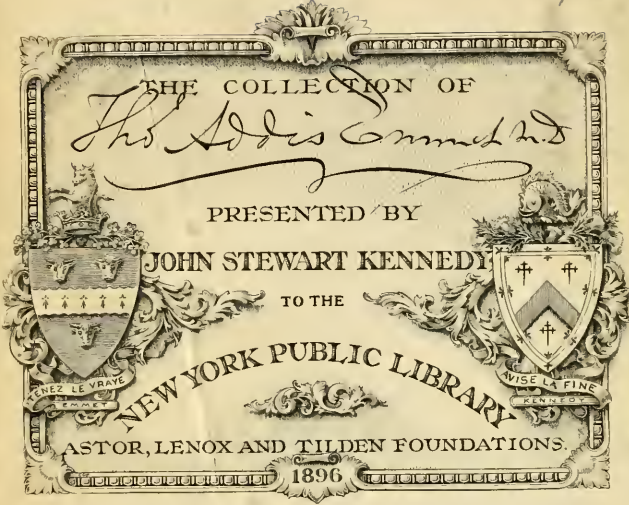


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Franklin Pierce

"It" (free speech) "is a homebred right—a fireside privilege. It has ever been enjoyed in every house, cottage and cabin in the nation. It is not to be drowned in controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air and walking on the earth. It is a right to be maintained in peace and in war. It is a right which cannot be invaded without destroying constitutional liberty. Hence this right should be guarded and protected by the freemen of this Country with a jealous care, unless they are prepared for chains and anarchy."

[DANIEL WEBSTER.

"Say at once that a free Constitution is no longer suitable to us ; say at once, in a manly manner, that, upon an ample review of the state of the world, a free Constitution is not fit for you ; conduct yourselves at once as the Senators of Denmark ; lay down your freedom, and acknowledge and accept of despotism. But do not mock the understandings and feelings of mankind by telling the world that you are free,—by telling me that if, for the purpose of expressing my sense of the public administration of this country, of the calamities which this war has occasioned, I state a grievance, or make any declaration of my sentiments in a manner that may be thought seditious, I am to be subjected to penalties hitherto unknown to the law."

[CHARLES JAMES FOX.

BALTIMORE;

PUBLISHED BY KELLY, HEDIAN & PIET,

No. 174 BALTIMORE STREET,

1863.

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P R E F A C E .

THE unlawful and oppressive acts of Mr. LINCOLN, his advisers, and subordinates, during the war between this Government and that of the Confederate States, will hereafter constitute no insignificant portion of the history of these times. As one of the victims of the despotism, which he succeeded in maintaining, in the Northern and Border States, for so long a period, I desire to add my testimony to that which has been heretofore furnished, in relation to the outrages perpetrated under his Administration ; and I give publicity to this statement now, while the facts are fresh in the recollection of the public, lest any one should at some remoter period venture to doubt its accuracy. I do not propose to discuss the absurdity of the theories on which Mr. LINCOLN claimed to exercise arbitrary power, nor the imbecility of his course. It is proper, however, in giving an account of the treatment to which, in common with hundreds of other men, I was subjected, to refer briefly to the position of affairs in Maryland, and the object of Mr. LINCOLN in inflicting on myself and my fellow sufferers the indignities and wrongs which we so long endured. Up to the time when the dissolution of the Union became, to most intelligent men, a patent fact, the people of Maryland had unanimously desired and striven for its perpetuation. Though they feared that the aggressive principles and growing power of the Republican party would, before many years, bring about a separation of the two sections of the country, and though they believed that the conduct of Mr. LINCOLN and his party justified the action of the South, they still hoped and labored for the

maintenance of the Union. They earnestly desired that some compromise should be proposed by Congress, which would restore peace between the two sections, and they believed that such a settlement could readily be effected. When Congress refused to make any effort in that direction, they looked to what was called the "Peace Conference" to recommend some plan by which all dissensions might be healed. When all these hopes were disappointed by the action of Northern men, and especially when Mr. LINCOLN, on his accession to office, appointed some of the most extreme partisans to high office at home, and selected others to represent the country abroad, and gave ample evidence of his incapacity to understand the questions at issue, and of his determination neither to conciliate the Southern people, nor to deal with what he called the "rebellion" according to the mode provided by the Constitution and laws, then a large proportion of the people of Maryland expressed their sympathy for the South, and their conviction of the justice of its cause. They then asserted that the conquest of the South was an impossibility, that the Union was in point of fact dissolved, and they insisted that in such case the people of the State had the right to decide their own destiny for themselves. These views I also entertained and expressed, as one of the editors of a Baltimore journal "*The Daily Exchange.*" But neither I, nor those who were afterwards my fellow prisoners, ever violated in any way, the Constitution or the laws. We defended the rights of our State, and criticized the policy of the Administration at Washington. We advanced our views with perfect freedom, as we had the right to do, and we did no more. But Mr. LINCOLN had determined to suppress everything like free speech, not only in Maryland, but throughout the North. He had made up his mind that he would carry out his own projects irrespectively of the laws, or his constitutional obligations. Having therefore introduced Northern troops into the city of Baltimore and various parts of the State, and having fortified numerous points so far as to render resistance unavailing, he proceeded to execute his schemes. The Commissioners and Marshal of Police were arrested in Baltimore, and

the Police force was disbanded. Many of the most prominent members of the Legislature, on the eve of the meeting of that body, the Mayor of Baltimore, and one the members of Congress for that city, were arrested at midnight, and dragged off to prison. Editors and other private citizens were also among the proscribed. Newspapers were suppressed, and the functions of the State and Municipal authorities usurped or suspended by agents of the Administration. Neither against me nor the vast majority of my fellow prisoners did the officers of the Government ever venture to prefer any specific charge. We were arrested simply for daring to defend our unquestionable rights and to exercise the liberty of free speech. Under these circumstances, it might have been supposed that we would be treated with some regard to our health and comfort. As we were detained, as was frequently admitted by Government officials, only as a precautionary measure, it might have been expected that those who chose to perpetrate so gross a wrong, would at least recognize the right of innocent and honorable men under such circumstances to be considerately or decently dealt with. I do not propose, as I have said, to discuss the enormity of the outrage inflicted on us, or to measure the infamy which will attach to those who were the authors or agents of that wrong. I only wish to show now how men, who were guiltless of any offence whatever, and who had been thrown into prison because of their political opinions, were treated in this age, and in this country. I submit the facts to the public, with the assertion that the fairness and accuracy of my statement cannot be successfully challenged. As I have not intended, in the ensuing pages, to discuss the cases of "political prisoners" generally, but merely to detail, in the form of a personal narrative, my own experiences, I have been compelled to speak mainly of myself. Under these circumstances, this continual reference to my own views and situation has been unavoidable.

F. K. HOWARD.

BALTIMORE, *December*, 1862.

Fort McHenry.

ON the morning of the 13th of September, 1861, at my residence in the city of Baltimore, I was awakened about 12½ or 1 o'clock, by the ringing of the bell. On going to the window, I saw a man standing on the steps below, who told me he had a message for me from Mr. S. T. WALLIS. I desired to know the purport of it, when he informed me that he could only deliver it to me privately. As it had been rumored that the Government intended to arrest the members of the Legislature, and as Mr. WALLIS was one of the most prominent of the Delegates from the City of Baltimore, I thought it probable that the threatened outrage had been consummated, and I hurried down to the door. When I opened it, two men entered, leaving the door ajar. One of them informed me that he had an order for my arrest. In answer to my demand that he should produce the warrant or order under which he was acting, he declined to do so, but said he had instructions from Mr. SEWARD, the Secretary of State.

I replied that I could recognize no such authority, when he stated that he intended to execute his orders, and that resistance would be idle, as he had a force with him sufficient to render it unavailing. As he spoke, several men entered the house, more than one of whom were armed with revolvers, which I saw in their belts. There was no one in the house when it was thus invaded, except my wife, children and servants, and under such circumstances, I of course, abandoned all idea of resistance. I went into my library and sent for my wife, who soon joined me there, when I was

informed that neither of us would be permitted to leave the room until the house had been searched. How many men were present, I am unable to say, but two or three were stationed in my library, and one at the front door, and I saw several others passing, from time to time, along the passage. The leader of the gang then began to search the apartment. Every drawer and box was thoroughly ransacked, as also were my portfolio and writing desk, and every other place that could possibly be supposed to hold any papers. All my private memoranda, bills, note-books, and letters were collected together to be carried off. Every room in the house subsequently underwent a similar search. After the first two rooms had been thus searched, I was told that I could not remain longer, but must prepare to go to Fort McHenry. I went up stairs to finish dressing, accompanied by the leader of the party, and I saw that men were stationed in all parts of the house, one even standing sentinel at the door of my children's nursery. Having dressed and packed up a change of clothes and a few other articles, I went down into the library, and was notified that I must at once depart. I demanded permission to send for my wife's brother or father, who were in the immediate neighborhood, but this was refused. My wife then desired to go to her children's room, and this request was also refused. I was forced to submit, and ordering my servants to remain in the room with my wife, and giving decided expression to my feelings concerning the outrage perpetrated upon me, and the miserable tyrants who had authorized it, I got into the carriage which was waiting to convey me to Fort McHenry. Two men, wearing the badges of the police force which the Government had organized, escorted me to the Fort. It was with a bitter pang that I left my house in possession of the miscreants who had invaded it. I afterwards learned that the search was continued for some time, and it was not until after 3 o'clock in the morning that they left the premises.

