

THE HORRORS

OF

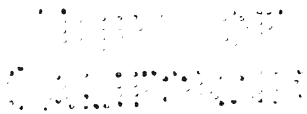
ANDERSONVILLE REBEL PRISON

TRIAL OF
HENRY WIRZ

THE ANDERSONVILLE JAILER

JEFFERSON DAVIS'

DEFENSE OF ANDERSONVILLE PRISON FULLY REFUTED



BY

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P R E F A C E

There are many reasons why the atrocities of Andersonville Prison should never be forgotten. And yet I would not have revived them had Mr. Davis kept silent, and had he not defiantly challenged the verity of the proofs upon which popular opinion was founded at the close of the war.

Since then nearly thirty millions have been added to our population. Many of these persons have passed into manhood and womanhood since the stirring events of 1861, while many others have come into our country from abroad; and most of this large body of citizens must form their opinion of the rebellion from historical study of that period.

The tragedy of Andersonville, as one phase of the rebellion, must not be distorted, nor must it be overlooked in any study of the spirit that accompanied the rebellion.

Happily for the truth of history this one of the many rebel prisons was laid bare by judicial investigation, and that inquest was so full and the character of the proofs so indisputable that the faithful historian need never hesitate in portraying the suffering of Union soldiers.

The record of the Wirz trial was published by Congress and the usual number of copies issued, but they rapidly disappeared and now can scarcely be found in public or private libraries.

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The purpose of this pamphlet is to rescue the salient facts and place them within reach of inquirers, and at the same time to refute the grossly inaccurate statements of the late President of the Confederacy, published to the world among his posthumous papers.

To my mind, the loftiest heroism and the most self-sacrificing patriotism exhibited throughout the war are to be found in the annals of rebel prisons among the suffering and dying Union soldiers. Impelled by a sense of the crime of which they were the innocent victims, I send out this brief epitome of their sufferings in discharge of a small part only of the obligation under which, as an American citizen, and a fellow soldier, they have placed me.

Mr. Davis, as he says, wrote at the request of eminent citizens residing in the North, and he seizes with avidity this opportunity to distort and mislead.

Nine officers of high rank found Mr. Davis guilty of conspiring to starve Union soldiers to death, with a view to weaken the Union army, and that this wicked conspiracy resulted in the death of over ten thousand soldiers by starvation in one prison in less than one year.

I have endeavored to show in the following pages upon what proofs this awful crime rested.

N. P. CHIPMAN

RED BLUFF, CALIFORNIA, December, 1891.

THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE PRISON

CHAPTER I.

MOTIVE FOR WRITING THIS BRIEF HISTORY — JEFFERSON DAVIS AND ANDERSONVILLE—HIS RECENT PAPER EXAMINED—ITS MISSTATEMENTS REFUTED.

I have frequently been urged to write the story of the Andersonville Rebel Prison, as disclosed by the evidence at the trial of Henry Wirz, its keeper. It has seemed to me that this is one of the chapters of the rebellion better kept closed. As an illustration of the horrors of war it will always stand out unparalleled. As furnishing a study of human suffering upon a stupendous scale, and as showing that modern civilization has not mitigated the cruelties to which a professedly Christian people may resort, the past century has exhibited nothing like it. But even this would not seem to justify the portrayal at a time when the healing process, after national disruption might, presumably, be doing its perfect work.

It was left for Jefferson Davis to furnish the motive for recalling the true story of Andersonville. Whatever of responsibility there may be for opening this ghastly wound to bleed afresh, let it rest upon the head of the late Confederacy, for he has not only invited, but he has imperatively challenged it.

In Belford's Magazine for January and February, 1890, are two articles contributed by Mr. Davis, entitled: "Andersonville and Other War Prisons."

In the opening article Mr. Davis says:

"Some eminent citizens of the North, who were ~~first~~ removed from the class known as 'Southern Sympathizers' during the war between the States, but who desire to know the whole truth, have requested me to write an article, to appear in some periodical published in the North, on the subject of the prison at Andersonville, Ga. The invitation is accepted, both as to the subject and place of publication, from a wish to vindicate the conduct of the Confederacy, and because the proposed channel is that which will most assuredly reach those who have generally seen but one side of the discussion." (*Belford*, p. 161.)

The history of Mr. Davis' article is not without interest. It was originally prepared for the *North American Review*, through the urgent request of Mr. Jas. Redpath who as the managing editor of that periodical visited Mr. Davis. Mr. Thorndyke Rice was then the editor. He postponed the publication from political motives and soon after died. Meanwhile the *Review* had published an article by Lord Wolsely reflecting somewhat upon Mr. Davis, and the latter was asked to reply by Mr. Rice's successor. This he did, but his article was severely pruned by the editor, which so incensed Mr. Davis that he withdrew his article on Andersonville, and, among the last acts of his life, turned it over to the *Belford* for publication. (*Belford*, p. 273-4.) The article I am about to answer, therefore, was premeditated; had been under examination for over a year and finally went before the public, by Mr. Davis' request, "without alteration or abridgment," and as a last message in defense of his beloved Confederacy.

Mr. Davis' long public service, his high position in the Confederacy, his intimate knowledge of all its movements as the head of the rebellion, his generally conceded good character for honesty and integrity make his statement of facts *prima facie* true in the minds of many readers. I think, however, we shall conclude, before I have finished, that even Mr. Davis' statements and his method of dealing with this grave matter cannot be received as at all satisfactory.

He first charges that Andersonville became necessary as a prison, because of the violation of the cartel for the exchange and the parole of prisoners. But the failure or refusal on the part of the Federal authorities to observe the cartel admitted furnishes no justification for unusual cruelty and starvation. If the prisons at Richmond became so overcrowded as to make the stockade at Andersonville a necessity, or, after its establishment, the number there confined greatly exceeded any possibility of adequate and humane care, still its enlargement was only a demand of humanity and should have been made. Mr. Davis characterizes it as "offensive" to ask why this contingency of overcrowding was not provided for and to the question he scorns to make answer.

I will not in this review consider the subject of the cartel. It is a matter wholly irrelevant. There is a full and satisfactory defense of Federal action which I may give at some future day, but we must not allow the fact that Mr. Davis had more prisoners than he wished to feed, to relieve him from the duty of feeding them.

He informs us that Andersonville, Georgia, was selected after careful investigation for the following reasons :

"It was in the high pine wood region ; in a productive farming country, had never been devastated by the enemy ; was well watered ; was near Americus, a central depot for collecting the tax in kind and purchasing provisions for our armies." (p. 162.)

Much evidence was adduced at the trial of Wirz to show the very important fact above admitted, as it removed all doubt of any necessity for short rations.

✓ Mr. Davis says :

"It was not starvation, as has been alleged, but acclimation, unsuitable diet and despondency which were the potent agents of disease and death. These it was not in our power to remove. The remedy demanded alike of humanity and good faith was the honest execution of the cartel."

We shall see as we advance whether the "Cartel" or "Starvation" was the more potent agent of disease and death at that awful place ; whether it is conceivable that the failure to exchange prisoners upon terms demanded by the rebel government could account for 12,000 deaths at that fated spot, within a little over six months ; and, whether it was not in the power of the Confederacy to properly feed and care for these brave men.

Upon the question of cruel treatment—including the charges of starvation—Mr. Davis resorts to *ex parte* statements of persons made since the close of the war, and most of them from ex-confederates. He even quotes from an anonymous letter in the *N. Y. News* of August 9, 1865, and to give it weight he attributes the authorship to an officer of General Sheridan's staff. I hunted up this man and he testified at the trial. His name was Martin S. Harris, Private of the 5th, N. Y. Artillery, and never had any relation with Sheridan.

Mr. Davis speaks of Wirz as an unhappy victim of a misdirected popular clamor, and says he was denied the favorable testimony of those who came as witnesses in his behalf and "died a martyr to a conscientious adherence to truth."

He cites as an instance of the unfairness of the trial the case of the Rev. Father Wheelan, who was a witness for the prisoner. He quotes this gentleman as saying that upon reporting at Washington the prosecuting attorney found out what he knew and dismissed him without allowing the prisoner to call him as a witness. The fact is, this witness was called and testified elaborately. (*Record*, p. 1232.)

Mr. Davis quotes from General Imboden, showing: "That after the bulk of the prisoners were removed, leaving about 5,000, in the fall of 1864, who could not bear transportation, by renovation of the post the premises were much improved; that at one time it was thought by the medical officer nearly all the sick would die, but by the use of vegetables in such quantities as could be procured and an acid beer made from corn meal and sorgum molasses the death rate fell from about 3,000 in August to 160 for the month of December."

There is no pretense that this simple expedient could not have been resorted to in August as well as in December. Besides, in December, there were only about 5,000 prisoners, while in August there were over 32,000. The evidence was overwhelming to the effect that in August the country abounded in vegetables and supplies of all kinds. Why were they not furnished?

Col. Robt. Ould is quoted as saying, that he too was subpoenaed, and the prisoner denied the privilege of calling

him. But the truth is Col. Ould was called to testify to matters relating to exchange of prisoners, and as that issue was deemed irrelevant by the Court he was, by consent of Wirz's counsel discharged.

Mr. Davis quotes Col. R. H. Chilton as writing that Col. Chandler, who made an important report about Andersonville prison to the rebel war department, testified at the trial that his report was never seen by Mr. Davis, and that this officer was asked no other question. The fact is, Col. Chandler proved a most important witness against the prisoner and against the rebel authorities, as we shall see further on, and this very report, which condemned the prison management "as a disgrace to the Confederacy," was traced to the President.

Mr. Davis closes his first article by the remarkable statement, based upon a letter received by him from a fellow prisoner of Wirz, that a night or two before the Wirz execution, three men came to Wirz's cell and had some conversation with him. Wirz told this prisoner, after the visitors had departed, that they had offered him his liberty if he would testify against Mr. Davis. Wirz did not know these men, and yet upon such evidence would Mr. Davis have the world believe that so dastardly a proposition came from Federal authority. But no such confession was necessary. Wirz had claimed at the trial that he was only obeying orders, and that the Richmond authorities were responsible and not he. Besides, ample evidence was adduced to show the extent of Mr. Davis' complicity. Wirz' confession would have added nothing. It will appear further along that he had already told enough to make a confession needless.

Mr. Davis makes passing mention of the charge that blood-hounds were used to capture escaped prisoners, but dismisses the subject with the mere statement that "he had been informed that some fox and deer-hounds were used to track prisoners, and that no blood-hounds were used." But the evidence showed that ferocious dogs were used and were the means of several deaths.

The second article (February), is confined exclusively to a discussion of the cartel and to charges made against the Federal Government for cruelty to rebel prisoners in northern prisons. It must be conceded, however, that Federal cruelty established does not disprove rebel cruelty at Andersonville.

One cannot close Mr. Davis' papers without regretting that he submitted so little proof tending to show that popular opinion at the North about Andersonville has been exaggerated.

Mr. Davis' points may be thus summarized :

First: That the sufferings at Andersonville were not cruel or unusual.

Second: That the rebel authorities were in no wise responsible for the suffering.

Third: That Wirz was judicially murdered.

Fourth: That his trial was a farce and was aimed at the Confederacy, and finally :

Fifth: That the Federal Government offered a pardon to Wirz if he would implicate Mr. Davis.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COURT—CHARGES AND SPECIFICATIONS—NAMES
OF MEMBERS OF THE COURT—FINDINGS OF THE COURT.

The trial of Henry Wirz in many respects brought to light the most startling chapter in the history of the rebellion. Some interesting facts relating to that trial have never been made public ; other facts were brought out by the record, of the greatest significance, but were buried out of sight by the universal demand that this human monster on trial should not escape punishment ; and, with his execution the secondary, but really most important, result of the trial, passed out of mind, or was displaced by the rapidly recurring political movements of that eventful period.

I propose now to give the true history and exact results of that trial.

I was at the time on duty in the War Department at Washington, and at times assigned to try cases as Judge-Advocate of Courts Martial and Military Commissions. The Andersonville horror had made so deep an impression upon the nation that when it was known that Wirz, the keeper, was arrested, his trial became an imperative duty. He was lodged in the old Capital Prison in Washington City, and I was directed by Secretary of War Stanton, upon the recommendation of Judge-Advocate General Holt to prepare the case for trial.

It was known that the mortality had been great, yet few persons at the North, not even the prisoners themselves, supposed that in a little over six months 12,000 Union soldiers had died miserably at that horrible place.

While the Secretary of War and Judge Holt, and probably some other high officials, as well as President Johnson, suspected that the heads of the rebel government were largely responsible for this awful suffering, it was not until after I had spent some months in searching out proofs, and arranging the facts, that this suspicion deepened into conviction.

In military practice the indictment is put into the form of charges and specifications. The charge embodies the general statement of the offense. The specifications set forth the particulars constituting the offense.

(Charge 1st; accused the prisoner, Henry Wirz, of maliciously, wilfully and traitorously and in aid of the then existing armed rebellion against the United States, on or about March 1st, 1864, combining, confederating and conspiring, together with John H. Winder, Richard B. Winder, Joseph White, W. S. Winder, R. R. Stevenson, Robt. E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, Jas. A. Seddon (Sec'y of War), Howell Cobb, S. P. Moore (Surgeon Gen'l) and others unknown, to injure the health and to destroy the lives of soldiers in the military service of the United States in the military prisons of the so-called Southern Confederacy, to wit, at the military prison at Andersonville, Georgia, to the end that the armies of the United States might be weakened and impaired in violation of the laws and customs of war.

