 1970; letters from Marilu Cooper to author, Feb. 10, 1994, Mar. 3, 9, 1994; entries from 1935 diary of Lucy Krauss, Nov. 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, files of Marilu Cooper.
9. Letter from Marilu Cooper to author, Mar. 9, 1994.

APPENDIX 2

Baby Miles

(Letter from Irma G. Allen in Omaha, Nebraska, to Mrs. Charles Sherman, Valentine, Nebraska, dated June 4, 1899.)

Dear Sister,

I write to tell you of the death of our little Chinese Baby "Miles". We had all learned to love him very dearly. We had several homes in view for him in a few days, as soon as it was known that we had a Chinese baby, but you know he was not well. He did not seem any better. That abcess gathered again and another like it formed on his leg. He had the best of care and one of the best physicians in the city. We did not think him dangerous until a few hours before he died, the day before he had seemed so much better. He died in the morning, Friday, about 9 o'clock. I was with him, held his little hands as they grew cold and kissed the little lips as the angel of death left the sweet little smile there. We bought a lot in Forest Lawn Cemetery, Rev. Phillips, one of our state board, officiating. The coffin was real pretty. The words "Our baby" was on the plate on top and the handles had a little lamb and, "Our Darling", on them. Mrs. Quivey and I took white roses and filled in around the little form, some were tied with white ribbon, one bud was clasped in the little hands. The service and prayer was very beautiful, Mrs. Quivey and I and two others carried the coffin on our laps, as we rode to the cemetery in a closed carriage. It seemed so nice that we could carry the remains ourselves. At the grave Dr. Phillips made such a sweet and touching prayer. Although our tears dropped with the soft earth as it fell in the grave, we knew that the soul had flitted away to God and was resting we hoped in the bosom of the mother. The spot where we laid him was beautiful. The lot selected was in a pretty place. We have all been very sad and wish to send our heartfelt sympathy to the father, and brothers and sisters. I will go to see them when I go to Valentine again. Tell them all about it.

If anything happens to Mr. Cohota let us know and we will gladly find homes for his other children. We have only buried one other child and it is in a cemetery in Lincoln.