I reached Fort McHenry about 2 o'clock in the morning. There I found several of my friends, and others were brought in a few minutes afterwards. One or two were brought in later in the day, making fifteen in all. Among them were

most of the Members of the Legislature from Baltimore, Mr. BROWN, the Mayor of the City, and one of our Representatives in Congress, Mr. MAY. They were all gentlemen of high social position, and of unimpeachable character, and each of them had been arrested, as has been said, solely on account of his political opinions, no definite charge having been then, or afterwards, preferred against them. Two small rooms were assigned us during our stay. In the smaller one of these I was placed, with three companions. The furniture consisted of three or four chairs and an old rickety bedstead, upon which was the filthiest apology for a bed I ever saw. There was also a tolerably clean looking mattress lying in one corner. Upon this mattress, and upon the chairs and bedstead, we vainly tried to get a few hours sleep. The rooms were in the second story of the building, and opened upon a narrow balcony, which we were allowed to use, sentinels, however, being stationed on it. When I looked out in the morning, I could not help being struck by an odd, and not pleasant coincidence. On that day, forty-seven years before, my grand-father, Mr. F. S. KEY, then a prisoner on a British ship, had witnessed the bombardment of Fort McHenry. When, on the following morning, the hostile fleet drew off, defeated, he wrote the song so long popular throughout the country, "Star Spangled Banner." As I stood upon the very scene of that conflict, I could not but contrast my position with his, forty-seven years before. The flag which he had then so proudly hailed, I saw waving, at the same place, over the victims of as vulgar and brutal a despotism as modern times have witnessed.

At an early hour in the morning, and through the day, a number of our friends endeavored to procure access to us, but nearly all failed to do so. Three or four gentlemen and two or three ladies managed to obtain admission to the Fort, and COL. MORRIS, the commanding officer, permitted them to interchange a few words with us, in his presence, they being down on the parade-ground and we up in the balcony. Mr. BROWN was not even allowed to speak to his wife, who had been suffered to enter the Fort, and could only take leave of her by bowing to her across the parade ground.

About mid-day, we sent for our clothes, several of the party having left home without bringing anything whatever with them. At 4 o'clock, P. M., we were notified that we were to be sent at 5 o'clock to Fortress Monroe. The trunks of most of us fortunately arrived half an hour before we left, and were thoroughly searched. Had they been delayed a little longer we should undoubtedly have been sent off with only such little clothing as some of us happened to have brought with us when first arrested. As it was, one or two of the party had absolutely nothing save what they wore. About 6 o'clock we left Fort McHenry on the steamer Adelaide. The after-cabin, which was very comfortable, and the after-deck, on which it opened, were assigned to our use. Sentinels were stationed in the cabin and on the after-deck. The officers and crew of the boat treated us with all the kindness and courtesy it was in their power to show. When we were taken below to supper, we saw at another table a number of naval officers, some of whom several of my companions had known well. These officers did not venture to recognize a single individual of our party, although we were within ten feet of them, and within full view. Their conduct was in admirable keeping with that of the Government they served.

Fortress Monroe.

WE reached Fortress Monroe about 6 o'clock, on the morning of September 14th. Major-General JOHN E. WOOL was in command of the Department within which the Fort was situated, and had his headquarters there at the time.—As no arrangements had been made for our reception, we did not land until late in the day. The boat lay at the wharf for several hours, and then ran up above the Fortress about a quarter of a mile, and anchored in the stream. In the course of the day General WOOL sent for Messrs. BROWN and MAY. He stated to them that our arrival had taken him by surprise, and that he had no quarters prepared for us, but said that some of the casemates were being made ready for us. He evidently felt that the accommodations he was about to give us were not such as we had a right to expect, and intimated that a building known as Carroll Hall, or a portion of it, would, in all probability, be assigned to us in a few days. This was the last that any of the party saw of General WOOL, and we heard no more of Carroll Hall. About 5 o'clock we landed, and were marched to our quarters. These consisted of two casemates, from which some negroes were still engaged in removing dirt and rubbish, when we got there. Each of these casemates was divided by a substantial partition, thus making four rooms. The two front rooms were well finished, and were about fifteen by twenty-three feet each, and each had a door and two windows which opened on the grounds within the Fortress. The windows had Venetian shutters to them, and there were Venetian doors also, outside of the ordinary

solid doors. The inner, or back rooms, if rooms they can be called, were considerably smaller than the others, and were simply vaulted chambers of rough stone, whitewashed.— They were each lighted by a single, deep embrasure, which, at the narrowest part, was about forty-four by twenty-two inches. Just beneath these embrasures was the moat, which at that point was more than fifty feet in width. On the opposite side of the moat a sentinel was constantly stationed. The two back rooms and one of the front ones we used as sleeping apartments, each being occupied by five persons.— In the other front room we took our meals. Bedsteads and bedding were furnished us, which, I believe, were obtained from the Hygeia Hotel, just outside the walls. About 10 o'clock one of the Sergeants of the Provost Marshal visited us, and carefully searched our baggage. Our meals were sent from the Hotel also, and worse, as we at that time thought, could not well have been offered us. The regulations to which we were subjected, were not only unnecessarily rigorous, but seemed to have been framed with the deliberate purpose of adding petty insults to our other annoyances. We were required to leave the room when the servants who brought our meals were engaged in setting the table, although a Sergeant of the Guard was always present at such times, to prevent our holding any conversation with them. We were notified, by an order from General Wool also, that the knives and forks were to be counted after each meal. It is difficult to conceive for what rational purpose such a rule was made. Fifteen of us would scarcely have thought of assailing the thousands of troops who composed the garrison, with such weapons as might have been snatched from the table; and, closely guarded as we were, it was hardly possible that we could have effected our escape, had we thought of doing so, by means of such implements as knives and forks. The order was one, therefore, which could only have been intended to humiliate us, and it was certainly such as no one having the instincts of a gentleman, or the better feelings of a man, would have suggested or enforced. It was, however, in accordance with the theory upon which General Wool thought proper to deal with us throughout.

In front of our casemates a large guard was stationed day and night, two or three tents being pitched about ten feet off for their use; and a sentinel was constantly pacing up and down within four feet of our doors. For a week we never left our two casemates for a single instant, for any purpose whatever. We continually remonstrated against the manner in which we were treated, and represented the fact that we were likely, under such circumstances, to suffer seriously in health. Our complaints were generally followed by some new restriction. After we had been there two or three days, the Sergeant of the Guard closed the window-shutters and the Venetian doors of our rooms, and stated that he had express orders to do so. At our request, Mr. WALLIS addressed the following note to Capt. DAVIS, the Provost Marshal:

“CAPT. DAVIS, U. S. A.,

Provost Marshal:

“SIR: The Sergeant who has charge of my fellow prisoners and myself, has just closed the blinds of our front windows and doors, excluding us from the sight of passing objects, shutting out, to a great extent, the light by which we read, and hindering the circulation of the air through our apartments. These last are, at best, damp and unwholesome, and to-day particularly, in the existing state of the atmosphere, are extremely unpleasant and uncomfortable—so much so, that we have been compelled to build a fire for our mere protection from illness. Some of our number are old men; others in delicate health; and the restraint which excludes us from air and exercise is painful enough without this new annoyance, which the Sergeant informs us he has no right to forego. You are aware of the disgusting necessities to which we are subjected, in a particular of which we spoke to you personally, and you will, of course, know how much this new obstruction must add to our discomfort. I am requested by my companions simply to call your attention to the matter, and am,

Very respectfully,⁵⁴

“S. T. WALLIS.

“FORTRESS MONROE, 17th Sept., 1861.”

No reply was made to this by Capt. DAVIS. On the following day iron bars were placed across the shutters and

padlocked, thus fastening them permanently, and the Venetian doors were padlocked also. The keys were kept by the Sergeant, who was the deputy, or assistant, of the Provost Marshal, and, in his absence, no one had access to our rooms. In consequence of this, we were often put to serious inconvenience, and on several occasions, our meals, which were trundled up from the hotel on a wheelbarrow, remained for an hour or two outside of the door, awaiting the pleasure of the Sergeant. After the closing of the doors and shutters, our situation was of course, far more irksome than ever.—The Venetian doors were not quite so high as the solid doors, and by standing on anything that elevated us a few inches, we could manage to look out over them. Through these furtive and unsatisfactory glimpses only, could we obtain any sight of the outer world on that side of our prison. From the back rooms we had a limited view of the river, and of some of the shipping; and of this prospect it was impossible by the exercise of any ingenuity to deprive us.—A day or two before we left, we were allowed, at intervals during the day, the use of an adjoining casemate. Sanitary considerations, I presume, compelled our keepers to grant us a privilege, which it was sheer brutality to have so long denied us. A door communicated between our quarters and this new casemate, at which a sentinel was stationed, who permitted two persons to pass at one time. The more disgusting and painful details of our imprisonment, I must abstain from dwelling on. Our rooms were swept each morning, and such other personal services as were absolutely necessary, were hurriedly performed by two filthy negro boys, under the supervision of the Sergeant of the Guard.