The specification to this charge alleged that this was accomplished, by subjecting the prisoners to torture and great suffering, by confining in unhealthy and unwholesome quarters, by exposing to the inclemency of the

winter and to the dews and burning sun of summer, by compelling the use of impure water, by furnishing insufficient and unwholesome food, all of which caused the death of a large number of Federal prisoners, to wit: the number of 10,000; that in furtherance of said design, the said Wirz did conspire aforesaid to confine the said prisoners in quarters wholly inadequate to their wants and destructive of their health which he well knew and intended; that during such confinement and in furtherance of said design he neglected to furnish tents, barracks or other shelter for their protection from the inclemency of winter and the burning sun of summer; that he refused to furnish food of quantity or quality sufficient to preserve health or sustain life or to furnish wood for cooking in summer or to keep the prisoners warm in winter; that he compelled the prisoners to use unwholesome water, reeking with the filth and garbage of the prison and prison guard and the cook house of said prison, whereby the prisoners became greatly reduced in bodily strength and emaciated and injured in their bodily health; their minds impaired and their intellects broken and many of them, to wit, 10,000 sickened and died by reason thereof; that he neglected to provide proper lodging or food or nourishment for the sick and necessary medicines and medical attendance for the restoration of their health, but permitted the sick to languish and die from want of proper care and treatment; that he permitted the bodies of the dead to remain in the said prison among the emaciated sick, and the languishing living, until the said bodies became corrupt and loathsome and filled the air with fetid and noxious exhalations and thereby greatly increased the unwholesomeness of the prison; that he subjected the prisoners to cruel and unusual punishment, upon slight and trivial pretenses, by fastening large balls of iron to their feet, and binding large numbers of the prisoners closely together, with large chains around their necks and feet, and being so confined were subjected to the burning rays of the sun; that he confined them in the

stocks, often without food or drink, for hours and even days, by reason whereof many sickened and died; that he established a "dead line" within the stockade, about twenty feet from the inner face thereof, which was marked by insecure and shifting stakes and strips of boards, and at places, by an imaginary line, and gave orders to the guards to shoot any persons who might touch, fall upon, or under, or across said dead line, by reason of which many persons were killed; that he kept and used ferocious and blood-thirsty beasts, dangerous to life, called blood-hounds, to hunt down prisoners who made their escape, and encouraged the said beasts to seize, tear and mangle the bodies of fugitive prisoners, whereby many were slain; that he used poisonous vaccine matter for the vaccination of said prisoners, whereby many died.

(Charge 2d. Alleged murder in violation of the laws of war.

There were thirteen specifications under this charge, setting forth the particular instances of killing by Wirz's own hand or by his direct personal order. Some of these by shooting; some by stamping upon the prisoners with his feet; some by confinement in the stocks; some by the dogs and in one case by beating over the head with a revolver.

The arraignment of Wirz upon these charges and specifications for the first time, published to the world, sent a thrill of horror throughout the United States.

Mr. Davis was then a prisoner confined in Fortress Monroe. The question as to what proceedings should be taken against him as the leader of the rebellion was before the Cabinet and was a serious problem.

The complicity of Mr. Davis and some of his late cabinet officers with the crime of Andersonville was for the first time charged. He was the only one save Wirz then in custody. It was not thought desirable to furnish any pretext for bringing the ex-president to the Capital—many

considerations made it very undesirable. But to proceed with Davis a prisoner at Fortress Monroe, while being named as a co-conspirator with Wirz, was the question here presented.

I had twice submitted the formal charges to Judge Advocate General Holt, and by him they were submitted to Secretary Stanton, before I had arraigned Wirz, and yet this dilemma had not suggested itself.

Wirz had pleaded not guilty and the Court had adjourned until the next day. Upon re-assembling a package was handed me containing orders from the War Department which proved to be an order dissolving the Court. Wirz was remanded to prison and I was ordered to report immediately at the War Department, while the members of the Court went their way in the greatest perplexity, and in utter ignorance of the meaning of so abrupt a termination of the trial.

I have never been able to understand the Secretary of War in this matter. He certainly had carefully read the charges and specifications and approved them, for they were twice submitted to him—once in manuscript and once after being printed privately at the Government Printing Office—and yet he appeared to be in a towering rage at the coupling of Davis' name and that of General Lee and other high rebel functionaries with this awful crime. The result of it all was that I was ordered to prepare new charges leaving out the names of Davis, Lee, Seddon and others of Davis' Cabinet and proceed only against Wirz.

General Holt alone knew, for I had talked much with him, of the extent and character of the evidence I had

gathered in support of the conspiracy charged. He was in full sympathy with my view, that the trial should be made the means of bringing to light and giving to history the whole truth as to this prison, and not simply to submit evidence to convict Wirz, which was of comparatively small consequence and the work only of a few days. We concluded finally to retain the charges and specifications in their then form, omitting the names mentioned, but substituting certain persons of less note who had been connected with the prison and adding the words "others unknown," and in that form of pleading submit all the evidence touching upon the alleged conspiracy. To this course the Secretary consented and the Court was again constituted as before. Wirz was again arraigned and plead not guilty, and the trial began.

It opened August 23, 1865, and closed October 24, 1865, lasting 63 days.

The Court was composed of officers who had seen much service and some of them were men of national reputation. They were :

Maj. Gen. Lew. Wallace, U. S. Vols.

Brevet Maj. Gen. G. Mott, U. S. Vols.

Brevet Maj. Gen. Jno. W. Geary, U. S. Vols.

Brevet Maj. Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Adt. Gen. U. S. A.

Brig. Gen. Francis Fessenden, U. S. Vols.

Brig. Gen. E. S. Bragg, U. S. Vols.

Brevet. Brig. Gen. John F. Ballier, Col. 98. Pa. Vols.

Brevet. Col. T. Allcock, Lieut. Col. 4th N. Y.

Artillery.

Lieut. Col. J. H. Stibbs, 12th Iowa Infy.

Col. N. P. Chipman, Add. A. D. C. Judge Advocate.

Maj. A. A. Hosmer, Asst. Judge Advocate.

The findings of such a Court must challenge respect.

After full argument and due deliberation the Court found Wirz guilty of charge first, and its specifications, striking out the word "bloodhounds" and inserting "dogs," and restored the names of Jefferson Davis and all others originally named as co-conspirators, except General Lee.* Upon the second charge the Court found the prisoner guilty of eleven distinct murders out of the thirteen charged, and of three murders by use of the dogs, not charged but shown by the evidence. While their verdict was not tantamount to the conviction of the alleged conspirators, other than Wirz, it was the equivalent of an indictment found against them for complicity in this wholesale and needless mortality.

The evidence submitted was of the most convincing character, for the findings rested largely upon the official reports of rebel officers, made for the eye alone of their superiors at Richmond. Much oral testimony was given by rebel officers who had been on duty at the prison, and there were called as witnesses nearly 100 of the surviving prisoners. The photographic art was also resorted to as a means of corroboration. Long before the case closed it would have been within the rules of law to refuse further testimony upon all damaging charges as cumulative.

* In military practice it is competent for the Court to amend the pleadings to conform to the facts.

CHAPTER III.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PRISON PEN — CONDITION OF THE PRISONERS — OFFICIAL REPORTS OF REBEL OFFICERS — SIX SQUARE FEET TO THE MAN, SCARCELY ROOM FOR ALL TO LIE DOWN—INADEQUATE POLICE CONTROL—PRISONERS TRY AND CONDEMN AND HANG SIX OF THEIR NUMBER — PRISONERS MURDERED BY THEIR FELLOW PRISONERS FOR THEIR CLOTHING AND FOOD — GRAPHIC AND TOUCHING DESCRIPTIONS BY REBEL SURGEONS.

To give an adequate description of the prison pen and the sufferings of the inmates during that fatal summer of 1864 would be impossible. I will let the record speak, so far as possible, through the evidence of those most likely to avoid exaggeration, namely : those in the service of the Confederacy.

The stockade at Andersonville was originally built in the winter of 1863-64 for 10,000 prisoners, and contained about eighteen acres. It continued, without enlargement, until June, 1864, and until it contained 22,000 prisoners when it was increased about one-third—its actual inner area being $23\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The best detailed description available is found in the report of Dr. Joseph Jones—an ex-surgeon of the rebel army and to whom Mr. Davis, in his *Belford* articles, refers as eminent in his profession and of great learning and probity. He made an official report to Surgeon General Moore, which was produced in evidence, and identified by Dr. Jones himself, who was a witness. He says :

“The stockade was in the form of a parallelogram 20 feet high, formed of strong pine logs firmly planted in the ground, with two small stockades surrounding the prison, one sixteen and the other twelve feet high, these latter being intended for offence and defense. If the inner stockade should at any time be forced by the prisoners, the second forms another line of defense, while in case of an attempt to deliver the prisoners by a force operating upon the exterior, the outer line forms an admirable protection to the Confederate troops and a more formidable obstacle to cavalry or infantry. Earthworks upon eminences surmounted by cannon swept the entire enclosure.”

Colonel Chandler, a rebel officer sent from Richmond to report upon the prison, further described the interior.

“A railing around the inside of the stockade about twenty feet from it constitutes the dead-line beyond which prisoners are not allowed to pass. A small stream passes from west to east through the enclosure and furnishes the only water for washing accessible to the prisoners. Bordering this stream about three-quarters of an acre in the center of the enclosure are so marshy as to be at present (August, 1864) unfit for occupation, reducing the available area to about twenty-three and one-half acres, which gives *somewhat less than six square feet to each prisoner.*”

The interior was denuded entirely of trees or other shelter and no barracks or buildings of any kind were placed inside. It was simply a large human corral, into which prisoners were turned like so many cattle.

As early as May, 1864, at the direction of Maj. Gen. Howell Cobb, Surgeon E. J. Eldridge of the prison reported its condition, and his report and General Cobb's letter reached the Rebel War Department, May 21, 1864. He says :

✱ "I found the prisoners, in my opinion, too much crowded for the promotion or continuance of their health, particularly during the summer months. The construction of properly arranged barracks would, of course, allow the same number of men to occupy the enclosure with material advantage to their comfort and health. At present their shelter consists of such as they can make of the boughs of trees and poles, covered with dirt. The few tents they have are occupied as a hospital. * * * I found the condition of a large number of the Belle Island prisoners on their arrival to be such as to require more attention to their diet and cleanliness than the actual administration of medicine, very many of them suffering from chronic diarrhœa, combined with scorbutic disposition with extreme emaciation as a consequence. The hospital being within the enclosure, it has been found impracticable to administer such diet, and give them such attention as they require as, unless constantly watched, such diet as is prepared for them is stolen and eaten by other prisoners."

He then urges upon the authorities at Richmond the necessity of removing the hospital. On this point, he says :

✱ "I consider the establishment of a hospital outside of the present enclosure as essential to the proper treatment of the sick, and most urgently recommend its immediate construction."

And to meet an objection, which he says was made at Richmond to doing this because additional guards would be required, he says :

✱ "Nurses could be detailed with such discretion that but few would attempt to escape, and with frequent roll-calls, they would not be absent but a few hours before detected, and *would readily be caught by the dogs, always at hand for that purpose.*" (Exhibit 15 A.)

Up to this time no bakery for the prisoners existed, their rations being issued to them raw, as will appear from the following paragraph in the report.

“The bakery just being completed will be a means of furnishing better prepared food, particularly bread, the half cooked condition of which has doubtless contributed to the continuance of the bowel affections.”

The mean strength of prisoners at the date of this report as shown by the journal, kept by Wirz, was about 14,000. Thus we see that the sufferings at Andersonville were anticipated as early as May, and the rebel government duly warned.

In August, 1864, Dr Joseph Jones, whom Mr. Davis commends so highly, was sent to Andersonville prison to report his observations. He went, as Mr. Davis and he both tell us, purely in the interest of science and not to devise methods of better treatment. His report was full, frank and can never be disputed. Mr. Davis says it was made alone for the eye of the Surgeon General, and he intimates that it was perfidious to use it against the rebel government for that reason. I used it at the trial and I now use it, as the highest human evidence of the condition of Union soldiers at Andersonville. No assertion from any source can ever wipe out the stain of this official paper. The sufferings of Russians in Siberian prisons, awful as they are, are insignificant beside those of Union soldiers at Andersonville as shown by this report. He says :

“Within the circumscribed area of the stockade the Federal prisoners were compelled to perform all the offices of life, cooking, washing, urinating, defecation, exercise and sleeping. The Federal prisoners were gathered from all

parts of the Confederate States east of the Mississippi, and crowded into the confined space until, in the month of June, the average number of square feet of ground to each prisoner was only 33.2 or less than 4 square yards. (Record p. 4331.) These figures represent the condition of the stockade in a better light even than it really was, for a considerable breadth of land along the stream flowing from west to east between the hills was low and boggy and was covered with excrement of men, and thus rendered wholly uninhabitable, and in fact, useless for every purpose, except that of defecation." (Record p. 4331-2.)

It will be remembered that besides this swamp there was the space between the dead-line and the stockade, which, together with the bog, must be excluded from the whole area.

Col. Chandler, in his official report, made in August, 1864, makes a computation showing that the actual space allowed to each prisoner was only six square feet then, "there being scarcely room for the prisoners all to lie down at the same time."

Dr. Jones' report continues :

"With their characteristic industry and ingenuity, the Federals constructed for themselves small huts and caves and attempted to shield themselves from the rain and sun, and night damps and dews. But few tents were distributed to the prisoners, and those were in most cases torn and rotten. In the location and arrangement of these tents and huts no order appears to have been followed; in fact regular streets appeared to be out of the question in so crowded an area, especially, too, as large bodies of prisoners were from time to time added suddenly, without any previous preparation. The police and internal economy of the prison were left almost entirely in the hands of the prisoners themselves; the duties of confederate soldiers acting as guards being limited to the

stockade at regular intervals, and to the manning of the batteries at the angles of the prisons. (Record, p. 4334-5.)

“Even judicial matters pertaining to themselves, as the detection and punishment of such crimes as theft and murder, appear to have been in a great measure abandoned to the prisoners. A striking instance of this occurred in the month of July, when the Federal prisoners within the stockade tried, condemned and hanged six of their own number who had been convicted of cheating and of robbing and murdering their fellow prisoners. They were all hung upon the same day, and thousands of prisoners gathered around to witness the execution. The Confederate authorities are said not to have interfered with these proceedings. In this collection of men from all parts of the world, every phase of human character was represented. The stronger preyed upon the weaker, and even the sick who were unable to defend themselves were robbed of their scanty supplies of food and clothing.

“Dark stories were afloat of men, both sick and well, who were murdered at night, strangled to death by their comrades for their scant supplies of money and clothing. I heard a sick and wounded Federal prisoner accuse his nurse, a fellow prisoner, of the United States Army, of having stealthily, during his sleep, inoculated his wounded arm with gangrene, that he might destroy his life and fall heir to his clothing.