We were permitted to correspond with our families and friends, all our letters undergoing the scrutiny of one of General Wool's officers. But we were not allowed to make any public statements, nor even to correct the falsehoods or slanders which were circulated about us in the newspapers. On one occasion, a paragraph appeared in the *Baltimore American*, which by way of justifying our arrest, alleged that the Government had in its possession

ample evidence of the fact, that all who had been arrested had in some way violated the laws. An assertion so utterly false we naturally desired to contradict, and Messrs. BROWN, and WALLIS, and myself, each wrote a brief card for publication in other journals, denying the truth of the *American's* statement. These cards were not allowed to go to the newspapers to which we had addressed them. It apparently suited the purpose of the Government to have us libelled as well as punished, and we, of course, were without redress.

For ten days we lived as I have described, in these darkened and dreary casemates. General WOOL never came near our quarters, nor did he ever, either directly or indirectly, extend to us the slightest courtesy. He knew as well as any one, that we had been seized and were held by the Government in utter violation of all law, and that he had no decent pretext for permitting himself to be made our custodian. He knew therefore that we were entitled to be treated with some consideration. But he ignored, alike, his obligations as a citizen and as a gentleman, and caused us to be subjected to indignities that it would have been needless to inflict on the convicted inmates of his own guard-house. After our return, we heard in several quarters, that General WOOL had repeatedly said he acted in the matter, strictly in accordance with his instructions from Washington. As implicit deference to officers of the Government seems to be generally exacted in these days, the public may perhaps accept General WOOL's explanation. For myself, I do not; and I am sure there are many who will refuse to credit the statement that the War Department found time at such a crisis, to send special orders to Fortress Monroe, consigning us to the casemates in question, and directing the closing of the shutters, and the counting of the knives and forks. It seems more reasonable to suppose that General WOOL had some discretionary powers in regard to the treatment he was to accord to his prisoners.

Soon after we reached Fortress Monroe, we began to consider the probabilities of our release, and the means by which we might obtain it. It was suggested that we

should come to some understanding as to the course we ought to pursue, and then act together throughout ; but this proposition was not for a moment entertained. Almost every one of us thought that each individual should act for himself, under his own sense of right. It was very soon evident however, that we were all of one opinion. We regarded the outrage done us personally, as one about which we could make no compromise. We thought the contemptuous violation of the laws of our State and the rights of its people, required at our hands all the resistance we could offer. We saw that Mr. LINCOLN desired, by arbitrary measures, to silence everything like opposition to his schemes, and we felt under an obligation to thwart his iniquitous project, by showing that the people of Maryland could not successfully be so dealt with. It seemed clear to us, therefore, that it was the duty of each of us, both as an individual and a citizen, to continue to denounce and protest against Mr. LINCOLN's proceedings, and to accept at his hands, nothing save the unconditional discharge, to which we were entitled. Of this determination, we notified our friends during the first few days of our imprisonment.

Fort La Fayette.

ON the afternoon of the 25th of September, we left Fortress Monroe, on the steamer George Peabody. There were no other passengers, but the fifteen or twenty soldiers composing the guard. The boat was a Baltimore boat, and we received from her officers and crew the same courteous treatment that had been extended to us on board of the Adelaide. We reached Fort La Fayette, in New York harbor, a little before dark, on the afternoon of the 26th, and were immediately transferred from the boat to the Fort. Fort La Fayette is built upon a shoal, or small island, lying in the Narrows, just between the lower end of Staten Island and Long Island, and two or three hundred yards from the latter. It is something of an octagonal structure, though the four principal sides are so much longer than the others, that the building, on the inside, looks like a square. It is some forty-five or fifty feet high. In two of the longer and two of the shorter sides, which command the channel, are the batteries. There are two tiers of heavy guns on each of these sides, and above these, are lighter *barbette* guns under a temporary wooden roof. The other two principal sides are occupied, on the first and second stories, by small casemates; all those on the second and some of those on the first story, being then assigned to the officers and soldiers. There are, altogether, ten of these casemates on each story. The whole space enclosed within the walls is about one hundred and twenty feet across. A pavement about twenty-five feet wide runs around this space, leaving a patch of ground some seventy

feet square, in the middle. A gloomier looking place than Fort La Fayette, both within and without, it would be hard to find in the whole State of New York, or, indeed, anywhere. On the high bluff on Long Island stood Fort Hamilton, an extensive fortification, whose commanding officer, Col. MARTIN BURKE, had also jurisdiction over Fort La Fayette. Lieut. CHAS. O. WOOD, who had a few months before received a commission from Mr. LINCOLN, was commanding officer at Fort La Fayette. The two principal gun batteries, and four of the casemates in the lower story, were assigned to the prisoners. Each of these batteries was paved with brick, and was, I should judge, about sixty feet long and twenty-four feet wide. The one in which I was first quartered was lighted by five embrasures, the breadth and height of each being about two-and-a-half by two feet, and on the outside of these, iron gratings had been fastened. There were five large thirty-two pounders in this room, which were about eight feet apart, and with their carriages occupied a great deal of space. Five large doorways, seven or eight feet high, opened upon the enclosure within the walls, and were closed by solid folding doors. We were only allowed to keep two of these doors, at one end of the battery, open, and at that end only could we usually see to read or write. The lower half of the battery was in a state of perpetual twilight. The adjoining battery was in all respects like the one I have attempted to describe. The four casemates which were occupied by prisoners, were vaulted cells, measuring twenty-four by fourteen feet in length and breadth, and eight feet at the highest point. Each was lighted by two small loop holes in the outer wall, about ten inches wide, and by a similar one opening on the inside enclosure. These casemates were both dark and damp, but they had fire-places in them, while it was impossible to warm the gun batteries, until stoves were put up about a week or ten days before we left.

The Fort could not be made to accommodate twenty people decently besides the garrison. Nevertheless, there were always largely over a hundred crowded into it, and

at one time there were as many as one hundred and thirty-five.

When I and my companions reached the wharf, we were met by Lieut. Wood. I had seen him at Fort Hamilton some six weeks before, having gone there to try and see my father, who was then confined in Fort La Fayette. Wood recognized me, and requested me to introduce to him the gentlemen who were with me. This was the first and last occasion, as far as I know, on which he manifested a disposition to treat us with civility. His bearing at all times subsequently, was that of an ordinary jailor, except, perhaps, that he displayed even less good feeling than usually characterizes that class of people. We were marched into the gun battery I have mentioned, and as the prisoners already there, many of whom were our acquaintances or friends, crowded around us, Lieutenant Wood requested all to leave the room, except those comprised in what he elegantly termed the "last lot." We were then required to give up all the money in our possession. We were each furnished that night with an iron bedstead, a bag of straw, and one shoddy blanket. When we had time to look around us, we found there were some twenty prisoners already quartered in the battery, and the number of inmates was therefore increased to about thirty-five by the addition of our party. The beds, which were arranged between the guns, almost touched each other. If we had had other furniture, we should not have known what to do with it, three or four chairs and a couple of small tables being all that we could afterwards find space for.

We found in the morning that the gun battery adjoining ours was, if possible, more crowded than the one we occupied, and the casemates were as much crowded as the batteries. There were as I have stated, four casemates on the lower or ground floor, allotted to prisoners. Three of these contained nine or ten persons each, and into the fourth were thrust at that time very nearly thirty prisoners, who were either privateersmen, or sailors who had been taken while running the blockade on the Southern

coast. These men had neither beds nor blankets, and were all, or nearly all, in irons. Their situation was wretched in the extreme.

Such was the condition of things at Fort La Fayette when we reached it, and we were not a little astonished to learn from our friends, who had been there longer, that their situation had been even worse a few weeks previously, than it then was. To give a correct idea of the manner in which the Government dealt with gentlemen who, by its own admission, had been arrested, or were then held merely by way of precaution, I insert the following letters, which had, before my arrival, been sent by my father to the parties to whom they are respectively addressed :

“FORT LA FAYETTE, N. Y., *August 1st, 1861.*

“HON SIMON CAMERON, *Sec’y of War,*

“WASHINGTON, D. C.

“SIR :

“After the interview I had with you in Fort McHenry on the 4th ulto., and in view of the assurances you then expressed, as to the manner in which I and the gentlemen with me, were entitled to be treated during our confinement by the General Government, I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise, at the condition in which, by its orders, we now find ourselves. On Monday evening last, we were placed on board the steamer Joseph Whitney, with a detachment of soldiers; all information as to our place of destination, being positively refused, both to us and to the members of our families. Both General DIX and Major MORRIS, however, gave the most positive assurances that, at the place to which we should be taken, we would be made much more comfortable, and the limits of our confinement would be less restricted than at Fort McHenry. Yesterday we were landed here, and are kept in close custody. No provision whatever had been made here for us, and last night we were shut up, eight persons in a vaulted room or casemate, about twenty-four by fourteen feet, having three small windows, each about three feet by fourteen inches, and a close wooden door, which was shut and locked upon us soon after 9 o’clock, and remained so until morning. Some of the party, by permission, brought on our own bedsteads and bedding

with which we had been compelled to supply ourselves at Fort McHenry; otherwise we should have been compelled to lie on the bare floor, the officers here stating to us, that they had no supplies whatever, and could not furnish us with blankets, even of the most ordinary kind. We are distinctly notified that the orders under which the commanding officer of the post is acting, require him to impose upon us the following, among other restrictions, viz.: we are allowed to receive or forward no letters from or to, even our own families, unless they are submitted to inspection and perusal by some military officer;—no friend can visit us without the permission of Colonel BURKE, whose quarters are not at this Fort, and no intimation has been given that such permission will be readily granted;—we are to receive no newspapers from any quarter;—for one hour in the morning, and one in the evening only, we are to be allowed to take exercise by walking about in a small square, not larger than some sixty or seventy feet each way, surrounded on the four sides by the massive buildings of the Fort, three stories in height. We were, on our arrival here, required to surrender all the money we had, and all writing paper and envelopes—our baggage being all searched for these and other articles that might be chosen to be considered as contraband. It is unnecessary to give any further details to satisfy you, that our condition, as to physical comfort, is no better than that of the worst felons in any common jail in the country. Having been arrested and already imprisoned for a month, without a charge of any legal offence having been, as yet, preferred against me, or those arrested at the same time with me, it is useless to make any further protest to you against the continuance of our confinement.—But we do insist, as a matter of common right, as well as in fulfilment of your own declarations to me, that if the government chooses to exercise its power, by restraining us of our liberty, it is bound in ordinary decency to make such provision for our comfort and health, as gentlemen against whom, if charges have been preferred, they have not been made known, and all opportunity for an investigation has been denied, are recognized in every civilized community to be entitled to. It is but just to Colonel BURKE and Lieutenant WOOD, who commands the garrison here, that I should add, that both of those officers have professed their desire to extend to us all comforts, that their instructions will allow, and the means at their command will enable them to do. They have, however, each stated that the orders under which they act, are imperative, and that their supplies of even the most common articles, are at present very limited. I have writ-

ten this letter on my bed, sitting on the floor, upon a carpet bag, there being neither table, chair, stool or bench in the room.