“The large number of men confined within the stockade soon, under the defective system of the police, and with imperfect arrangements, covered the face of the low grounds with excrements. The sinks over the lower portion of the stream were imperfect in their plan and structure, and excrements were in a large measure deposited so near the borders of the stream as not to be washed away, or else accumulated upon the low boggy ground. The volume was not sufficient to wash away the

fæces, and they accumulated in such quantities in the lower portion of the stream as to form a mass of liquid excrement. Heavy rains caused the waters of the stream to rise, and as the arrangement for the passage of the increased amount of water out of the stockade were insufficient, the liquid faeces overflowed the low grounds and covered them several inches after the subsidence of the waters. The action of the sun upon this putrefying mass of excrements and fragments of bread, meat and bones, excited most rapid fermentation, and developed a horrible stench; improvements were projected for the removal of the filth, and for the prevention of its accumulation, but they were only partially and imperfectly carried out. As the fæces of the prisoners were reduced by confinement, want of exercise, improper diet and by scurvy, diarrhœa and dysentery, they were unable to evacuate their bowels within the stream, or along its banks, and the excrements were deposited at the very door of their tents. The vast majority appeared to lose all repulsion to filth, and both sick and well disregarded all the laws of hygiene and personal cleanliness. The accommodations for the sick were imperfect and insufficient. (Record, pp. 4333-4-5-6.)

“Each day the dead from the stockade were carried out by their fellow prisoners and deposited upon the ground under a bush arbor just outside of the southwestern gate. From thence they were carried in carts to the burying ground, one-quarter of a mile northwest of the prison. The dead were buried without coffins side by side in trenches four feet deep. The low grounds bordering the stream were covered with human excrements and filth of all kinds, which in many places appeared to be alive with working maggots. An indescribably sickening stench arose from this fermenting mass of human dung and filth. (Record p. 4339.)

“There were nearly 5,000 seriously ill Federals in the stockade, and Confederate States Military Prison Hospi-

tal, and the deaths exceeded 100 per day, and large numbers of the prisoners who were walking about, and who had not been entered upon the sick roll, were suffering from severe and incurable diarrhoea, dysentery and scurvy. I visited 2,000 sick within the stockade, lying under some long sheds, which they had built at the northern portion for themselves. At this time only one medical officer was in attendance, whereas at least twenty medical officers should have been employed." (Record pp. 4340-1.)

By comparing two very interesting tables of statistics given in this connection by Dr. Jones, it will be observed that although the number of sick in the stockade was the same as that in the hospital, while the number of surgeons in attendance in the stockade was greatly below that in the hospital, the deaths occurring were about the same in each, or, in other words, the prisoners died as rapidly *with* treatment as without it. This is confirmed by the opinions of several surgeons, among them Drs. Roy, Flewellen, Head, Rice and others, who were witnesses, and who stated that medicine was of little use, and that more could have been done by dieting.

Let it be remembered the prison was built for 10,000 prisoners. Dr. Jones made a table of average numbers, taking the first, middle and last of the month, and dividing the totals by three, the result, he says, was :

"March, 7,500 ; April, 10,000 ; May, 15,000 ; June, 22,291 ; July, 29,030 ; August, 32,899." Need I stop to point out to the reader how completely this picture justified the general impression as to this prison. Can Mr. Davis hope by his *ipse dixit* to remove that impression ? But let us know it all. Mr. Davis invites the inquiry, let us hear the whole truth.

Dr. Jones continues :

"The long use of salt meat, oftentimes imperfectly cured, as well, and the almost total deprivation of vegetables and fruit, appeared to be the chief cause of the scurvy.

"I carefully examined the bakery and the bread furnished the prisoners, and found that they were supplied almost entirely with corn bread, from which the husk had not been separated. This husk acted as an irritant to the alimentary canal without adding any nutriment to the bread." (Record p. 4346.)

After speaking of the sheds used for the sick in the stockade which were opened on all sides, he says :

✱ "The sick lay upon the bare boards, or upon such ragged blankets as they possessed, without, as far as I observed, any bedding or even straw. Pits for the reception of the fæces were dug within a few feet of the lower floor, and they were almost never unoccupied by those suffering from diarrhœa. *The haggard and distressed countenances of those miserable, complaining, dejected, living skeletons, crying for medical aid and food, and the ghastly corpses, with their glazed eye-balls staring up into vacant space, with the flies swarming down their open and grinning mouths and over their ragged clothes infested with numerous lice, as they lay among the sick and dying, formed a picture of helpless, hopeless misery, which it would be impossible to portray by words or by the brush.*" (Record p. 4348.)

It would hardly seem necessary, if indeed it were possible, to add coloring to the picture here drawn. I cannot refrain, however, from noticing the condition of these prisoners, as we learn it from the same class of testimony. Dr. Amos Thornburgh, a rebel surgeon, on duty at Andersonville from the 14th of April until the prison was finally broken up, fully confirms everything said by Dr. Jones.

After speaking of the terrible mortality among the prisoners, and in reply to the question: "To what do you attribute it?" he says:

"I attribute it to the want of proper diet, the crowding together of too many men in the prison and in the hospital, the lack of shelter and fuel, and consequent exposure. While I prescribed at the stockade after the hospital was moved outside, the number of sick men who could not be admitted into the hospital became so great that we were compelled to practice by formulas for different diseases, numbering them, so that instead of a prescription, a patient was told to use No." (Record p. 2321.)

Manifestly improper as this method of treating disease must appear to every one, it did not escape the criticism of the more conscientious, even of those at Andersonville, as sheer empiricism. Dr. Head persisted in giving a prescription in each case, as he thought his duty as a conscientious physician required, and not willing to accept a number prepared for all stages of any one disease, was told on asking why he could not be permitted to pursue the safe course, "that he was not to practice in that way, that he had to practice according to the formulas and numbering that he had." (Record, p. 2500.)

In reply to the question, "Why did you object to it?" he says:

"Because I could not prescribe properly for my patients: I looked upon it as utter quackery; any body, whether he had read medicine or not, could practice according to the formulas, it was often doubtful whether a prescription would suit a case in its present condition. The doctors, however, had to take that or nothing."

Nor did the rigors and sufferings of this prison cease till its very close. Their shelter continued the same, no

more, while the treatment both in and out of the stockade was not perceptibly better. From a temperature ranging during summer up to near 150 degrees Fahrenheit in the sun, as Dr. Thornburgh testified, during which there were many cases of sunstroke, it fell in the winter to a temperature much below the freezing point, nothing being left these miserable creatures with which to resist the inclemency of the weather but diseased and emaciated bodies and ragged and worn out clothing. Dr. Thornburgh says that during the winter there was weather sufficiently severe to have frozen to death men with the scanty supplies these prisoners had and in their emaciated condition; and Dr. Rice after stating that the prisoners were exposed more or less during the whole winter says:

“I knew a great many to die there, who, I believe, died from hunger and starvation, and from cold and exposure.” (Record, p. 2606.)

This is more than confirmed also by Dr. Bates. (Record, p. 164.) On the hospital register there appears this entry:

“T. Gerrity, 106 Pennsylvania, froze to death; admitted January 3d; died in the stockade.”

Dr. G. G. Roy, a surgeon on duty there was asked as a witness at the trial:

Q. What was the condition of the men sent from the stockade to the hospital. Describe their appearance and condition? He replied:

“They presented the most horrible spectacle of humanity that I ever saw in my life, a good many were suffering from scurvy and other diseases; a good many were naked; a large majority bare-footed; a good many without hats; their condition generally was almost indescribable. I attributed this condition to long confinement, want of

necessaries and comforts of life, and all those causes which are calculated to produce the condition of the system where there is just vitality enough to permit one to live. The prisoners were too densely crowded. There was no shelter except such as they constructed themselves, which was very insufficient. A good many were in holes in the earth with their blankets thrown over poles; some were in tents constructed by their own ingenuity, and with just such accommodations as their own ingenuity permitted them to contrive; there were, you may say, no accommodations made for them in the stockade." (Record, p. 485-6.)

He then speaks of the large quantities of insects and vermin which resulted from a decay of animal and vegetable matter, and to such an extent was this place a breeder of insects, that he said mosquitoes, rarely heard of in that vicinity before, so filled the air "that it was dangerous for a man to open his mouth after sundown." He speaks also of the multitude of fleas there, and says:

"The fleas were as bad as mosquitoes, and several weeks after the evacuation of the stockade they emigrated and came up to the private houses in the vicinity, so that the occupants had to leave on account of them."

When we remember the facts brought out in such bold relief by the elaborate report of Dr. Jones, as to the effect of slight abrasions of the skin of men under the peculiar condition of body that most of these prisoners labored under, it would seem to have been almost useless for them to attempt to resist the destroyer. Further along in the testimony Dr. Roy says:

"This marshy place that I spoke of was just in the rear of the hospital, and the winds, of course, blew the odors from there across the hospital."

Still pursuing our inquiries in this direction, I quote from a report made by Dr. G. S. Hopkins and Surgeon H. E. Watkins, both on duty at Andersonville, addressed to General Winder, and which was made pursuant to his suggestion, as embracing in a concise form many of the causes of disease and mortality at Andersonville.

CAUSES OF DISEASE AND MORTALITY

- “1. The large number of prisoners crowded together.
2. The entire absence of all vegetables and diet so necessary as a preventive of scurvy.
3. The want of barracks to shelter the prisoners from sun and rain.
4. Inadequate supply of wood and good water.
5. Badly cooked food.
6. The filthy condition of the prisoners and prison generally.
7. The morbidic emanations from the branch or ravine passing through the prison, the condition of which cannot be better explained than by naming it a morass of human excrement and mud.”

PREVENTIVE MEANS.

- “1. The removal immediately from the prison of not less than 15,000 prisoners.
2. Detail on parole of a sufficient number of prisoners to cultivate the necessary supply of vegetables. And until this can be carried into practical operation, the appointment of agents along the different lines of railroad to purchase and forward a supply.
3. The immediate erection of barracks to shelter the prisoners.
4. To furnish a necessary quantity of wood and have wells dug to supply the deficiency of water.

5. Divide the prisoners into squads, place each squad under the charge of a sergeant, furnish the necessary quantity of soap, and hold each sergeant responsible for the personal cleanliness of his squad; furnish the prisoners with clothing at the expense of the Confederate Government, and if that Government be unable to do so, candidly admit our inability and call upon the Federal Government to furnish them.

6. By a daily inspection of bake-house and cooking.

7. Cover over with sand from the hill-side, the entire morass, not less than six inches deep, board the stream or water-course, and confine the men to the use of the sinks, and make the penalty for the disobedience of such orders severe."

The testimony showed that these practical and humane suggestions were flippantly and recklessly disregarded by General Winder and the chief surgeon and were never in fact carried out.

Let us recur here, for a moment, to Mr. Davis' claim that the causes of death were non observance of the cartel, despondency, acclimation—causes wholly beyond his power to remove. Let the reader look back and examine again the seven causes given by Dr. Hopkins and Surgeon Watkins. I may leave Mr. Davis in the hands of officers who held commissions under his own sign manual.

Examine again the preventive means suggested. Is there one that was not within easy reach? Mr. Davis quotes General Imboden as saying that by use of these simple means and toward the end of this tragedy he succeeded in reducing the mortality from 3,000 in August to 160 for the month of December. What a pity that General Imboden could not have been there in August!

It was an awful range of temperature for naked, roofless and fuelless men to endure—150 degrees in the sun to freezing weather during a portion of their confinement. Little wonder that despondency succeeded upon this heartless imprisonment; that these wretched creatures succumbed to death in the process of acclimation. But the responsibility, the Court said, was with the authorities at Richmond and not with these poor souls, who could not endure the treatment. And who can doubt the righteousness of the verdict?

CHAPTER IV.

REBEL EVIDENCE CONTINUED—GRAVEYARD A NUISANCE—COOKHOUSE, SLAUGHTER PENS AND MILITARY CAMP, ABOVE THE PRISON AND DRAINED THROUGH IT — TESTIMONY OF FATHER HAMILTON, A CATHOLIC PRIEST — PRISONERS MADE INSANE BY SUFFERINGS — INSUFFICIENT FOOD — PRISONERS FEED UPON THE FÆCES OF THEIR COMRADES TO PREVENT STARVATION.

There were many rebel officers and privates, who had been on duty there, called and sworn.

One officer, Col. A. W. Persons, testified that he drew a bill in equity to present to the Courts of the State, and when asked for what purpose he replied :

“To abate a nuisance ; the graveyard made it a nuisance ; the prison generally was a nuisance from the intolerable stench, the effluvia that it gave up.”

Col. Geo. C. Gibbs, commandant of the Post, describes the appearance of the stockade to be “like an ant hill.”

Nazareth Allen, a rebel soldier on duty there, says :

“The cook house was above the stockade, and a good deal of washing was done by the branch ; consequently a good deal of filth went down ; some of the troops were encamped on the stream above, on the side of the hill, and the rain would wash the filth of the camps and sinks into the stream, which would carry it through the stockade. I have seen the prisoners using it when it was in this filthy condition. The stench was very bad. I have smelt it when I was at our picket camp, about a mile in a straight line. It was so bad that it kept me sick pretty near all the time I was around the

stockade. The soldiers preferred picket duty to sentry duty on that account."

William Williams Dillard, another rebel soldier on duty at the same time, fully confirms this. He was on duty both on parapet and on picket, and had an opportunity of observation. In reply to a question as to the condition of the stockade, he says:

"It was nasty as a place could be. On one occasion I saw a man lying there who had not clothes enough on him to hide his nakedness; his hip bones were worn away; he put up two sticks and fastened his coat over them to keep the sun off his face. There were a good many lying down sick and others waiting on them. The crowded state of the men and the filthiness of the place created a very bad odor. I have smelt it at the depot, about a mile from the stockade. (Record, p. 801.)

Again he says:

"The stream that passed through the stockade ran down between the 1st and 2d Georgia Regiments and Finlon's Battalion and passed the bakehouse; all the washings from the bakehouse went right through the stockade and also the washings from the camps. The pits used by the men were not five steps from the stream. Sometimes when it was rainy it was thick with mud and filth from the drainings of the camp inside the stockade. (Record, p. 801.)

Samuel Hall, a prominent gentleman residing in Macon, Ga., whose sympathies, he said, were from the beginning with the rebellion, and who held a high civil position, says:

"When I first saw it (the prison), in the month of August, it was literally crammed and packed; there was scarcely room for locomotion; it was destitute of shelter

as well as I could judge, and at that time there was great mortality among the prisoners." (Record, p. 864.)

Rev. William John Hamilton, a Roman Catholic Priest, also gives important testimony as to the condition of the stockade, which he visited in his capacity as priest. He was there in May, and at different periods subsequently. He says :

"I found the stockade extremely crowded, with a great deal of sickness and suffering among the men. I was kept so busy administering the sacraments to the dying that I had to curtail a great deal of the service that Catholic Priests administer to the dying ; they died so fast I waited only upon those of our own church and did not include others among the dying. The stockade was extremely filthy, the men all huddled together and covered with vermin. The best idea I can give to the Court of the condition of the place is, perhaps, this : I went in there with a white linen coat on, and I had not been in there more than ten minutes or a quarter of an hour when a gentleman drew my attention to the condition of my coat ; it was all covered over with vermin, and I had to take my coat off and leave it with one of the guards and perform my duties in my shirt sleeves, the place was so filthy." (Record, p. 1969.)

Again giving an illustration of the sufferings of the prisoners, and especially the effect of the intense heat of the sun, he says :

"I found a boy not more than sixteen years old, who came to me for spiritual comfort, without jacket or coat or any covering on his feet, suffering very much from a wound in his right foot. The foot was split open like an oyster, and on inquiring the cause, I was told it was from exposure to the sun in the stockade and not from any wound received in battle. On returning to the stockade

a week afterwards I learned that he had stepped across the dead line and requested the guard to shoot him. He had no medical treatment nor had any others, so far as I could see, to whom I administered the sacrament in the stockade. On my second visit I was told there was an Irishman at the extreme end of the stockade who was calling out for a priest. I tried to cross the branch to reach him, but was unable to do so, as the men were all crowding around there trying to get into the water to cool themselves and wash themselves, and I had to leave the stockade without seeing the man. The heat was intolerable. There was no air at all in the stockade. The logs of which the stockade was composed were so close together that I could not feel any fresh air inside ; and with a strong sun beaming down upon it and no shelter at all, of course the heat must have been insufferable, at least I felt it so. The priest who went there after me, while administering the sacrament to the dying, had to use an umbrella, the heat was so intense." (Record p. 1981.)

Ambrose Spencer, a gentleman of prominence in his State, residing near Andersonville during the war, and a frequent visitor to that place, gives a graphic picture of the prison, which I cannot refrain from quoting. He says :

"I had frequent opportunity of seeing the condition of the prisoners, not only from the adjacent hills, but on several occasions from the outside of the stockade where the sentinels' grounds were."

And in reply to a question asking him to describe the condition of the prison, he says :

"I can only answer the question by saying that their condition was as wretched and as horrible as could well be conceived, not only from the exposure to the sun, the inclemency of the weather and the cold of winter, but

from the filth, from the absolute degradation which was evident in their condition. I have seen that stockade after three or four days' rain, when the mud I should think was twelve inches deep. The prisoners were walking in or walking through that mud. The condition of the stockade can perhaps be expressed most accurately by saying that in passing up and down the railroad, if the wind was favorable, the odor of the stockade could be detected at least two miles." (Record p. 2455.)

There are others of this class who testified upon this point, but it would seem useless to give further extracts.

This sad picture needs no corroboration and yet I must give the coloring as shown by one or two of the sufferers out of over one hundred sworn.

Dr. A. W. Barrows, Hospital Steward of the 27th Mass. Regt., and Acting Assistant Post Steward at Plymouth, North Carolina, arrived at Andersonville on the 28th of May, and remained there six months. Owing to his knowledge of medicine and his efficiency, he was paroled by Wirz and assigned to duty in the hospital. His testimony is important as showing the condition of the hospital mainly, but he also gave some material evidence with regard to the stockade, and from it I make the following extract :

"I remember when there have been as many as from seventy-five to one hundred who died during the day in the stockade, and who were never taken to the hospital; that was in the month of August."

Robert H. Kellogg entered the prison on the 3d of May, 1864, and remained there until the following September; he says :

"We found the men in the stockade ragged, nearly

destitute of clothing, totally unprovided with shelter, except that which tattered blankets could afford; they looked nearly starved; they were mere skeletons covered with skin; the prison seemed very crowded to us, although there were thousands brought there after that. They were in a very filthy condition, indeed there were but two issues of soap made to the prison while I was there. When we first went there the nights were cold. That soon passed away as the season advanced and during the summer it was intensely hot. There were twenty-one rainy days in the month of June. Our supply of fuel was not regular or sufficient. We were allowed to go several times under guard, six men from a squad of ninety, to bring in what we could find in the woods, on our shoulders, but the greater part of the time we had to rely upon our supply of roots we dug out of the ground, or grubbed for in the swamps—pitch-pine roots. Rations were issued raw many times without fuel to cook them. The squad of ninety, of which I was sergeant, went from the 30th of June to the 30th of August without any issue of wood from the authorities." (Record p. 361-2.)

Again he says:

"The quality of the rations was very poor; the quantity greatly varied. There were days when we got nothing at all; I made a note of at least two such days. There were other days when we got but very little; other days enough such as it was. When my regiment went there the men were healthy; they gradually sickened, until, *I remember one morning at roll-call, out of my ninety men there were thirty-two who were not able to stand up.* This resulted principally from scurvy and diarrhœa. This was on the 21st of August; a number of the men of my squad having died up to that time. The mass of the men had to depend on the brook for their water; it at many times was exceedingly filthy; I have seen it completely covered with floating grease, and dirt and offal. After the prisoners had

been there sometime, they dug wells, and there were some springs along the south side of the prison, on the edge of the hill by the swamp, but the supply from that source was entirely inadequate. They supplied the wants of a few. *Of the 400 men, captured with me, more than 300 are dead; and that is a larger percentage of living than there is in many regiments. The 24th, New York Battery, which was captured at Plymouth, was nearly annihilated.*" (Record, p. 367.)

This is the simple unvarnished narrative of perhaps as intelligent a witness as was upon the stand. He has written a book entitled "Life and Death in Southern Prisons," which was used extensively by counsel for the accused.

The testimony of Boston Corbett (he who shot Wilkes Booth) brings out some facts as to the condition of the stockade:

"It was a living mass of putrefaction and filth; there were maggots there a foot deep; any time we turned over the soil we could see the maggots in a living mass; I have seen the soldiers wading through it, digging for roots to use for fuel. I have seen, around the swamp, the sick in great numbers, lie pretty much as soldiers lie when they are down to rest in line after a march. In the morning I could see those who had died during the night, and in the day-time I could see them exposed to the heat of the sun, with their feet swelled to an enormous size; in many cases large gangrene sores filled with maggots and flies which they were unable to keep off. I have seen men lie there in a state of utter destitution, not able to help themselves, lying in their own filth. They generally chose that place (near the swamp) those who were most offensive, because others would drive them away, not wanting to be near those who had such bad sores. They chose it because of its being so near to the sinks. In one case a

man died there, I am satisfied from the effect of lice. When the clothes were taken off his body, the lice seemed as thick as the garment—a living mass. The water in the stockade was often very filthy; sometimes it was middling clear. At times I would go to those who had wells dug; sometimes they would give me a drink, sometimes they would not; they used such rough language to me that I turned away parched with thirst and drank water from the stream rather than beg from the men who had wells. (Record, p. 437.) The minds of the prisoners were, in many cases so affected that the prisoners became idiotic.” (Record, p. 439.)

“I have taken food, given me to eat, to the stream and washed the maggots from it. I have seen them in the sores of soldiers there, I have seen them in such a way that it is hardly fit to describe in this Court.” (Record, p. 439.)

Too horrible for belief as this may seem to be, it was confirmed by at least fifty witnesses.

And this condition seems not to have been mitigated in the case of those unfortunates who were removed to the hospital.

Martin E. Hogan, a witness among the more intelligent testified:

“At the time of my arrival there (speaking of the stockade) it was very much crowded, so much so that you could scarcely elbow your way through the crowd in any part of the camp. I noticed a great many men lying helpless on the ground, seemingly without care, without anybody to attend to them, lying in their own filth; a great many of them calling for water, a great many crying for food, nobody apparently paying any heed to them; others almost entirely destitute of clothing, so numerous that I could not begin to say how many.” (Record, p. 575.)

Then follows testimony similar to Boston Corbett's was given in regard to the swamp and the vermin in it.

Andrew J. Swing, who went to Andersonville in May, 1864, says, that upon entering the stockade "I found the prisoners destitute of clothing. I could not tell in many cases whether they were white men or negroes."*

On the 29th of the same month he was detailed for duty outside. After being outside the stockade for about six weeks, he says :

"I applied to the lieutenant of the guard at the gate and gave him \$12.00 in greenbacks to let me go in and stay an hour to see our boys. I went in and spent an hour inside the stockade ; a great many of the boys were very poor ; there were some of my own best friends whom I could not recognize until they came and shook hands with me and made themselves known ; even then I could hardly believe they were the same men. I have seen men, acquaintances of mine, who would go around there not knowing anything at all, hardly noticing anything. I have seen men crippled up so that that they had scarcely any life in them at all ; they would lie on the ground, to all appearances dead ; I went up to several who I thought were dead, but I found that they had a little life in them."

James H. Davidson (Record, p. 936), speaking of the condition of the stockade, says :

"I have seen men who had the appearance of being starved to death ; I have seen men pick up and eat undigested food that had passed through other men all through the camp ; it came from men who were not able to go

* NOTE—The evidence showed that the U. S. Sanitary Commission sent large quantities of clothing, medicine, confections and other supplies to this prison that probably never reached it.

to the slough, and they would find it all through the camp."

This is testified to by very many.

Dan. W. Bussinger testified :

" I have seen men eat undigested food that had passed through other men ; they would wash it and eat it pick it up from the sinks." (Record, p. 1125.)

Without referring to names or going into particulars, it may be stated that other witnesses testified to the prisoners watching for the bodies of the dead for the privilege of carrying them out that they might be allowed to return with wood. One witness said there was a scramble for this privilege. Others testified that they paid at the rate of a dollar for a stick of wood three inches in diameter and two feet long ; and the witnesses of this class testify uniformly not only to the lack of quantity in the rations but to their bad quality, and to the fact that very often they were stopped altogether.*

* NOTE—And yet Mr. Davis says Andersonville was selected because "a high pine wooded region; in a productive farming country, well watered." Was this the work of Tantalus?

CHAPTER V.

CONDITION OF THE HOSPITAL—TREATMENT OF THE SICK AND DEAD
MORTALITY INCREASED—RATIONS FOR THE SICK—WRETCHED
SANITARY CONDITIONS.

It is not proposed to enter as fully into the condition of the hospital as might be done from the reports and evidence before me; sufficient will be given, however, to warrant the conclusion that it was very little better than that of the stockade itself, and in view of the discrimination which the surgeons were directed to make in the admission of men from the stockade into the hospital, we can readily understand why the prisoners almost uniformly bade their comrades farewell when they were taken from the stockade to the hospital. The evidence justified the remark made by one of the surgeons, who says it was really no hospital.

Here also we have recourse to the official report of Dr. Joseph Jones, in which we find his remarks upon the condition of the hospital quite as lucid and elaborate as those in reference to the stockade.

After speaking of the stream running through one corner of the hospital stockade, and stating that its upper portion was used for washing by the patients, and the lower portion as a sink, he remarks :

“This part of the stream is a semi-fluid of human excrement, and offal and filth of all kinds. This im-

mense cess-pool fermenting beneath the hot sun emitted an overpowering stench. * * * North of the hospital grounds the stream which flows through the stockade pursues its sluggish and filthy course. The exhalations from the swamp, which is loaded with the excrement of the prisoners confined in the stockade, exert their deleterious influences on the inmates of the hospital."

Within the hospital inclosure, less than five acres, he says :

"The patients and attendants, near 2,000, are crowded and are but poorly supplied with old and ragged tents ; a large number are without any bunks in the tents and lay upon the ground, oftentimes without even a blanket. No beds of straw appear to have been furnished. The tents extend to within a few yards of the small stream, which was used as a privy and loaded with excrement. I observed a large pile of corn bread, bones and filth of all kinds, thirty feet in diameter and several feet in height, swarming with myriads of flies, in a vacant space near the pots used for cooking. Millions of flies swarmed over everything and covered the faces of the sleeping patients, crawled down their open mouths and deposited their maggots upon the gangrenous wounds of the living and mouths of the dead. Mosquitoes in great numbers also infested the tents and many of the patients were so stung by these pestiferous insects that they resembled those suffering with a slight attack of measles. The police and hygiene of the hospital was defective in the extreme." (Record p. 4350-51.) "Many of the sick were literally incrustated with dirt and filth and covered with vermin. When a gangrene wound needed washing the limb was thrust out a little from the blanket or board or rag upon which the patient was lying and water poured over it, and all the putrescent matter allowed to soak into the ground floor of the tent. I saw the most filthy rags, which had been applied several times and imperfectly

washed, used in dressing recent wounds. Where hospital gangrene was prevailing it was almost impossible for any wounds to escape contagion under the circumstances." (Record p. 4354.)

Of the treatment of the dead, he says :

"The manner of disposing of the dead is also calculated to depress the already despondent spirits of these men. The dead house is merely a frame, covered with old tent cloth and a few brushes, situated in the southwest corner of the hospital grounds. When a patient dies he is simply laid in the narrow street in front of his tent until he is removed by the Federal negroes, detailed to carry off the dead. If the patient die during the night he lies there until morning ; and during the day the dead were frequently allowed to remain for hours in these walks. In the dead-house the corpses lay on the bare ground, and were in most cases covered with filth and vermin." (Record p. 4335.)