“ I have the honor to be

“ Your obedient servant,

“ CHARLES HOWARD.”

“ FORT LA FAYETTE, N. Y. Harbor, *August 7th*, 1861.

“ HON. SIMON CAMERON, *Sec'ry of War*,

“ WASHINGTON, D. C.

“ SIR :—

“ I addressed a communication yesterday to Colonel BURKE, which he advised me he has forwarded to Washington. In reply, he has written a note to Lieutenant WOOD, and instructed him to read it to us. The substance of this note was, that as some of the letters we had written to our families, if they were to find their way into the newspapers, ‘might influence the public mind,’ the Colonel had thought it proper to forward them all to the headquarters of the army. He further stated that the orders he had received were, to ‘treat us kindly, but keep us safely.’ As to the first part, allow me to say, that whatever our condition may be, the minds of our friends, and of all others, who may feel any interest in the matter, will surely be less apt to be influenced unfavorably towards the government by knowing the truth about us, than they will be by their finding that our communications with them are intercepted, and that they are allowed to hear nothing whatever as to how we are treated. They will necessarily conclude that our imprisonment is exactly like that of those who used to be confined in the Bastille, (as in fact it is,) who were allowed to hold no communications except such as might be entirely agreeable and acceptable to their custodians. They will, of course, be kept in a continual state of great anxiety and uneasiness, and their sympathies will be constantly excited in our behalf. The distress that will thus be inflicted upon our families, can be termed nothing less than cruelty. In the next place, it is hard to conceive how it can be reconciled, with anything like the idea of ‘kind treatment,’ to prohibit our reception of all newspapers whatever, or the unrestricted delivery to us, without examination, of all letters that may be addressed to us; whilst it certainly cannot be shown that such prohibitions are at all necessary to ensure our ‘safe-keeping.’ The

examination of, and the discretion claimed to retain letters to us from the nearest members of our families, as well as the preventing us from receiving newspapers, can only be regarded as measures of punishment, adopted towards those who have been convicted of no offence; to whom no opportunity has been afforded for an investigation of any charges that may possibly have been preferred against them; and for whose arrest, as our counsel were assured by General BANKS, there were no other reasons than the allegations set forth by him in his proclamation; and the continuance of whose confinement, he stated to be solely a precautionary measure on the part of the government. These assurances were given by him at Fort McHenry. I will add that, whatever may be the disposition of the officer commanding the post, and of those in this garrison, to 'treat us kindly,' they are restricted in doing so, within extremely narrow limits, either by other orders they may have received, or by the means of extending such treatment not having been supplied to them. We are isolated—at a distance of two hundred miles from our families, and all but a few friends; and with these we are permitted to have no intercourse. We are thrown upon our own resources—those of us who may have means, being allowed to find, at our own cost, within the Fort, decent, but very ordinary fare, whilst those who cannot, in justice to their families, afford such expense, have nothing but the ordinary rations of the soldier, which are of the coarsest kind. In consequence of the delay in other departments of the service, in complying with the requisitions which the officers here have made, we should at this moment, though we have been here a week, have been without a chair or table but for the courtesy of Lieutenant STIRLING, who, seeing our state of utter discomfort, has lent to us two chairs from his own quarters; and that of the wife of a Sergeant, who has lent us a small stand. We are informed, however, that a supply of such articles may be expected, for our use, from the city, this evening. Finally, there are six of us confined in one room, precisely similar, in all respects, to that described in my letter of the 1st inst., to which I beg leave to refer you.

“ I have the honor to be

“ Your obedient servant,

“ CHARLES HOWARD.”

“FORT LA FAYETTE, N. Y. Harbor, *August 8th*, 1861.

“LIEUT. GEN. SCOTT, *Commander-in-Chief, U. S. A.*

“HEADQUARTERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

“SIR :

“By a letter received last night from Mrs. HOWARD, I learn that in reply to the inquiries she made of you, she was informed that I would be “decently lodged and subsisted here.” I wrote to the Hon. the Secretary of War, on the 1st inst., and again yesterday, advising him of the treatment which I and my fellow prisoners are receiving. A perusal of those letters would satisfy you that these assurances are not verified. I need here only say, that we are not “decently lodged,” nor are we in any sense of the words “decently subsisted” by the Government. The only proffer of subsistence made to us, has been to feed us like the private soldiers of the garrison, or to allow us to procure other meals at our own cost.

“I have the honor to be

“Your obedient servant,

“CHARLES HOWARD.”

“FORT LA FAYETTE, N. Y. Harbor, *August 12th*, 1861.

“HON. SIMON CAMERON, *Sec’y of War*,

“WASHINGTON, D. C.

“SIR :

“I laid before you a statement of the condition in which I am kept, in two former communications, the one on the 1st inst., and the other a few days subsequently; to which I beg leave to refer. And I should not again trouble you, had I not, since my last, learned on the direct authority of Lieutenant-General SCOTT, that an order had been given by the Department of State, that the political prisoners confined at Fort La Fayette, shall be “decently lodged and subsisted, unless they prefer to provide for themselves.” The “decent lodging” furnished us, consists in putting seven gentlemen to sleep in one room, of which I have before given you a description. Within this or at the door of it, we are required to remain, except during two hours in the day or whilst taking our meals.

The "decent subsistence" offered us, in the alternative of our declining, or not having the means to provide for ourselves, is much inferior in many respects, to that furnished to convicted felons in the Baltimore Penitentiary and Jail; and so far as I am informed, in any well-regulated prison in the country.

"The officers here advise us, that this is the only fare which, under the instructions given, and the means allowed to them by the Government, they can offer. How far such treatment is in accordance with the instructions of the Government, as expressed by the Department of State, with the assurance given to me personally by yourself, or with the promises voluntarily made by Major-General JOHN A. DIX, and Major WM. W. MORRIS, I leave it, sir, for you to judge.

"I have the honor to be

"Your obedient servant,

"CHARLES HOWARD."

"FORT LA FAYETTE, N. Y. Harbor, *August 19th*, 1861.

"HON. WM. H. SEWARD, *Sec'y of State*,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

"SIR:

"My family were informed by Lieutenant-General SCOTT, under date of the 3d inst., that an order had been given 'by the Department of State, that the political prisoners confined at Fort La Fayette shall be decently lodged and subsisted, unless they prefer to provide for themselves.' About the same time I was advised by Lieutenant-Colonel BURKE, commanding this post, that his instructions were 'to treat us kindly, but keep us safely.' I beg leave, sir, to inform you that your order has not been complied with. It cannot be considered as 'decent lodging' to put a number of gentlemen accustomed to the comforts of life, to sleep in one low vaulted room, in or at the door of which they are confined, except for two hours in the twenty-four. The number sleeping in the room in which I am now placed, has varied from five to seven. There are now here, six of us. The only subsistence provided for us by the Government, as the alternative of providing for ourselves, has been the proffer of the single ration, distributed here to the private soldier, which is inferior

both in quantity and quality, to the fare furnished to the convicted felons in many of the jails and penitentiaries throughout the country. And this is the 'decent subsistence,' offered to men who have been arrested, and are held on suspicion only, and who have not ceased to demand an open investigation of any charges that may possibly have been preferred against them; a demand which has been persistently denied. I have no grounds for imputing to Colonel BURKE, or the officers of this garrison, any intentional disposition to treat us unkindly. But acting as they state themselves to be, in obedience to the orders which they have received, we are subject to various harsh and arbitrary restrictions, which are utterly irreconcilable with the idea of 'kind treatment,' whilst they are equally unnecessary for the ensuring of our safe-keeping. I deem it useless at present, to go more into details, as I have already described the condition in which we are placed, in three communications to the Hon. the Secretary of War, on the 1st, 7th and 12th inst. respectively, and in one to Lieutenant-General SCOTT, on the 8th inst., of none of which does any notice appear to have been taken. Should you, sir, however, desire a fuller statement than I have here made, to be addressed directly to yourself, one shall be forwarded, as soon as I may be apprised of your wishes.

“ I have the honor to be

“ Your obedient servant,

“ CHARLES HOWARD.”