Further on he says :

"The cooking arrangements are of the most defective character. Two large iron pots similar to those used for boiling sugar cane appeared to be the only cooking utensils furnished by the hospital for the cooking of nearly 2,000 men, and the patients were dependent in a great measure on their own miserable utensils. The air of the tents was foul and disagreeable in the extreme, and in fact the entire grounds emitted a most noxious and disgusting smell. I entered nearly all the tents and carefully examined the cases of interest, especially the cases of gangrene, during the prosecution of my pathological inquiries at Andersonville, and therefore, enjoyed every opportunity to judge correctly of the hygiene and police of the hospital." (Record p. 4357.)

To show that this frightful condition of affairs did not cease after a great portion of the prisoners were removed, Dr. Jones observes :

“The ratio of mortality continued to increase during September, for, notwithstanding the removal of half the entire number of prisoners during the early portion of the month, 1,757 deaths were registered from September 1st to the 21st, and the largest number of deaths occurred during this month on the 16th, viz., 119.”

Afterwards, remarking upon the causes of the great mortality among the Federal prisoners, he says :

“The chief causes of death were scurvy and its results, bowel affections and chronic and acute diarrhoea and dysentery. The bowel affections appear to have been due to the diet and habits of the patients ; the depressed, dejected state of the nervous system and moral and intellectual powers, and to the effluvia arising from decomposed animal and vegetable filth.” (Record p. 4372.)

He also says :

“Almost every amputation was followed finally by death, either from the effects of gangrene or from the prevailing diarrhoea and dysentery. So far as my observation extended, very few of the cases of amputation for gangrene recovered.” (Record p. 4378.)

The evidence of Dr. John C. Bates is important as showing the condition of the hospital. He was a rebel surgeon on duty at Andersonville from the middle of September, 1864, to the last of March, 1865, embracing a period when it is claimed the sufferings were much lighter than they had been. This we have already seen, by Dr. Jones' report, was not true, even after many of the prisoners had been sent away, and we shall see from the testimony of Dr. Bates that it is wholly incorrect. He says :

“Upon going to the ward to which I was assigned, I was shocked at the appearance of things. The men were lying partially nude and dying and lousy ; a portion of

them in the sand and others upon boards which had been stuck upon little props pretty well crowded; a majority of them in small tents. I would go to other parts of the hospital when officer of the day; the men would gather around me and ask for a bone. I would give them whatever I could find at my disposition without robbing others. I well knew that the appropriation of one ration took it from the general issue; that when I appropriated an extra ration to one man some one else would fall minus. I then fell back upon the distribution of bones, they did not presume to ask me for meat at all. So far as rations are concerned, that is the way matters went along for some time after I went there.

“They could not be furnished with any clothing except the clothing of the dead, which was generally appropriated to the living. There was a partial supply of fuel, but not sufficient to keep the men warm and prolong their existence. As medical officer of the day I made examinations beyond my own ward and reported the condition. As a general thing the patients were destitute, filthy and partly naked. The clamor all the while was for something to eat.” (Record, p. 125.)*

Dr. G. G. Roy, whose testimony was before referred to, in speaking of the hospital, says :

“I found it in a very deplorable condition. There was no comfort attached to it whatever. Many of the tents were badly worn, torn and rotten, and of course permitted the water to leak through. The patients were not furnished with bunks or bedding, or bed-clothing, or anything of that kind.” (Record, p. 480.)

He speaks as did all the other medical officers on duty there, of the great dearth of medicines; but also concurs

*NOTE—Mr. Davis says Andersonville was selected because “near Americus, a central depot for collecting the tax in kind and purchasing provisions for our army.” Why this clamor for food?

with most of them in the opinion that medicine was not so much needed as proper diet, and he confirms generally the description given by Dr. Jones.

On the 26th day of September, Dr. Amos Thornburgh, assistant surgeon, in a report to Dr. Stevenson, the surgeon in charge (see Ex., No., 30 Manuscript, p. 989), calls special attention to the very bad sanitary condition of the hospital. He reports, "that the patients are lying on the cold ground, without bedding or blankets; also, that we have a very scanty supply of medicines, and that the rations are not of a proper kind, and not issued in proper quantity."

On the 5th of September Dr. J. C. Peliot, in an official report directed to the chief of his division (See Ex. No. 9), says :

"The tents are entirely destitute of either bunks, bedding or straw, the patients being compelled to lie on the bare ground. I earnestly call your attention to the article of diet. The corn-bread received from the bakery, being made up without sifting, is wholly unfit for the use of the sick, and often, as within the last twenty-four hours, the inner portion is found to be perfectly raw. The meat received for the patients does not amount to over two ounces per day; and for the past three or four days no flour has been issued. The corn-bread cannot be eaten by many, for to do so would be to increase the disease of the bowels, from which a large majority of them are suffering and it is therefore thrown away. All these men receive by way of sustenance, is two ounces of boiled beef and half a pint of rice soup per day. Under these circumstances all the skill that can be brought to bear upon their cases by the medical officers will avail nothing. We have but little more than indigenous barks and roots with which to treat the numerous forms of

disease to which our attention is daily called. For the treatment of wounds, ulcers, etc., we have literally nothing except water. Our wards, some of them are filled with gangrene, and we are compelled to fold our arms and look quietly on its ravages, not even having stimulants to support the system under its depressing influences."

Similar testimony is given by Drs. Rice, Head, Flewellen and others of the medical corps on duty at Andersonville. This picture of human suffering might be intensified and presented in different phases if we were to resort to the testimony of soldiers on duty in the hospital and those who were patients there; but nothing can add to the truthfulness of the facts stated, they rest upon official reports made at the time, and made for no other purpose than to call the attention of the proper officers to the condition of the prisoners.

Jas. K. Davidson, 4th Iowa Cavalry, testified as to the treatment of the dead, as follows :

"The dead men were carried on the stretchers out of the gate, and from there they were hauled to the graveyard in wagons. I drove a wagon to the graveyard a little over a week; there were two teams of us driving. We would throw the bodies in the wagon just as we would wood; sometimes twenty or twenty-five at a load. We drove the same wagons back; sometimes with wood, and sometimes with rations. We would go by the depot sometimes and get rations in the same wagon in which we carried the dead. These were the orders." (Record, p. 380.)

Horatio B. Terrell, 72 Ohio Infantry, testified :

"I have seen them taking away the dead in wagons; we could see them plainly from the stockade. One man

would go to the heels of a corpse and the other to the head, and they would swing them into the wagons like dead hogs for the slaughter house." (Record, p. 494.)

Frank Maddox, of the 35th U. S., testified :

"The ditch that the prisoners were buried in was laid off seven feet wide, and I think, scant three feet deep. The men were laid in side by side; most of them were naked." (Record, p. 508.)

John L. Younker, 12 U. S. Infantry, testified :

"I was on duty as grave digger. The prisoners were buried in trenches 180 feet long, seven feet wide, and three and one-half feet deep. They were laid side by side on their backs, and we generally covered them with pine slabs until these got scarce, and then we just covered them up with earth. The dead were piled on top of each other in wagons and brought there." He describes the condition of the bodies to be such as is unfit to appear in print, and generally naked. (Record, p. 947.)

Bernard O'Hare, 6th N. Y. Cavalry, testified.

"I was detailed for the purpose of carrying dead men from the hospital. I was at it from August 1st until September. I have seen over one hundred dead bodies lying in the hospital at one time. They generally laid there a day, and were in a horrible condition." Record, p 1030.)

I. R. Griffin, a rebel officer of the 8th Georgia, was sent to the Prison by General J. H. Wilson, after it was broken up, to care for it. He describes the bodies of the dead as exposed when he got there, in some instances, and the graveyard utterly neglected and uncared for. (Record, p. 1123.)

Of course, no one would contend in the face of the evidence, that the grave of any individual soldier could now be identified and named. Doubtless the dead were checked

off from the prison record as nearly correct as was possible; but that the number or name of the identical prisoner was placed at the grave when he was buried, and remained there so as to make it at all certain who was laid in a particular part of any one of the numerous trenches, it would be folly to assert. I wish I could comfort the surviving relatives of these martyred dead by assuring them that they could go to Andersonville and pick out for adornment the last resting place of brother, husband, or father. But I cannot. These hapless 13,000 lie in unknown graves hopelessly intermixed and unidentifiable.

Captain James M. Moore, Assistant Quartermaster U. S. A., undertook the task of marking the graves. He testified as follows: (Record, p. 945.)

“My position is Assistant Quartermaster United States Army. I was engaged from July 26, 1865, till August 16, in marking the graves of Union soldiers at Andersonville; also in enclosing the cemetery. The whole number of interments was 12,912. There were 12,397 graves marked with names; 451 unknown. The number of graves in the small-pox cemetery was sixty-four; that includes all I was able to find. I found no graves whatever in the stockade, though Colonel Griffin, who was appointed by General Griffin, to superintend the cemetery before my arrival, stated——”

Mr. Baker objected to witness stating what he heard from Colonel Griffin.

“We found the bodies interred in trenches, averaging from one hundred to two hundred yards long. They were buried so closely that the tablets, which marked the graves almost touched each other. The tablets measured but ten inches. In some places the distance between them

was greater, but the tablets were seldom more than two inches apart, making about a foot for each man. We marked the graves with the number, the name, the company and regiment, and the date of death. We got the data from the records which had been kept at the prison, and which had been captured by General Wilson. I got them from the War Department. At the head of many of the graves was a stake numbered, the number corresponding with a similar number in the book, to which the name was attached, showing the occupant of the grave. That was the only index we had. In many cases these stakes were knocked down, and we were obliged to measure the distance from one stake to another. For instance, between 10,500 and 13,000 there would probably be a dozen stakes missing, and we would count off a space occupied by the stakes that were up, so as to know the occupant of the grave as far as possible. Of those who were buried last the graves were not marked, and we were unable to identify them. In such cases on the headboard were placed the words: 'Unknown—United States Soldier.' They were buried in trenches; the trenches a distance of, probably, six feet apart—in some instances not more than four. There was a main avenue running through the center. There was no enclosure whatever. I found no graves exposed. They had been cared for. The officer appointed by General Wilson had taken charge of the cemetery. I found a gentleman in charge of it who was formerly an officer. His name was Colonel Griffin. I know that when he got there the bodies were exposed, from the fact that when I got there I found, on putting down some of the boards, there was but a slight covering on some of the bodies, and the hair of some of the men was exposed, showing that in some instances they were but a few inches underground. At the instance of the Government the graves were all marked; walks were laid out; the cemetery, containing fifty acres, was enclosed with a neat fence; appropriate

inscriptions were placed through the cemetery, and it was beautified as much as my means would permit."

Counsel for the prisoner declined to cross-examine the witness.

By the Court :

"The average depth at which I found the bodies buried, was between two and three feet. They were all buried. I saw the remains of none. The stakes indicated that they were very close together. I did not see any of the bodies myself; they were all buried; the stake at the head of each grave indicated how close. I did not take them up for re-interment. No disinterments whatever were made. They were just marked where they were."

By the Judge Advocate :

"It was not possible at that time of the year to disinter them. Besides, by labor, the graves can be made higher, and will in the course of time, be just as deep as if the bodies were buried again. All the men were found buried."

By the Court :

"The ground was well chosen for a burial place, and in the course of time can be made a beautiful place."

CHAPTER VI.

REPORT OF COL. CHANDLER — INHUMANITY OF GEN. WINDER AND CAPT. WIRZ — WHAT THE REBEL GOVERNMENT DID WITH COL. CHANDLER'S REPORT — SURGEON GENERAL MOORE AND THE REPORT — THE CONSPIRACY — WINDER AND WIRZ REWARDED BY PROMOTION FOR THEIR INFAMY — HISTORICAL PARALLELS.

Is it not amazing that Mr. Davis should challenge the reproduction of this damning record? But let us advance a step. Mr. Davis speaks of General Winder as a humane and able officer, wholly incapable of cruelty, and of Wirz he says the same and that he died a martyr.

The report of Col. D. T. Chandler, Assistant Inspector General, was a most important document. It was dated August 5, 1864, and reached the Rebel War Department August 17, 1864.*

This officer, from whose report I have already quoted, gives a graphic description of the sufferings of the prisoners of war, and in earnest terms beseeches his government that no more be sent forward to that place, and that immediate steps be taken to relieve the sufferings of those prisoners already there, making many practical suggestions for their comfort which he thought could be readily carried out. In a supplemental report, also dated August 5th, and which was received in Richmond with the report first named, he says :

* NOTE—Col. Chandler was educated by the government at West Point, a humane and conscientious man. He testified with reluctance but with perfect candor.

“My duty requires me respectfully to recommend a change in the officer in command of the post, Brigadier-General John H. Winder, and the substitution in his place of some one who unites both energy and good judgment with some feelings of humanity and consideration for the welfare and comfort, so far as is consistent with their safe keeping, of the vast number of unfortunates placed under his control; some one who at least will not advocate deliberately and in cold blood, *the propriety of leaving them in their present condition until their number has been sufficiently reduced by death to make the present arrangements suffice for their accommodation*, and who will not consider it a matter of self-laudation and boasting that he has never been inside of the stockade—a *place, the horrors of which it is difficult to describe, and which is a disgrace to civilization*—the condition of which he might, by the exercise of a little energy and judgment, even with the limited means at his command, have considerably improved.”

In his examination as a witness touching this report, Col. Chandler says :

“I noticed that General Winder seemed very indifferent to the welfare of prisoners, indisposed to do anything or do as much as I thought he ought to do, to alleviate their sufferings. I remonstrated with him as well as I could, and he used that language which I reported to the Department with reference to it—the language stated in the report. When I spoke of the great mortality existing among the prisoners, and pointed out to him that the sickly season was coming on, and that it must necessarily increase unless something was done for their relief—the swamp, for instance, drained, proper food furnished and in better quantity, and other sanitary suggestions which I made to him, he replied to me that *he thought it was better to see half of them die than to take care of the men.*”*

*NOTE--There was considerable evidence tending to show that Winder was a pet of Mr. Davis.

And to show that he cannot be mistaken in what he avers Col. Chandler speaks of Major Hall, his assistant, having first reported to him similar language used by General Winder to him, and remarks:

“I told Major Hall that I thought it incredible, that he must be mistaken. He told me no, that he had not only said it once, but twice, and, as I have stated, he subsequently made use of this expression to me.”