Not the slightest notice was taken of these letters by the persons to whom they were addressed, unless the few chairs, and sheets, and blankets, which were furnished some time afterwards, were distributed by special order from Washington.

To show how desirous the officers of the Government were, at that time, to keep, even from the families of the prisoners, all knowledge of their actual condition, I am permitted to cite this letter from Mr. GATCHELL, one of the Police Commissioners of Baltimore. Lieutenant WOOD refused to forward it to its destination. It was written in pencil :

“ FORT LA FAYETTE, New York.

“ MY DEAR WIFE:—

“ I write on my knee, and with very little light—but I cannot help saying to you, so that you may know as soon as possible, that, notwithstanding the assurances given to us when we left Fort McHenry, we are altogether as uncomfortable as it is possible to be. The gentleman in command has expressed his desire to do all in his power for our comfort, but he has not the means. Don't write until I give you notice, for at present we are cut off from all communication with our friends, except writing to them, and our letters inspected. Love to all. Affectionately,

“ WM. H. GATCHELL.

“ *Wednesday Evening, 31st July.*”

Lieutenant WOOD, who had expressed his desire to do all in his power for the comfort of the prisoners, sent back the above letter after the lapse of two or three weeks, to Mr. GATCHELL. He informed Mr. GATCHELL, when he returned it, that it had been forwarded to Washington for inspection, and that he was not allowed to let it pass.

I had, during the visit to New York, of which I have already spoken, learned how outrageously my father and his companions were treated, and I published in the *New York Daily News*, a full statement of the facts. It was never contradicted by the agents of the Government, and was apparently unnoticed by the public. At that time, also, I met Major CLITZ, of the United States Army, who was then stationed at Fort Hamilton, who, in reply to some remarks of mine, admitted that there were not decent accommodations in Fort La Fayette for fifteen prisoners. Major CLITZ came over to Fort La Fayette while I was myself a prisoner there, and I reminded him of that conversation. He unhesitatingly replied that he was still of the same opinion.

Shortly after the visit just mentioned, the prisoners were permitted to receive the daily papers, and were allowed the use of liquor, under certain restrictions. The liquor they chose to order, were kept by Lieut. WOOD, and were given

out, day by day, in moderate quantities. The day after we arrived, we sent to New York for beds, bedding and other necessary articles of furniture. These we received a few days afterwards. Before our arrival, those of the prisoners who chose to do so, had obtained permission to board with the Ordnance Sergeant, who had been many years at the post. He and his family occupied two or three of the lower casemates, and he undertook to furnish us two meals daily at a charge, to each prisoner, of a dollar a day. This arrangement most of our party adopted. The others preferred or could not afford to do otherwise than accept the Government rations, upon which the majority of the prisoners were living. These were of the coarsest description, and were served in the coarsest style. A tin plate and a tin cup to each person constituted the whole table furniture. The dinners consisted of fat pork and beans, a cup of thin soup and bread, or of boiled beef and potatoes and bread on alternate days. For breakfast, bread, and weak, unpalatable coffee, were distributed. This fare was precisely the same as that furnished to the soldiers. I more than once examined these rations after they were served. The coffee was a muddy liquid in which the taste of coffee was barely perceptible, the predominating flavor being a combination of burnt beans and foul water. The soup was, if possible, worse, the only palatable thing about it being the few stray grains of rice that could sometimes be fished out of each can. The pork and beef were of the most indifferent quality, and were at times only half cooked. Over and over again have I seen gentlemen who had been always accustomed to all the comforts of life, forced to turn away with loathing from the miserable food thus provided for them. The fare furnished to those of us who boarded with the Sergeant, was very plain, but good enough of its kind.

On the 8th of October we addressed the following remonstrance to the President. The statements which it contains, were purposely made as moderate and temperate as was consistent with the truth.

“FORT LA FAYETTE, 8th October, 1861.

“*His Excellency, the President of the United States,*

“SIR:

“The undersigned, prisoners confined in Fort La Fayette, are compelled to address you this protest and remonstrance against the inhumanity of their confinement and treatment. The officers in command at Fort Hamilton and this post, being fully aware of the grievances and privations to which we are obliged to submit, we are bound for humanity’s sake, to presume that they have no authority or means to redress or remove them. They in fact, assure us that they have not. Our only recourse therefore, is to lay this statement before you, in order that you may interpose to prevent our being any longer exposed to them.

“The prisoners at this post are confined in four small casemates, and two large battery-rooms. The former are about fourteen feet in breadth by twenty-four or thereabouts in length, with arched ceilings about eight-and-a-half feet high at the highest point, the spring of the arch commencing at about five feet from the floor. In each of these is a fire-place, and the floors are of plank. The battery-rooms are of considerably higher pitch, and the floors are of brick, and a large space is occupied in them by the heavy guns and gun-carriages of the batteries. They have no fire-places or means of protection from cold or moisture, and the doors are large, like those of a carriage-house, rendering the admission of light impossible without entire exposure to the temperature and weather without. In one of the small casemates, twenty-three prisoners are confined, two-thirds of them in irons, without beds, bedding, or any of the commonest necessaries. Their condition could hardly be worse, if they were in a slave-ship, on the middle passage. In each of two, out of the three other casemates, ten gentlemen are imprisoned; in the third there are nine, and a tenth is allotted to it; their beds and necessary luggage leaving them scarce space to move, and rendering the commonest personal cleanliness almost an impossibility. The doors are all fastened from six or thereabouts in the evening, until the same hour in the morning, and with all the windows (which are small) left open in all weathers, it is hardly possible to sleep in the foul, unwholesome air. Into one of the larger battery-rooms, there are thirty-four prisoners closely crowded; into the other, thirty-five. All the doors are closed for the same period as stated above, and the only ventilation is then from the embrasures, and so imperfect that

the atmosphere is oppressive and almost stifling. Even during the day, three of the doors of one of these apartments are kept closed, against the remonstrances of the medical men who are among the inmates, and to the utter exclusion of wholesome and necessary light and air. In damp weather, all these unhealthy annoyances and painful discomforts are of course greatly augmented, and when, as to-day, the prisoners are compelled by rain to continue within doors, their situation becomes almost intolerable. The undersigned do not hesitate to say, that no intelligent inspector of prisons can fail to pronounce their accommodations as wretchedly deficient, and altogether incompatible with health, and it is obvious, as we already feel, that the growing inclemencies of the season which is upon us, must make our condition more and more nearly unendurable. Many of the prisoners are men advanced in life; many more are of infirm health or delicate constitutions. The greater portion of them have been accustomed to the reasonable comforts of life, none of which are accessible to them here, and their liability to illness, is, of course, proportionately greater on that account. Many have already suffered seriously, from indisposition augmented by the restrictions imposed upon them. A contagious cutaneous disease is now spreading in one of the larger apartments, and the physicians who are among us, are positive that some serious general disorder must be the inevitable result, if our situation remains unimproved. The use of any but salt water, except for drinking, has been, for some time, altogether denied to us. The cistern water, itself, for some days past, has been filled with dirt and animalcules, and the supply, even of that, has been so low, that yesterday we were almost wholly without drinking-water. A few of us, who have the means to purchase some trifling necessaries, have been able to relieve ourselves from this latter privation, to some extent, by procuring an occasional, though greatly inadequate, supply of fresh water from the Long Island side.

It only remains to add, that the fare is of the commonest and coarsest soldiers' rations, almost invariably ill-prepared and ill-cooked. Some of us, who are better able than the rest, are permitted to take our meals at a private mess, supplied by the wife of the Ordnance Sergeant, for which we pay, at the rate of a dollar per day, from our own funds. Those who are less fortunate, are compelled to submit to a diet so bad and unusual, as to be seriously prejudicial to their health.

The undersigned have entered into these partial details, because they cannot believe that it is the purpose of the government to destroy

their health or sacrifice their lives, by visiting them with such cruel hardships, and they will hope, unless forced to a contrary conclusion, that it can only be necessary to present the facts to you, plainly, in order to secure the necessary relief. We desire to say nothing, here, in regard to the justice or injustice of our imprisonment, but we respectfully insist upon our right to be treated with decency and common humanity, so long as the government sees fit to confine us.

“ Commending the matter to your earliest consideration and prompt interference, we are your obedient servants,

H. MAY,
 E. C. LOWBER,
 WM. G. HARRISON,
 ROBT. MURE,
 JNO. WILLIAMS,
 ROBT. M. DENISON,
 SAML. H. LYON,
 L. SANGSTON,
 G. O. VAN AMRINGE,
 HILARY CENAS,
 W. R. BUTT,
 B. P. LOYALL,
 W. H. WARD,
 T. PARKIN SCOTT,
 P. F. RAISIN,
 JNO. C. BRAINE,
 J. H. GORDON,
 C. J. DURANT,
 M. W. BARR,
 R. T. DURRETT,
 J. HANSON THOMAS,
 C. J. FAULKNER,
 CHAS. HOWARD,
 GEO. WM. BROWN,
 WM. H. GATCHELL,
 C. S. MOREHEAD,
 JAS. A. McMASTER,
 CHAS. H. PITTS,
 R. H. ALVEY,
 S. T. WALLIS,
 AUSTIN E. SMITH,
 F. K. HOWARD,

J. T. McFEAT,
 J. K. MILLNER,
 B. MILLS, M. D.,
 ANDREW LYNCH, M. D.
 H. R. STEVENS,
 J. W. ROBARTS,
 R. R. WALKER,
 CHAS. M. HAGELIN,
 BETHEL BURTON,
 S. J. ANDERSON,
 RICH. S. FREEMAN,
 G. P. PRESSAY,
 L. G. QUINLAN,
 W. E. KEARNEY,
 G. A. SHACKLEFORD,
 JNO. H. CUSICK,
 JOS. W. GRIFFITH,
 ROBT. DRANE,
 JNO. W. DAVIS,
 T. S. WILSON,
 ROBT. TANSILL,
 A. D. WHARTON,
 SAML. EAKINS,
 J. B. BARBOUR,
 EDW. PAYNE,
 A. DAWSON,
 JNO. M. BREWER,
 ELLIS B. SCHNABEL,
 H. B. CLAIBORNE,
 F. WYATT,
 E. S. RUGGLES,
 JAS. E. MURPHRY,

HENRY M. WARFIELD,
 GEO. P. KANE,
 CHAS. MACGILL, M. D.,
 GEO. W. BARNARD,
 F. M. CROW,
 H. G. THURBER,
 E. G. KILBOURNE,
 T. H. WOOLDRIDGE,

L. S. HOBSCLOW,
 ALGERNON S. SULLIVAN,
 JAS. CHAPIN,
 E. B. WILDER,
 A. MCDOWELL,
 WM. GRUBBS,
 CHAS. KOPPERL,
 THOS. W. HALL, Jr.

On the 10th of October, the following note was sent to Lieutenant WOOD, who ordered it to be read to the prisoners :

“ FORT HAMILTON, New York, *October 10th*, 1861.

“ SIR :—

“ I am directed by Colonel BURKE to say to you, that you can inform the prisoners, that their Petition has been forwarded, through Colonel TOWNSEND, to the President United States.

“ Very respectfully,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ J. C. LAY,

“ *First Lieutenant 12th Infantry.*

“ P.S.—Colonel presumed that boat has brought you a supply of water. J. C. L.”

Of the gentlemen who signed the above remonstrance, which Colonel BURKE thought proper to term a “ Petition,” many were members of the Maryland Legislature ; a large number were, up to the time of their incarceration, officers of the Navy ; and others were men of high social or political position in their respective States. No reply was ever received from Washington.

The rules to which we were expected to conform, were posted on the walls of the different batteries and casemates. They read as follows :

“REGULATIONS FOR THE GUIDANCE OF CITIZEN PRISONERS
CONFINED AT THIS POST.

“1st.—The rooms of the prisoners will be ready for inspection at 9 o’clock, A.M. All cleaning, &c., will be done by the prisoners themselves, unless otherwise directed. All washing will be done in the yard.

“2d.—No conversation will be allowed with any member of this garrison, and all communication in regard to their wants will be made to the Sergeant of the Guard.

“3d.—No prisoner will leave his room without the permission of the Sergeant of the Guard. * * * * *

“4th.—Prisoners will avoid all conversations on the political affairs of this country, within the hearing of any member of this garrison.

“5th.—Light will be allowed in the prisoners’ rooms until 9.15, P.M. After this hour, all talking, or noise of any kind, will cease.

“6th.—The prisoners will obey implicitly the directions of any member of the guard.

“7th.—Cases of sickness will be reported at 7, A.M.

“8th.—Any transgressions of the foregoing rules will be corrected by solitary imprisonment, or such other restrictions as may be required to the strict enforcement thereof.

[Signed]

“CHARLES O. WOOD,

“*Second Lieutenant, 9th Infantry,*

“*Commanding Post.*

“FORT LA FAYETTE, *New York Harbor*, August 3d, 1861.”

Shortly after we arrived at Fort La Fayette, the following additional order was issued:

“No prisoners will be allowed to recognize or have any communication with any persons visiting this Fort, excepting when the visitor brings an order from the proper authority, permitting an interview, which interview will be held in the presence of an officer, and not to exceed one hour; the conversation during the interview will be carried on in a tone of voice loud enough to be distinctly heard by the officer in whose presence the interview is held.”

These rules were, with a single exception, strictly enforced. Those of us whose quarters were contiguous, were suffered to pass backwards and forwards, at will, provided we did not step off the pavement, which ran around the enclosure. But we could not visit the quarters of those who were on the opposite side of the Fort, without permission of the Sergeant of the Guard. We were only allowed to walk for one hour in the morning, and one hour in the afternoon, upon the little patch of ground within the Fort. Why the privilege of walking there, at all times, was denied us, it is hard to conjecture. The space inside was so small, that, when we took our afternoon's exercise, it was literally crowded. The walls surrounding it were three stories high, and there was but one point at which egress was possible, and that was just at the guard-house, where the guard was always on duty. It was but a wanton and senseless restriction to confine us to the pavement in front of our quarters. At first, the prisoners had to clean their own rooms, and to perform all other similar menial offices. Afterwards, they were allowed, for an hour or two in the morning, to employ one of the soldiers, who, being unable to speak or understand the English language, may be presumed to have been unfit for military duty, as he certainly was for any other.

The most private communications regarding domestic affairs or business having to be subjected to the criticism of Lieutenant WOOD, we preferred to be silent concerning such matters, be the consequences what they might. Such were the regulations to which the Government, or its agents, thought proper to subject its victims.

Our complaints of the manner in which we were treated, had been persistent and decided; and from time to time, released prisoners made them known to the public through the columns of various newspapers. One of these statements appeared in the *New York Herald*, of October 24th. It did not contain a line that was not strictly true. On the 26th, the following letters were published in the same journal, I presume, by Colonel BURKE'S directions.

The first was addressed to the United States' Marshal in New York. It was dated, the *Herald* said, on the 9th of October, 1861.

“SIR:—I have the honor to enclose herewith, a list of articles necessary for the State prisoners confined at this Post, which you will please send me at your earliest convenience.

“The water being almost entirely out, you will please send me a water-boat, with a supply of water to fill two cisterns, which will last until we have rain enough to obviate the difficulty, You cannot comply too soon, as it is an immediate necessity.

“List of articles necessary for the comfort of prisoners:

“100 blankets, 200 sheets, 200 pillow cases, 50 single mattresses, 50 pillows, 50 iron bedsteads, 50 arm chairs, 20 small tables, 50 washstands, 25 washbowls and pitchers, 10 small oval stoves and pipe, 50 wooden buckets, 100 tin cups, 250 yards of rope carpet for laying on brick floors. I take this opportunity to inform you that the ship's galley and other articles furnished by you, are very satisfactory, and answer the purpose for which they were required.

“I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“CHARLES O. WOOD,”

“*Second Lieutenant of Infantry,*

“*Commanding Post.*”

“Approved:—MARTIN BURKE,

Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding

“*Forts Hamilton and La Fayette.*”

“HEADQUARTERS, FORT HAMILTON, *October 24th, 1861.*”

“ROBERT MURRAY, Esq.,

“*United States Marshal, New York.*”

“My attention was drawn to a statement in the *Herald* of this morning, from a prisoner lately released from Fort La Fayette. Now I wish to call your attention to the same article, and submit its further consideration to your judgment.

“You and I both know how hard the Government has striven to make these prisoners comfortable, and if in the whirlpool of business,

they have been apparently neglected, we can both testify as to the present ample preparations which are being made, not only to render them comfortable, but even to put it beyond the complaint of some who would be unreasonable.

“In regard to myself, I can simply say, that I have, to the utmost of my ability, tried to do my duty, alike to the Government and the prisoners.

“Lieutenant Wood is unceasing in his care and watchfulness, and as you well know, ready at any time to do all he can for the comfort of those under his charge.

“With regard to improper and false communications from released prisoners, if such there are, it is a question for the Honorable Secretary of State to decide how far such communications invalidate the parole of the person or persons making them.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“MARTIN BURKE,

“*Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding.*”

It will be observed that Lieutenant Wood's requisition was only made the day after the date of the “remonstrance” which we had sent to Mr. LINCOLN. Whether it would have been made at all but for that remonstrance, may well be doubted. We had been over two weeks in Fort La Fayette before Lieutenant Wood thought proper to give any such evidence of that “care and watchfulness” which Colonel BURKE attributed to him. “How hard the Government had striven” to make the prisoners comfortable may be judged by the foregoing narrative, and from the fact that the articles for which Lieutenant Wood called on Marshal MURRAY, only reached the Fort sometime about the date of Colonel BURKE's letter, and we had then been imprisoned there nearly a month. That Colonel BURKE made any special efforts to do his duty to the prisoners, is utterly untrue. He paid a visit to the Fort about the 5th of August, and did not appear there again until about the 26th of October, and but for facts which I shall subsequently mention, it is not likely that he would have paid the latter visit at all. Had he chosen to inspect our quarters more frequently,

or give us opportunities of preferring our complaints, he might, had he so pleased, have mitigated, in very many respects, the rigors of our imprisonment. I may add, that no "communications from released prisoners," that I ever saw, were in any particular, untrue or exaggerated, and the promptitude with which Col. BURKE threw out his sinister suggestion to the Marshal, shows how anxious he was for the suppression of all such information.