Let us now see what the rebel government had to do with this report. As I before remarked, it reached Richmond on the 17th day of August. Immediately on its reception, as we learn from Capt. C. M. Selph, of the rebel War Department, it was carefully briefed and extracts made and sent to the heads of the different bureaus, the Commissary General and Quartermaster General; a report of Dr. White's, and enclosure of Col. Chandler's report, being sent to the Surgeon General. The entire report was then laid before the Secretary of War, Mr. Seddon, and there cannot be a shadow of doubt that it was immediately and fully considered; nor can there be any doubt that Mr. Davis and his War Minister conferred together with regard to this momentous subject.

Capt. Selph, speaking of a conversation between himself and Col. Woods, a staff officer of Jefferson Davis, in regard to the prison at Andersonville, says:

“During that conversation I obtained the impression that President Davis had some knowledge of it.” (Record, p. 1161.)

“This,” he says again, “was subsequent to the receipt of Col. Chandler's report.”

To the question—

“Would a paper of this kind on a subject of this magnitude find its way to the President of the so-called Confederate States, in the ordinary course of proceedings?”

He answers:

“Yes, sir; I think it would.”

It will not do to say that this report was buried among the multitude of papers that arrived daily in the War Office, or that it lay upon Mr. Seddon's table with piles of other papers unnoticed. Mr. J. B. Jones, private secretary to Mr. Seddon (Record, p. 2836), testified that he remembered when the report was received, but only read the headings enough to see the purport of it; and added that he thought it was sent for by the Secretary of War.

Mr. R. T. H. Kean, Chief of the Bureau of War, testified that he saw it lying on the Secretary's table. He also speaks of a conversation between himself and the Assistant Secretary of War, Judge Campbell, in which the report was spoken of, and in which Judge Campbell, speaking of the fearful mortality, remarked, “This looks very bad.”

Captain Selph also testified that the report excited general comment in the Department.

But we are not left with this evidence alone. This report was not sent in like ordinary inspection reports, but special attention was drawn to it by three officials. On the day of its receipt, it was submitted to the Secretary of War, as the following indorsement proves, beyond doubt:

“ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE
August 18th, 1864.

Respectfully submitted to the Secretary of War. *The condition of the prison at Andersonville is a reproach to us*

as a nation. The engineer and Ordinance Department were applied to for implements, and authorized their issue, and I so telegraphed General Winder. Colonel Chandler's recommendations are coincided in.

R. H. CHILTON,
Asst. Adj. and Inspector Gen.

This is the same Col. Chilton quoted by Mr. Davis in his attempt to disprove the condition of the prisoners at Andersonville.

The report passed through the hands of R. B. Welford, a confidential clerk employed in the War Department for his legal abilities, who also made a brief analysis strongly recommending Colonel Chilton's view ; Mr. Welford's analysis being again endorsed, and the whole laid before the Secretary by J. A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War, with the following endorsement :

"These reports show a condition of things at Andersonville which calls very loudly for the interposition of the Department in order that a change may be made.

J. A. CAMPBELL,
Assistant Secretary of War."

What more could have been needed, or what more done to bring authoritatively and strongly before the proper authorities at Richmond, the subject of the Andersonville sufferings ? Here was an intelligent inspection officer of high rank, Colonel Chandler ; the Chief of the Inspector's Bureau, Colonel Chilton ; the Chief of the Bureau of War, Mr. Kean ; a confidential clerk, Mr. Welford, and the Assistant Secretary of War, Judge Campbell, all pressing in the strongest terms the necessity of an immediate interposition by the Department, and not

hesitating to declare the prison at Andersonville "a reproach to them as a Nation."

And here let me diverge a moment and follow a portion of this remarkable report to the Surgeon General's office. We find endorsed upon Exhibit 24 (Record, p. 695), the following :

"Surgeon White was authorized sometime since to send his requisitions for supplies directly to the medical purveyor. Not having supplies is his own fault; he should have anticipated the wants of the sick by timely requisitions. It is impossible to order medical officers in place of the contract physicians. They are not to be had at present.

S. P. MOORE,
Surgeon General."

This is the flippant endorsement of the Surgeon General, and the only evidence showing his notice of the condition of things at Andersonville; and this is all he seems to have done in the matter. Meanwhile Dr. White was allowed to remain in charge of the hospital, which as described by the surgeons who were on duty with him, seems to have been little else than a dead-house.

It is strange, truly, that the Surgeon General passed over the matter with so slight a notice of it. He had called into his counsels an eminent medical gentleman, of high attainments in his profession and of loyalty to the rebel Government unquestionable, namely, Dr. Joseph Jones. Amid all the details in this terrible tragedy there seems to be none more heartless, wanton and utterly devoid of humanity than that revealed by the Surgeon General, to which I am about to refer. I quote now from the report of the same Dr. Joseph Jones, which he says (Record

p. 4384), was made in the interest of the Confederate Government for the use of the medical department, in view that no eye would ever see it, but that of the Surgeon General.

After a brief introduction to his report and to show under what authority it was made, he quotes a letter from the Surgeon General, dated : "Surgeon General's Office, Richmond, Virginia, August 6, 1864." The letter is addressed to Surgeon I. H. White, in charge of the hospital for Federal Prisoners, Andersonville, Georgia, and is as follows :

"SIR :—The field of pathological investigation afforded by the large collection of Federal prisoners in Georgia is of great extent and importance, and it is believed that results of value to the profession may be obtained by careful examination of the effect of disease upon a body of men subjected to a decided change of climate, and the circumstances peculiar to prison life. The surgeon in charge of the hospital for Federal prisoners, together with his assistants, will afford every facility to Surgeon Joseph Jones in the prosecution of the labors ordered by the Surgeon General. The medical officers will assist in the performances of such post mortems as Dr. Jones may indicate, in order that this great field for pathological investigation may be explored for the benefit of the medical department of the Confederate armies.

S. P. MOORE, Surgeon General."

Pursuant to his orders, Dr. Jones, as he tells us, proceeded to Andersonville, and on the 17th of September received the following pass :

ANDERSONVILLE, Sept. 17, 1864.

"CAPTAIN :—You will permit Surgeon Joseph Jones, who has orders from the Surgeon General, to visit the sick

within the stockade that are under my medical treatment. Surgeon Jones is ordered to make certain investigations which may prove useful to his profession.

Very respectfully,

W. S. WINDER, A. A. G."

CAPT. WIRZ, Commanding Prison.

When we remember that the Surgeon General had been apprised of the wants of that prison, and that he had overlooked its real necessities, shifting the responsibility upon Dr. White, who, he must have known, was totally incompetent, it is hard to conceive with what devilish malice, or criminal devotion to his profession, or reckless disregard of the high duties imposed upon him—I scarcely know which—he could sit down and deliberately pen such a letter of instructions as that given to Dr. Jones.

Was it not enough to have cruelly starved and murdered our soldiers? Was it not enough to have sought to wipe out their very memories by burying them in nameless graves? Was it not enough to have instituted a system of medical treatment, the very embodiment of charlatanism? Was not this enough without adding to the many other diabolical motives which must have governed the perpetrators of these acts, this scientific object, as deliberate and cold-blooded as one can conceive? The Surgeon General could quiet his conscience, when the matter was laid before him through Col. Chandler, by indorsing that it was impossible to send medical officers to take the place of the contract physicians on duty at Andersonville. Yet he could select, at the same time, a distinguished gentleman of the medical profession and

send him to Andersonville, directing the whole force of surgeons there to render him every assistance, leaving their multiplied duties for that purpose and to aid him in *post mortem* dissections of our soldiers. Why? Not to alleviate the sufferings of the prisoners; not to convey to them one ounce more of nutritious food; to make no suggestions for the improvement of their sanitary condition; for no purpose of that kind; but, as the letter of instruction itself shows, "that this great field for pathological investigation may be explored for the benefit of the medical department of the Confederate armies." The Andersonville prison, so far as the Surgeon General was concerned, was a mere dissecting room, a clinic institute, to be made tributary to the medical department of the Confederate armies. But let me return from this digression. One can hardly believe all these things of a Government pretending to struggle for a place among civilized nations, yet, horrible as it seems, the facts cannot be resisted.

Did the Court do injustice to the leaders of the Rebellion by their verdict? Did they draw inferences that were unwarrantable? Is it indeed true that these men high in authority, were not responsible? I think not; motives are presumed from actions, and actions speak louder than words. What was the action of Jefferson Davis and his War Minister, Mr. Seddon, upon these reports? The papers were pigeon-holed in the Secretary's office, not even being dignified by being placed upon the regular files in the proper office, while General Winder, the chief accomplice, instead of being removed immediately and broken of his commission, and tried for violation

of the laws of war, for cruelty, inhumanity and murder ; instead of being held up by that government as a warning to others, giving a color of justice to their cause, *was promoted, rewarded and given a command of wider scope and greater power*, but still in a position to carry out the purposes of his government toward the prisoners of war. History is full of examples similar in character where a government, seeking to carry out its own ends, has selected as tools men not unlike General Winder ; and history, faithful in the narration of facts, is faithful also in fixing upon the Government who employed such persons and sustained and rewarded them, the responsibility for the acts of such agents. James II had his Jeffries ; Philip II his Duke of Alva ; Louis XIV his Duke de Louvais ; the Emperor of Austria his Haynau ; and Jefferson Davis his Winder ! The closest scrutiny of the immense record of this trial will show that up to the very close of that prison, there were no steps taken by the rebel government by General Winder or by any of the officers of his staff, clothed with proper authority, to alleviate in any material particular the great sufferings of that place.

CHAPTER VII.

PRISON STATISTICS — FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE CRIME — RELEASED SKELETONS — LAW OF NATIONS — SEVENTY-FIVE PER CENT DIED OF STARVATION — THIRTEEN THOUSAND DIED AT THE PRISON AND TWO THOUSAND ON THE WAY HOME — EIGHTY-THREE PER CENT OF ALL THE PRISONERS TREATED IN HOSPITAL DIED — WIRZ ACCUSED HIS SUPERIORS IN OFFICE OF THE CRIME — AVERAGE MORTALITY IN FEDERAL PRISONS — SPECIFIC ACTS OF CRUELTY.

From the prison journal, kept by the prisoner himself, we find that in September, the mean number of prisoners being 17,000, the deaths were 2,700; in October the mean strength being about 6,700, the number of deaths was 1,560, nearly one out of every five; in November the mean strength being 2,300, the deaths were 485; while those who remained to the very close, till the prison was broken up, are described by General Wilson and others as having been "mere skeletons," "shadows of men." Nor must it be forgotten that the marks of this cruelty were so indelibly stamped upon its victims that thousands who survived became cripples, and carried to early graves the evidence of the horrible treatment to which they were subjected. The surgeons of our army who treated these shadows of men when they arrived within our lines at Jacksonville and Hilton Head testified that hundreds died before they could be resuscitated; that others were permanently disabled; that others, upon their partial

recovery, were started on their way homeward, but again treated at Annapolis. Dr. Vanderkieft, of our army, testified to the condition of these prisoners while under his treatment at that place. He said :

“ They were reduced, suffering from chronic diarrhœa and scurvy, some of them in a dying condition ; some of them died a few days after they arrived, and those who did recover were obliged to remain a long time in the hospital before they were able to return to their homes.” (Record p. 505.)

And with that certainty with which science reasons from effect to cause oftentimes, after describing the condition of the men as it had been brought out in his testimony, he concludes : “ The symptoms and condition of the patients presented cases of starvation.” Nor must it be forgotten, in the summing up of the cumulative proofs of the Andersonville horrors, that numerous photographs of returned prisoners were introduced and identified by Drs. Vanderkieft and Balser and others, as representing cases no worse than hundreds and thousands they had seen. So impressive, indeed, and so strong seemed this evidence of rebel cruelty, that the counsel for the prisoner sought in his cross-examination to show that they were fancy sketches.* Are we told these things are improbable and cannot be believed because it is said Mr. Davis was a good man, not capable of such cruelty ? Are we told that no direct order of his is shown, and therefore, notwithstanding all these facts and circumstances narrated, he must be acquitted of all blame ? The law governing cases of

* NOTE—I examined the files at Washington recently to obtain copies of these with photographs of the prison also introduced but they cannot be found.

conspiracy does not require us to show a direct order ; circumstances from which guilt may be inferred are often sufficient. The rebel chief did not find it necessary to issue direct instructions, nor indeed could it reasonably be expected. Michelet relates an anecdote of Louis XV, not malpropos :

“The illustrious Quesney, physician to Louis XV, who lived in the house of the latter at Versailles, saw the king one day suddenly rush in and felt alarmed. Madame de Haussett, the witty femme de chambre, inquired of him why he seemed so uneasy. ‘Madame,’ returned he, ‘whenever I see the King, I say to myself, there is the man who can cut my head off.’ ‘Oh,’ said she, ‘he is too good.’

“The lady’s maid thus summed up in one word the guarantees of monarchy. The King was too good to cut the man’s head off ; that was no longer agreeable to custom, but he could with one word send him to the Bastille and there forget him. It remains to be seen whether it is better to perish with one blow, or suffer a lingering death for thirty or forty years.”

Mr. Davis was not capable of being the instrument of death. He was too good to be the keeper of a prison, and withhold from starving men their scanty rations; but he could send them out of his sight, away from a prison in plain view of his own residence at Richmond, into the dense forests of Georgia, and there forget them. This was the view the Court took.

Grotius derived the *jus gentium* from the practice of nations, and, living in an age when the greatest cruelties were practiced in the operations of warfare, his rules as laid down often seem to have the inspiration of barbarity itself, rather than laws which should govern nations, yet even he, in books 3 and 4, insists that all acts of violence

which have no tendency to obtain justice or terminate the war are at variance both with the duty of the Christian and with humanity itself.

Manning, an author of great force and clearness, says (p. 164):

“At the present day a mild and humane treatment exists with regard to prisoners of war, which is perhaps in some degree attributable to the deference paid to the writings of Vattel, who appeared to have been the first author to establish the true principle upon which prisoners should be treated. He says that: ‘as soon as your enemy has laid down his arms and surrendered his person, you have no longer any right over his life, unless he should give you such right by some new attempt, or had before committed against you such a crime deserving death.’ ‘Prisoners of war,’ he says, ‘may be secured, but cannot be made slaves, unless for personal guilt which deserves death, nor be slain, unless we be perfectly assured that our safety demands such a sacrifice.’”

Another author remarks:

“Prisoners of war are indeed sometimes killed, but this is not otherwise justifiable than it is made necessary either by themselves, if they make use of force against those who have taken them, or by others who make use of force in their behalf and render it impossible to keep them; and as we may collect from the reason of the thing, so it likewise appears from common opinion, that nothing but the strongest necessity will justify such an act, for the civilized and thinking part of mankind will hardly be persuaded not to condemn it, till they see the absolute necessity of it.” (Rutherford’s Institutes, p. 525.)

And yet Mr. Davis, among the last work of his life, pens an eulogium upon General Winder, who in the presence of Col. Chandler advised the policy of “leaving them (the prisoners), in their present condition until their numbers

had been sufficiently reduced by death to make the present arrangement suffice for their accommodation."

With this woeful record before him and Col. Chandler's report recommending the removal of Winder and Wirz, Mr. Davis promotes them both; Mr. Seddon filed away the report, and this Saturnalia of death went on. In September, 2,700 died; in October, when all had been taken away but 6,700, the death roll was 1,560, nearly one in five; in November, when only 2,300 remained, the roll of deaths showed 485, a little more than one out of five, and finally Acting-Assistant Surgeon, J. C. Bates, who was on duty there, a medical practitioner since 1850, testified:

"Q. From your observation of the condition and surroundings of our prisoners—their food, their drink, their exposure by day and by night, and all the circumstances you have described—state your professional opinion as to what proportion of deaths occurring there were the result of the circumstances and surroundings which you have narrated?"

"A. *I feel myself safe in saying that seventy-five per cent of those who died might have been saved had those unfortunate men been properly cared for as to food, clothing, bedding, etc.*"

The testimony showed the deaths at the prison to have been a few short of 13,000, while 2,000 died on their journey home, showing a death rate of eighty-three per cent of those treated. At least 15,000 Union soldiers perished miserably, through the prison treatment I have endeavored to portray, and of these Dr. Bates swore that seventy-five per cent died from causes plainly avoidable. I pause to ask whether the military Court was far wrong when it

found that 10,000 deaths were caused by the treatment alleged under charge 1? How could Mr. Davis write that "it was not starvation, as has been alleged, but acclimation, unsuitable diet and despondency that were the potent agents of disease and death?"

The first item of evidence submitted in the case was a letter written by Wirz to Maj. Gen. J. H. Wilson, his captor. It was an appeal for mercy and immunity, and as Mr. Davis makes the infamous charge by implication that Federal authorities offered Wirz a pardon if he would testify against Mr. Davis, this letter is significant. It shows that before he was placed upon trial he had fixed the responsibility upon others.

ANDERSONVILLE, GA., May 7, 1865.

General: — It is with great reluctance that I address you these lines, being fully aware how little time is left you to attend to such matters as I have now the honor to lay before you, and if I could see any other way to accomplish my object, I would not intrude upon you. I am a native of Switzerland, and was before the war a citizen of Louisiana and by profession a physician. Like hundreds and thousands of others, I was carried away by the maelstrom of excitement and joined the Southern army. I was very seriously wounded at the battle of "Seven Pines" near Richmond, Virginia, and have nearly lost the use of my right arm. Unfit for field duty I was ordered to report to Brevt. Major General John H. Winder in charge of Federal prisoners of war, who ordered me to take charge of a prison in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. My health failing me, I applied for a furlough and went to Europe, from whence I returned in February, 1863. I was then ordered to report to the commandant of the military prison at Andersonville, Georgia, who assigned me to the command of the interior of the prison. The duties I had to perform

were arduous and unpleasant, and I am satisfied that no man can or will justly blame me for things that happened here, and which were beyond my power to control. I do not think that I ought to be held responsible for the shortness of rations, for the overcrowded state of the prison (which was of itself a prolific source of fearful mortality) for the inadequate supplies of clothing, want of shelter, etc. Still I now bear the odium, and men who were prisoners have seemed disposed to wreak their vengeance upon me for what they have suffered; *I was only the medium, or I may better say, the tool in the hands of my superiors.* This is my condition. I am a man with a family. I lost all my property when the Federal army besieged Vicksburg. I have no money at present to go to any place, and, even if I had, I know of no place where I can go. My life is in danger, and I most respectfully ask of you help and relief. If you will be so generous as to give me some sort of a safe conduct, or what I should greatly prefer, a guard to protect myself and family against violence, I should be thankful to you; and you may rest assured that your protection will not be given to one who is unworthy of it. My intention is to return with my family to Europe, as soon as I can make the arrangements. In the meantime, I have the honor, General, to remain, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

HY. WIRZ, Captain C. S. A.

MAJOR GENERAL J. H. WILSON, U. S. A.
Commanding Macon, Georgia.*

Any lawyer will say that this was competent and significant evidence under the conspiracy charge, and that Wirz could not have materially strengthened the case against Mr. Davis by "turning State's evidence" against his chief.

* NOTE—This letter was written while Wirz was on parole and when his life was threatened by the infuriated Union soldiers.

Perhaps I should go a little further to refute this calumny. Wirz made an elaborate address to the Court at the close of the trial. It was prepared under his eye and read for him, and had his approval. He argued at length that he should not be held for conduct as a subaltern under orders, but that they who directed should suffer, and not he. He said :

“ Am I the person, who, from my position at Andersonville, should properly be held accountable for the crowded condition of the stockade, the want of shelter, the unwholesomeness of the food, the impurity of the water, the inadequacy of hospital accommodations, and the lack of medicine and medical supplies, all of which causes combined, and lead to the dreadful mortality which prevailed at that place ? ”

Again he says :

“ A poor subaltern officer should not be called upon to bear upon his over burthened shoulders the faults or misdeeds of others.”

Again :

“ It is not for me to suggest where the culpability or responsibility lay.”

But he quoted largely from the record to show that the prison was under the control of General Winder, and that his orders came from Richmond. This was true ; Wirz was the instrument, but he had to pay the penalty even though others escaped.

We may safely dismiss Mr. Davis' atrocious insinuation that any offer ever went to Wirz of pardon, on any terms.

Medical Inspector Colonel A. C. Hamlin, U. S. Army has written a work on the Economies of Armies. His

statement of facts will be accepted at once. I quote from this author :

“The average mortality of the London Hospitals is nine per cent.; in the French Hospital of the Crimea, for a period of twenty-two months, the mortality was 14 per cent. The city of Milan received during the Campaign of Italy, 34,000 sick and wounded, of whom 1,400, or 4 per cent. died. The city of Nashville, Tennessee, received during the year 1864, 65,157 sick and wounded, of whom 2,635 or 4 per cent died. During the year 1863 Washington received 68,884, and of these but 2,671 or less than 4 per cent. died; and in 1864 her hospitals received 96,705 sick and wounded (49,455 sick; 47,250 wounded), of whom 6,283 or 6 4-10 per cent died. The mortality of the rebel prisoners at Fort Delaware (a Federal prison) for eleven months was 2 per cent; at Johnson’s Island (another Federal prison) during twenty-one months, 134 deaths out of 6,000 prisoners.”

This is the record of history, against the charnel-house of Andersonville. Let the mouths of those who would defend these atrocities by recrimination, charging the United States Government with like cruelty, forever, hereafter be closed.

Fort Delaware and Johnson’s Island with their 2 per cent. of rebel dead! Andersonville with its 83 per cent of Union dead!

Look upon this picture and then upon this, and tell me there was no design to slay. Let no mind warped never so much by Southern sympathy doubt this record, for “If damned custom have not brazed its soul that it be proof and bulwark against sense,” it must believe, it cannot doubt these things.

As to the specific acts of cruelty charged, I cannot re-

count the evidence. It covered the following methods of punishment and means of torture and prison discipline. Stopping of rations ; establishment of a dead line ; use of the stocks ; the chain gang ; use of hounds ; bucking and gagging ; tying up by the thumbs ; flogging on the bare back and chaining to posts. Deaths were shown to have resulted from all these causes.

CHAPTER VIII.

FEROCIOUS DOGS USED TO PURSUE ESCAPED PRISONERS—POISONOUS VACCINE VIRUS—ROBERT OULD'S PLAN WORKS WELL—REVIEW OF THE RECORD BY JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL HOLT.

Mr. Davis denies the use of dogs except to track escaped prisoners. But the proof was ample to show their use and the Court found that prisoners had been so mangled by dogs as to result in death, and one of the rebel surgeons reported to Richmond, in pleading for details of prisoners as nurses, that there was no chance of escape as the dogs were there to catch them. It turned out, however, that they were not blood-hounds, but they were ferocious dogs, and were the means of death. The Court struck out the words "blood-hounds" and substituted the word "dogs" in the findings.

The charge that poisonous vaccine matter was used might well have gained credence because owing to gangrenous affections, setting in at the slightest abraison of the skin, resulting from the physical condition of the prisoners, and the almost certain death ensuing, it amounted to poison to vaccinate the soldiers. The Court sustained this charge.

Mr. Davis quotes largely from Col. Robt. Ould, his Commissioner of Exchange, and they both speak with much rancor about the course of the Federal Government as to the cartel. It may puzzle those who have been

inclined to condemn Mr. Stanton, to explain Col. Ould's meaning when he wrote the following letter:

“CITY POINT, March 17, '63.

Sir:—A flag-of-truce boat has arrived with 350 political prisoners, General Barrow and several other prominent men among them.

I wish you to send me at 4 o'clock, Wednesday morning, all the military prisoners (except officers) and all the political prisoners you have. If any of the political prisoners have on hand proof enough to convict them of being spies, or of having committed other offences which should subject them to punishment, so state opposite their names. Also state whether you think, under all the circumstances they should be released. *The arrangement I have made works largely in our favor. We get rid of a set of miserable wretches, and receive some of the best material I ever saw.*”

* * *

Yours truly,

ROBT. OULD, Agent of Exchange.

BRIGADIER GENERAL WINDER.

The military commission that tried Wirz regarded this as pointing to the wicked conspiracy charged. It looks also as if it strongly corroborated the claim that rebel prisoners were well fed and turned over in fighting trim, while the Union prisoners were returned *hors du combat*. It also plainly intimates that a plan was being pursued from which this resulted and this plan, Colonel Ould said, “worked well.”

Can it be possible that Mr. Davis had this plan in his mind when he said the violation of the cartel caused all these deaths? Can it be that he and his commissioner of Exchange, Colonel Ould, made conditions that gave us skeletons in return for fat, sleek, fighting men? If this be true, with what execration must future generations

regard the memory of the man who would plead so atrocious a scheme in his own defense ?

There may be some obscurity in the meaning of Colonel Ould's letter, but in the light of contemporaneous and subsequent events it has prodigious significance.

I must not omit to mention that the record was carefully examined and analyzed and reported to the President and Secretary of War by that stern and uncompromising patriot, General Joseph Holt, Judge Advocate General. I quote from his review of the conspiracy charge :

“ The opinion is expressed that the conspiracy, as described in the findings above recited, was clearly made out, and that the conclusions arrived at by the Court could not, in the light of the evidence this record contains, have been avoided.”

“ Language fails in an attempt to denounce, even in faint terms the diabolical combination for the destruction and death, by cruel and fiendishly ingenious processes, of helpless prisoners of war who might fall into their hands, which this record shows was plotted and deliberately entered upon, and, as far as time permitted, accomplished by the rebel authorities and their brutal underlings at Andersonville prison. Criminal history presents no parallel to this monstrous conspiracy, and from the whole catalogue of infamous devices within the reach of human hands, a system for the murder of men more revolting in its details could not have been planned. Upon the heads of those named by the Court in its findings the guilt of this immeasurable crime is fixed, a guilt so fearfully black and horrible that the civilized world must be appalled by the spectacle.”

Again :

“ The proof under the second charge shows that some of our soldiers, for mere attempts to escape from their

oppressors, were given to ferocious dogs to be torn in pieces ; that others were confined in stocks and chains until life yielded to the torture, and that others were wantonly shot down at Wirz's bidding, or by his own hand. Here in the presence of these pitiless murders of unarmed and helpless men, so distinctly alleged and proved, justice might well claim the prisoner's life. There remains, however, to be contemplated, crimes yet more revolting for which he and his co-conspirators must be held responsible. The Andersonville prison records (made exhibits in this case), contain a roster of over thirteen thousand (13,000), dead, buried, naked, maimed and putrid, in one vast sepulchre. Of these, a surgeon of the rebel army who was on duty at this prison, testifies that at least three-fourths died of the treatment inflicted on them while in confinement ; and a surgeon of our own army, who was a prisoner there, states that four-fifths died from this cause. Under this proof, which has not been assailed, nearly 10,000, if not more, of these deaths must be charged directly to the account of Wirz and his associates. This widespread sacrifice of life was not made suddenly, or under the influence of wild ungovernable passion, but was accomplished slowly and deliberately, by packing upwards of 30,000 men, like cattle, in a fetid pen—a mere cesspool—there to die for need of air to breathe, for want of ground on which to lie, from lack of shelter from sun and rain, and from the slow agonizing processes of starvation ; when air and space and shelter and food were all within the ready gift of their tormentors. This work of death seems to have been a saturnalia of enjoyment for the prisoner, who, amid these savage orgies, evidenced such exultation, and mingled with them such nameless blasphemy and ribald jests, as at times to exhibit him rather as a demon than a man. It was his continual boast that by these barbarities he was destroying more union soldiers than rebel generals were butchering on the battle field. He claimed to be doing the work of the

rebellion, and faithfully, in all his murderous cruelty and baseness, did he represent its spirit. For such crimes human power is absolutely impotent to enforce any adequate atonement."

"It may be added in conclusion, that the Court before which the prisoner was tried was composed of officers of high rank, and eminent for their faithful services and probity of character, and that several of them were distinguished for their legal attainments. The investigation of the case was conducted throughout with patience and impartiality, and the conclusion reached is one from which the overwhelming volume of testimony left no escape."