Our correspondence was subjected to the strictest scrutiny, and letters written by the prisoners were frequently returned to them, and generally because they contained facts which the Government did not desire should become known, or reflections on the Government itself. On one occasion Lieut. WOOD returned to me a letter which I had written to my wife. No reason was assigned for this; but I was forced to the conclusion that it was sent back because Lieut. WOOD chose to consider it too long. It was a small sheet of note paper. There was nothing in the contents to which he could object, and as two letters of the same length as mine, were returned to the writers that morning, with a message from Lieut. WOOD that they were too long, I inferred that mine was sent back for a similar cause. To such annoyances we were continually subjected. At times our condition became so unendurable, that finding our complaints unheeded, we expressed our sense of the indignities put upon us, in perfectly plain language. On one occasion, when outraged by some fresh act of harshness or impertinence, I wrote a letter to a friend, in which, after describing our situation, I used this language:

"To have imprisoned men solely on account of their political opinions, is enough to bring eternal infamy on every individual connected with the Administration; but the manner in which we have been treated since our confinement, is, if possible, even more disgraceful to them. I should have supposed that, if the Government chose to confine citizens because their sentiments were distasteful to it, it would have contented itself with keeping them in custody, but would have put them in tolerably comfortable quarters * * * * *

* * * If I had been told twelve months ago, that the American

people would ever have permitted their rulers, under any pretence whatever, to establish such a despotism as I have lived to witness, I should have indignantly denied the assertion; and if I had been then told, that officers of the Army would ever consent to be the instruments to carry out the behests of a vulgar dictator, I should have predicted that they would rather have stripped their epaulets from their shoulders. But we live to learn; and I have learned much in the past few months."

This letter was returned to me the next morning, and on the following day one of the sergeants handed me a letter addressed by Colonel BURKE, to Lieutenant WOOD, which he said the latter had ordered him to read to me particularly, and to the other prisoners. I was unable to procure a copy of this letter, but remember the tenor of it. Colonel BURKE expressed his surprise that I should have attempted to make him and Lieutenant WOOD the medium through which to cast reflections on their superior officers. He was also pleased to say that as my family had always borne a gentlemanly character in Maryland he had not expected that I would be guilty of conduct "so indelicate, to use no stronger terms." He concluded by insisting that the Government had been, and would be unremitting in its exertions to make us comfortable.

I immediately sent him this note :

"FORT LA FAYETTE, *October 23d.*

"LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BURKE,

"SIR :

"Lieutenant WOOD, has communicated to me the contents of your note to him of this date. Permit me to say, in reply to your allusions to the course I have thought proper to pursue, that you mistake me much if you suppose (as you seem to do) that a mere desire to embarrass or annoy you, or the officers under you, has prompted me to write the letters which have been returned to me. The fact that little or nothing has been done to make me or my fellow prisoners decently comfortable, is self-evident to any one who chooses to inspect our quarters, and it was on that account that I chose to

speak in terms of indignant denunciation of those who are responsible for the privations I suffer. If I made, or sought to make, the officers of the garrison the 'instruments' to convey my complaints, it was because I am denied any other alternative. The invidious allusions which you have deemed it necessary to make in regard to me, I need not, and do not propose, now, to discuss. But you will permit me to remind you that if you have duties to discharge, I have rights to vindicate. The only one of these which has not been absolutely destroyed, is the right of free speech within the narrow bounds of my prison, and this it is my duty and purpose to defend to the last. In the exercise of this poor privilege I wrote the letters which I knew were to pass into your hands. As you have forwarded to the Adjutant-General the correspondence between Lieutenant Wood and yourself, I beg that you will do me the justice to forward also this note. I remain,

“Your obedient servant,

“F. K. HOWARD.”

To the foregoing note, he wrote this reply :

“HEADQUARTERS, FORT HAMILTON,

“New York Harbor, 24th October, 1861.

“SIR :

“Please say to Mr. HOWARD, that I cheerfully forward his note of the 23d inst. to Colonel TOWNSEND, agreeably to his request.

“However much the efforts of this Government have fallen short of the expectations of the prisoners, to make them as comfortable as they may desire, still I must say that every exertion is being made by the Government for that purpose, and such exertions will certainly be continued.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“MARTIN BURKE,

“Colonel-Commanding.”

“LIEUTENANT WOOD,

“Commanding Fort La Fayette.”

My father, to whom Colonel BURKE's letter had been read, wrote to the Secretary of War, denying Colonel BURKE's allegations, and charging him with neglect of duty.

“FORT LA FAYETTE, *October 23d*, 1861.

“HON. SIMON CAMERON, *Sec’y of War*,

“WASHINGTON, D. C.

“SIR :

“The Orderly-Sergeant has this morning, by order of the Commanding Officer of this Post, read to me in presence of a number of persons, a letter from Colonel MARTIN BURKE to Lieutenant C. O. WOOD, written in reply to a communication from the Lieutenant to him. Copies of both of these letters, Colonel BURKE states he has forwarded to Washington. I have asked for a copy of the Colonel’s letter, but have not learned whether it will be given. In that letter, which is evidently intended as a rebuke to some of those confined here, Colonel BURKE has undertaken to allude to the character and standing which my family have borne, for the purpose of introducing an offensive imputation, that one member of it has acted in a manner unbecoming a gentleman. This charge, I claim the right distinctly and directly to repudiate, and I have also to demand that an inquiry be made under your authority into the conduct of Colonel BURKE and Lieutenant Wood, in relation to their treatment of those confined at this place. I now formally charge Colonel BURKE with conduct unbecoming an officer, and also with neglect of duty. He has not, so far as any prisoner here is aware, been within this Fort since on or about the 5th day of August last, and in undertaking to judge of Lieutenant Wood’s manner of discharging his duty towards the prisoners under his charge, he must have acted upon the statements of that officer himself. The Surgeon of the post and one other officer from Fort Hamilton, have occasionally exchanged a few words with some of the prisoners, but whenever any of the latter have attempted to make any representations to them of our condition and treatment, both of those officers have declared that those matters are not in any manner, within the sphere of their duties. There has therefore, been no inspection of this prison, in which upwards of one hundred prisoners are confined, which would enable Colonel BURKE to judge of the accuracy of the reports which he may have received. In the absence of all such means of knowledge or information, Colonel BURKE has stated in an official letter, that Lieutenant Wood, an officer under his command, has ‘devoted his whole time to promoting the comfort of prisoners’ here, or words to that effect. This statement, I charge to be not warranted by the facts, and to be entirely incorrect. I charge and

aver, that Lieutenant Wood has not only not devoted all, or even much of his time, to the promoting of our comfort, but that on the contrary, he has neither in his general bearing, nor in his conduct towards those consigned to his custody, paid that attention to their comfort, which even under the circumstances which the Government deemed sufficient to warrant their imprisonment, they have a right to demand. The immediate cause of the rebuke attempted to be administered to us by Colonel BURKE, was a letter written to a friend by Mr. F. K. HOWARD, my son. However strong may have been the language used in that letter, it was the natural expression of feelings which are shared by every prisoner here, whose opinion I have heard. Among these are many gentlemen of as high character and standing as any in the country. No intimation has been given by Colonel BURKE, that any specific fact stated in the letter was not true. Should he controvert a single one, my relations to the writer of the letter, and the mention made by Colonel BURKE in his official communication, of my family, to say nothing of the assurances voluntarily tendered to me by you in Fort McHenry, as to the mode in which the Government considered me as entitled to be treated, justify me in demanding an opportunity to substantiate it. Having already addressed to you three communications, from this place, of which no notice appears to have been taken, I should not again have troubled you, but that the issue I have now to make with Colonel BURKE, involves matters of a personal character to myself, and that I make direct charges against him and Lieutenant Wood, derogatory to their official positions, as officers of the army.

“I hope, therefore, I may not be mistaken, in trusting that this communication may receive your early and serious attention.

“I am sir, your obedient servant,

“CHARLES HOWARD.”

As usual, this letter was unnoticed by the authorities in Washington.

In the miserable place which I have attempted to describe, we passed the period between September 26th and October 30th. The batteries were very dark when the doors were closed, and very cold when the doors were open. We were locked up every night from dusk until sunrise; and lights had to be put out at 9½ o'clock. In such a crowded

place it was almost impossible to read or write. We found it difficult sometimes to keep ourselves warm enough even with the aid of overcoats. At times again, the atmosphere of the room would be positively stifling. Some one or more of the inmates were constantly under medical treatment, and it may be imagined how noisome and unhealthy the room often was. As prisoners were, from time to time, discharged from the casemates, the remaining inmates would invite one or more of those in the gun batteries to fill the vacancies, permission to do so being first asked of the Sergeant of the Guard. These invitations were given, not because the casemates were less crowded than the batteries, but because the first stranger who should be brought in, would certainly be put in the place of the prisoner who had been last discharged, and, as the casemates were to be kept filled to their utmost capacity, those occupying them preferred to have their friends and acquaintances for their companions. Small and crowded as the casemates were, they were, nevertheless, a little more comfortable than the batteries, from having fire-places and wooden floors. I was fortunate enough to get into one of these casemates after I had been some two weeks in the Fort.

About ten days before we left Fort La Fayette, Lieutenant Wood chose to make the prisoners responsible for the drunkenness of one of the soldiers, and prohibited the further use of liquor, of any kind, among the prisoners. It was discovered a few days afterwards, that some of the soldiers had stolen some of our liquor from the room in which Lieutenant Wood kept it, and to which the prisoners had no access. It was also discovered that the soldiers got liquor from the Long Island side, one of the crew of the boat having been detected in smuggling it into the Fort for their use. These facts sufficiently accounted for the drunkenness of the soldiers, but Lieutenant Wood did not, on that account, relax his new rule. While we were allowed the use of liquor, no abuse of the privilege came under my observation, nor do I believe there was any. Just before the new restriction was imposed on us, I had received from New York two small boxes of liquor containing a dozen-and-a-

half bottles, which passed, as usual, into Lieutenant Wood's keeping. The prohibition which followed, prevented my using any of it, and, when we were about leaving, I requested Lieutenant Wood, through one of the Sergeants, to send it on with me in charge of the officer who would have us in custody. This he did not do, and I never saw more of it. One or two of the prisoners afterwards received, at Fort Warren, the liquors that they left at Fort La Fayette, and one of the officers at the former Post informed me that there were some boxes on the bill of lading which did not reach Fort Warren. Whether any of my stores were among these boxes, I am unable to say. I only know that I never received the liquor which Lieutenant Wood had, and that many of my companions suffered in the same way.