In all the pages of Mr. Davis' apology for, or the defense of Andersonville, he nowhere disclaims full knowledge of the exact condition of the prison. The proof was satisfactory that he knew the worst, and his silence has forever closed his mouth against the plea of ignorance.

In view of all these proofs and this awful record, with what utter hypocrisy does Mr. Davis close his Andersonville paper. He says: "Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since the war between the States ceased. Has the prejudice, fed on the passions of that period, ceased with the physical strife? Shall it descend from sire to son, hardened by the transmission? Or shall it be destroyed by the full development of the truth, the exposure of the guilty and the vindication of the innocent?"

I answer, no and yes, to this patronizing pharisaism. So long as Southern leaders continue to distort history (and rekindle embers in order to make the opportunity for distorting it), so long will there rise up defenders of the truth of history even at the cost, as Mr. Davis says:

“of having the passions of that period descend from sire to son.”

To deny the horrors of Andersonville is to deny there was a rebellion. Both are historic facts placed beyond the realm of doubt.

Mr. Davis would have done his people a great service had he disproved the alleged complicity of his administration. He chose to deny the horrors of rebel prisons rather than confess and avoid. The fact remains proved and so Mr. Davis has contributed nothing of value to history, and Andersonville stands out unparalleled in the annals of crime.

APPENDIX

It may be of interest to the reader to see a list of the witnesses sworn at the trial, and read the final orders of the President and the report of the officer charged with the execution of the sentence.

ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT.

GENERAL COURT-MARTIAL ORDERS, No. 607. }
WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE. }

WASHINGTON, November 6, 1865.

I. Before a military commission which convened at Washington, D. C., August 23, 1865, pursuant to paragraph 3, Special Orders, No. 453, dated August 23, 1865, and paragraph 13, Special Orders, No. 524, dated October 2, 1865, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, and of which Major General Lewis Wallace, United States Volunteers is President, was arraigned and tried Henry Wirz.

(Here follow the charges, specifications, findings and sentence.)

II. The proceedings, findings and sentence in the foregoing case having been submitted to the President of the United States, the following are his orders :

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 3, 1865.

The proceedings, findings and sentence of the Court in the within case are approved, and it is ordered that

the sentence be carried into execution, by the officer commanding the Department at Washington, on Friday, the 10th day of November, 1865, between the hours of 6 o'clock A. M. and 12 o'clock noon.

ANDREW JOHNSON, President.

III. Major-General C. C. Augur, Commanding the Department of Washington, is commanded to cause the foregoing sentence, in the case of Henry Wirz, to be duly executed in accordance with the President's orders.

IV. The Military Commission, of which Major-General Lewis Wallace, United States Volunteers, is President, is hereby dissolved.

By command of the President of the United States.

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Letter of the Commanding General, Department of Washington, reporting the execution and burial of Henry Wirz.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF WASHINGTON,
WASHINGTON, D. C. November 11, 1865.

Sir: I have the honor to report that the sentence and orders of the President in the case of Henry Wirz, as promulgated in General Court-martial Orders No. 607, dated War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, November 6, 1865, have been duly executed (between the hours of 10 and 11 A. M.) yesterday, November 10, and his body has been interred by the side of Atzerodt in the Arsenal grounds.*

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

C. C. AUGUR,
Major-Gen. Vols., Commanding Department.

The Adjutant General of the Army.

* NOTE—Atzerodt was one of the convicted assassins of Abraham Lincoln.

WIRZ'S COUNSEL.

A word of explanation is due as to the defense offered, and the counsel employed by the defendant.

Messrs. Hughes, Denver & Peck were first retained by the prisoner and appeared in his behalf. They were among the leading members of the Washington Bar. After the Secretary of War had dissolved the first court and had appointed another, these gentlemen withdrew from the case. Whether the prisoner failed to make satisfactory arrangements as to fee, or what the real cause was, I know not. But Judge Hughes, long since deceased, with considerable show of rancor, having failed to establish his plea of jeopardy, speaking for his firm, withdrew in apparent anger and disgust, stating that the ruling of the Court was in violation of all law and precedent, and intimating that before such a Court the prisoner was doomed.

It was, however, made clear to the Court that the jeopardy spoken of in the Constitution meant nothing short of an acquittal or conviction, and the judgment of the Court thereon, and that under the 87th Articles of War "a trial" *a fortiori* could not mean less.

The prisoner, left without counsel, secured O. S. Baker (now practicing law in Oakland and San Francisco, California) and Louis Schade, then and now of Washington city. Mr. Baker was the leading counsel, in fact, although Mr. Schade took that post on the record.

I must testify to the faithfulness of these gentlemen throughout, with the single exception that at the close of the evidence they declined to argue the case unless given

at least two weeks for previous preparation. The Court thought this unreasonable, and so it must seem to any lawyer, for we are always supposed to be ready to go at once to the jury. The Court, however, offered an adjournment of twelve days, which the counsel for the prisoner declined. This left the defendant without the advantage of an argument by his chosen counsel.

There were three official reporters of the trial, to wit: Henry G. Hayes, D. Wolfe Brown and William Hinks, who belonged to the Congressional Corps of Reporters—a most remarkably intelligent body of men. It would be hard to find three stenographers more competent for the work. They were men of intelligence in their profession and with wide general knowledge and considerable literary attainments. I selected Mr. Hayes from these three to prepare the address of the prisoner to the court, and he performed the trust with great ability. His selection was in every way appropriate, because his sympathies were close to the border line of the rebellion—at least he felt that Wirz ought not to suffer for the performance of an official trust while acting under orders. He omitted no material point in the defense.

In mentioning counsel I must not omit to record my high appreciation of the assistance given me at the trial by my friend and associate Major, afterwards Colonel, A. A. Hosmer, of the Judge Advocate General's Corps, now residing in Washington city.

Of the 146 witnesses sworn 42 were called for the defendant. The power of the Government was placed at his command to bring such as he wished. In the face of the testimony given for the prosecution by rebel officers and

soldiers, not to speak of that given by prisoners, it is easy to understand the disparity in the number called by the respective sides. Indeed, nothing could overcome the effect of the official reports of Col. Chandler and Dr. Jones.

In the preparation for the trial I first solicited correspondence from prisoners, and I received thousands of letters. From among the writers I selected those apparently the most observant, and before subpoenaing them had from them answers under oath as to the salient facts stated in their letters.

Much of the documentary evidence, such as Col. Chandler's and Dr. Jones' reports, came to my hands through private sources. A Union soldier picked up the Chandler report in the streets of Richmond, and I traced it, after great pains, into the hands of this man and brought him to Washington to testify. Col. Chandler fully identified the report on the witness stand.

The report of Dr. Jones' I learned about through rebel sources, and he was brought by process to Washington, from Georgia, with the report and surrendered it to me. He also fully identified it on the witness stand, protesting however, against being made to testify.

The Robert Ould letter I learned of through General Benjamin F. Butler. It was in the possession of a soldier at Cincinnati who refused to surrender it. I had him placed under arrest and compelled him to produce the letter and bring it to Washington.

Many of the prison records fell into our hands when Andersonville was captured, and were cared for by General J. H. Wilson.

N. P. C.

	Record Prosecution	Page Defense
Crouse, William, 7 Penn.....	642	
Culver, Jasper, 1st Wis. Infantry.....	911	
Davenport, W. T., Resided Americus, Ga.....	937	
Davidson, James H., 4th Iowa Cavalry.....	380	
De La Baume, Felix, 35th N. Y. Vols.....	857	
Dillard, William, Confederate soldier, Regt. not given.	327	
Dilley, Benj. F., 54th Penn.....		1846
Duncan, Rev. E. B., Confederate Chaplain.....		1699
Dyer, Lewis, 12th U. S. Colored.....	1181	
Dykes, Benj. B., R. R. Agent Andersonville.....	1188	
Fairbanks, Oliver B., 9th N. Y. Cavalry.....	425	
Fannin, Col. James H., 1st Ga. Reserves, Confederate.	404	
Fechtner, George W., U. S. Vols., Regt. not given.....		1561
Fisher, John (colored), 8th U. S. Colored Vols.....	852	
Flewellen, Dr. E. A., Surgeon, Confederate.....	1223	1346
Ford, Dr. C. M., Physician, Washington, D. C.....		2270
Francis, Wm. B., 75th Ohio Vols.....	1141	
French, Captain Wilson, 17th Conn. Vols.....	1121	
French, Major S. B., Commissary Dept., Confederate...		1796
Gibbs, Colonel Geo. C., Confederate.....	11	
Gilmore, Capt. Samuel, 39th Illinois Vols.....	1771	
Gleich, Augustus, 8th Penn. Cavalry.....		1629
Goldsmith, John H., 14th Ills. Infantry.....	900	
Gray, Geo. W., 7th Ind. Cavalry.....	1156	
Griffin, J. R., 8th Ga. Cavalry, Confederate.....	1123	
Griffin, W. A., R. R. Conductor, Confederate.....	981	
Guscetti, Frederick, 47th N. Y. Regt.....		1450
Hall, Samuel, Resident Macon, Ga.....	352	
Hall, Thomas, U. S. Marine Corps.....	405	
Halley, P. Vincent, 92d N. Y.....	451	
Hamilton, Rev. Wm. John, Catholic Priest, Confed.....	870	1232
Hammack, W. D., 55th Ga., Confederate.....		1409
Harris, Martin S., 5th N. Y. Artillery.....		1635
Harrold, U. B., Commissary Dept., Confederate.....	1112	
Head, Dr. B. J., Surgeon, Andersonville, Confederate.	1065	
Heath, John F., 20th Ga., Confederate.....	317	1287
Henman, Ambrose, 4th U. S. Cavalry.....	1093	
Hille, Frederick W., 2d Delaware Vols.....	1873	
Hogan, Martin E., 1st Indiana Cavalry.....	210	
Honeycutt, Calvin, Confed., on duty at Andersonville..	335	
Hopkins, Dr. G. S., Surgeon at Andersonville, Confed..	1103	
Hosmer, Major A. A., Asst. Judge Advocate.....	404	
Horne, Thomas H., 102d N. Y.....	591	
Hunt, Samuel F., found the Col. Ould letter.....		
Jennings, Wm. Henry, 8th U. S. Vols., (colored).....		

	Record Prosecution	Page Defense
Jones, J. B., Clerk Rebel War Department.....	1218	
Kean, R. T. H., Chief Bureau of War, Richmond.....	931	
Kellogg, Robert K., Union Soldier.....	134	1792
Kellogg, Edward S., 20th N. Y. Vols.....	460	
Kellogg, Abner A., 40th Ohio Infantry.....	580	
Kennell, Alexander, 7th Ohio Cavalry.....	566	
Keyser, Joseph D., 120th N. Y. Vols.....	233	
Lull, Henry C., 146th N. Y. Vols.....	854	
Maddox, Frank, 35th U. S.....	508	
Manoni, Antonio, 7th Conn. Vols.....		1494
Marshall, James E., 42d N. Y.....	764	
Marsh, Dr. M. M., Agent U. S. Sanitary Commission.....	1211	
Merton, Robert, 97th Penn. Vols.....	501	
Moesner, Augustus, 16th Conn. Vols.....		1512
Mohan, James, Lieut. 3d Georgia, Confederate.....	344	
Moore, Captain James M., A. Q. M., U. S. A.....	945	
Mundy, Rufus, 75th Ohio Vols.....	577	
Noyes, Henry E., Captain U. S. Cavalry.....	4	
O'Hare, Bernard, 6th N. Y. Cavalry.....	1030	
Orcott, D. S., 11th Penn. Cavalry.....	969	
Pasque, John, U. S. Navy.....	757	
Parsons, Alexander W., Colonel 55th Ga., Confed.....	248	1303
Pond, L. S., 2d N. Y. Artillery.....	573	
Proctor, Major and Commissary, Confederate.....		1834
Peebles, Wm. M., Clerk at Andersonville.....	770	
Rawson, Miss Mary, Resident of Ga.....		1695
Rice, Dr. G. L. B., Rebel Surgeon at Andersonville.....	1116	
Richardson, Edward, Resident of Albany, Ga.....	607	1697
Ricker, Samuel M., 8th N. J. Vols.....	1080	
Robinson, Mark D., Clerk, Wirz Military Commission..	1	
Roth, Frederick, 2d N. Y. Cavalry.....		1684
Roy, Dr. G. G., Rebel Surgeon, Andersonville.....	192	1803
Ruffin, F. G., Colonel Commissary Dept., Confederate..		1779
Russell, Charles H., 1st Wis. Cavalry.....	1025	1075
Scott, Wm. W., 6th W. Va., Cavalry.....	570	
Selph, C. M., A. A. G., Confederate.....	649	1707
Selph, " " " ".....	707	
Selph, " " " ".....	1920	
Smith, Sidney, 14th Conn. Vols.....	583	
Smith, Sidney B., Captain 26th Ala., Confederate.....	1045	
Smith, Charles E., 4th U. S. Cavalry.....	1085	
Snee, Q. R., 39th Ill. Vols.....	1041	
Spencer, Ambrose, Resided near Andersonville.....	1049	
Spring, Andrew J., 16th Conn. Vols.....	281	
Stearnes, D. H., 1st U. S. Sharp Shooters.....	558	

	Record Page	
	Prosecution	Defense
Stone, James P., 2d Vt. Vols.....	956	
Tate, Robert, 52d Penn. Vols.....	1133	
Terrell, Horatio B., 72d Ohio Infantry.....	494	
Thornburg, Dr. Amos, Conf. Surgeon at Andersonville.	987	
Thuringer, Joseph, 18th Veteran Reserve, U. S. A.....		1495
Tibbles, Chas. E., 4th Iowa Infantry.....	888	
Tracy, Prescott, Lieutenant U. S. A.....	627	
Tyron, F. M., Clerk of Military Commission.....	1001	
Van Buren, Willis, 2d N. Y. Cavalry.....	799	
Vanderkiefert, Dr. B. A., Surgeon U. S. Vols.....	207	
Van Valkenburg, James, Resident Macon, Ga.....	269	
Walker, John Burns, 141st Penn. Infantry.....	1032	
Walsh, Thomas, 74th N. Y. Vols.....	1095	
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