Those of our friends who obtained passes to visit the Fort, did so with great difficulty. The government seemed to have a strong disposition to exclude all strangers from the place. Six weeks before my arrest, I had made every effort to procure a permit to see my father, but could not succeed in getting one. Some New York politicians, however, were more favored. One of them, especially, Mr. WILLIAM H. LUDLOW, could enter the Fort at his pleasure, and see whom he pleased. On several occasions when he made his visits, he sent for different individuals, to whom he represented himself as possessing great influence at Washington, and offered to try and procure their release, provided he was paid for it. What he received altogether I do not know; but I do know that he received two retaining fees, namely—\$100 from one gentleman, and \$150 from another. From the latter he had a promise of a contingent fee of \$1,000. I do not believe he rendered any service to his clients, both of whom were taken to Fort Warren and exchanged or released nearly four months afterwards.

The private soldiers at Fort La Fayette were worthy followers of their commanding officer. They were uniformly as brutal in their manners towards the prisoners as they dared to be. The Sergeants, however, who were there when I was, were generally civil, and were as kind

as they had an opportunity of being. But, if the situation of those who were fortunate enough to enjoy good health was almost insupportable, the condition of the sick was far worse. No provision whatever was made for them. Men suffering from various diseases were compelled to remain in their close and damp quarters, and struggle through as best they could. One man, "a political prisoner," had an acute attack of pneumonia, and lay for ten days in a damp, dark gun battery, with some thirty other prisoners. One of the privateersmen was dangerously ill with the same disease in the casemate in which so many of them were huddled together. When I obtained permission to carry him some little luxuries, I found him lying on the floor upon two blankets in a high fever, and without even a pillow under his head. He would have remained in the same condition had not the "political prisoners" relieved his necessities. It was not until he seemed to be drawing rapidly towards his end, that he was sent to a Hospital, somewhere on Staten Island.

Another man, a "political prisoner," manifested symptoms of insanity. His friends, and some of the physicians, who were among the prisoners, called Lieutenant Wood's attention to the case. He treated the statement with contemptuous indifference at the time, but a few days afterwards we learned that the man had been sent to the guard-house. Here he became thoroughly insane. Instead of being sent instantly to an Asylum, he was kept, for some ten days, in the guard-house, and in double irons. His friends were not allowed free access to him, and surrounded by strange soldiers, he was, at times, apparently in an agony of dread. His shrieks were fearful, and one night, as he imagined he was about to be murdered, his screams were painfully startling to hear. In some of these paroxysms, he was actually gagged by the soldiers. He was subsequently removed to an Asylum, where, I believe, he eventually improved or recovered. A letter, written by one of our number to the counsel of the unfortunate man, in Baltimore, urging the exercise of his influence with the Government, on behalf of the sufferer,

was not allowed to reach its destination, although directed to the care of Lieut. General SCOTT.

Among the pettier annoyances we underwent, the trouble we had about our washing may be mentioned. At first, we were allowed to send our clothes over to Long Island, where they were well enough washed, but for some reason best known to himself, Lieutenant WOOD interfered, and determined to have the washing done inside of the Fort, under his own supervision. It must have been a very fair speculation for him, for his charges were high, and the work was so carelessly performed, that he must have employed the fewest hands possible to do it. What he charged me by the piece, I cannot say, for he helped himself to his bill before he handed over my money to the officer who escorted us to Fort Warren. Probably it would not have been altogether safe to have demanded an account, for one of the Sergeants was put under arrest for complaining, as he stated to the prisoners, of Lieutenant WOOD's prices for washing. On one occasion, Lieutenant WOOD, in full view of the prisoners, kicked one of his boat's crew from the door of his own quarters, and continued the assault until the man had retreated almost the whole length of the balcony upon that side of the Fort. I mention this as an illustration of his mode of dealing with his subordinates. Of the propriety and manliness of such a proceeding, on the part of the Commanding Officer, others can judge for themselves.

Many of the prisoners had friends and acquaintances in New York, but most of these were either afraid, or did not care to show any kindness or attention to parties who were under the ban of a suspicious and tyrannical Government. Some few people in that city, had the courage and inclination to render us any service in their power, and prominent among these was Mr. CRANSTON, of the New York Hotel; but the number of those who thus acted was singularly small.

I cannot take leave of this portion of my narrative without recording the obligations under which the prisoners in Fort La Fayette must ever remain, to Mrs. GEO. S. GELSTON and Mr. FRANCIS HOPKINS, who lived on Long Island just oppo-

site the Fort. They were unwearied in their efforts to alleviate our situation. Day after day, for weeks and months together, they manifested their good will in the most generous and substantial way. Food for those who were too poor to buy a decent meal, delicacies of all kinds for the sick, luxuries for others—all these were supplied by Mrs. GELSTON, with a bountiful and untiring hand. To her tender sympathy and generosity, very many of the prisoners were indebted for comforts which were absolutely necessary to enable them to endure the privations to which they were exposed, and I know I but inadequately fulfil the wishes of every one of the former inmates of Fort La Fayette, in thus giving public expression to thanks which they had no opportunity to return to their good friends in person.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that our opinions as to the sort of resistance we should offer to our oppressors, underwent no change in consequence of our cruel imprisonment in Fort La Fayette. I found on reaching there, that my father and most of his companions had taken the same view of their duty under the circumstances, as we had done; and with every day's prolongation of our sufferings, we were the more and more convinced, that with a despotism so atrocious, we ought to make no compromise.

The Steamboat "State of Maine."

ON the afternoon of the 28th of October, we were notified to prepare to leave Fort La Fayette on the following morning. We were then locked up in the various casemates and batteries for the rest of that day. The next morning our baggage was sent out to the wharf, we being still kept in close confinement, and a little after mid-day our baggage was brought back, and we were informed that the boat would not be ready that day. We were kept under lock and key all that day, and only permitted to go out to dinner. There was no conceivable reason for this last act of insolent harshness. On the morning of the 30th, we left the Fort on a small steamer, with a file of soldiers, and were carried up to Fort Columbus, on Governor's Island, and alongside of the steamer "State of Maine," which was lying at the wharf. She was a very ordinary looking river steamer, very low in the water, and very dirty. Her upper forward deck was covered with soldiers. She had been engaged in transporting soldiers and horses, and an experienced sea captain of our party, who managed to evade the sentinels and go over the vessel, informed me that between decks forward of the shaft, she was perfectly filthy. There were about one hundred and ten of us, and we were sent on board of the "State of Maine," and directed to pass into the upper after cabin. This cabin was long and dark, and in it there were about twenty-two or three small state rooms, each containing two berths. It opened, aft, upon a covered deck, which

was so small that, when our party collected there, it was considerably over-crowded. Just beneath the deck on which we were was the dining saloon, along the sides of which ran a double tier of berths. There may have been about twenty or twenty-five of these altogether. The whole after part of the vessel could not decently accommodate the one hundred and ten prisoners then on board. To our astonishment we learned that not only were we to take on board some seventeen "political prisoners" from Fort Columbus, but that the officers and soldiers who had been taken prisoners at Fort Matheras were to join us also. These numbered six hundred and forty-five. Remonstrance or complaint was useless. These additional prisoners were marched on board, the officers and "political prisoners" being sent to the after part of the boat with us, and the privates being packed in forward of the cabin, wherever it was possible for them to find standing room.

We did not get away from Fort Columbus until about 4½, P.M. While we were still lying at the wharf, it seems to have occurred to some of those in charge of us, that it was part of their duty to offer us something to eat. A large wicker basket, lined with tin, was then brought up full of water. It had been made to hold dirty plates and dishes, and had been used for that purpose, apparently, time out of mind, on the steamer. A soldier then brought up a box of crackers, and another appeared with a tin plate, which was several times replenished, containing large square pieces of boiled pork. Nine out of ten of these pieces were solid lumps of pure fat. A couple of old dirty-looking horse buckets of coffee were also provided. Such was the dinner furnished us. After this I saw no more of the pork, nor do I think there was any more on board, at least for the prisoners. Hunger compelled some of the prisoners to try and swallow the masses of blubber which were offered them, but many were unequal to the effort. A large proportion of the party dined, therefore, on crackers and water. When we started we had on board one hundred and twenty-seven "political

prisoners," six hundred and forty-five prisoners of war, and one hundred Federal soldiers, besides the officers and crew of the steamer. I subsequently learned that the only stores put on board for our subsistence consisted of one thousand and six pounds of hard bread, one hundred and twenty-eight pounds of coffee, and two hundred and fifty-eight pounds of sugar.

Thus loaded down almost to the water's edge, we headed for Long Island Sound. The discomfort of our situation cannot be described. Moreover, we all knew, for the naval officers among us had so said, and the officers of the boat admitted, that the vessel was, in her then condition, utterly unseaworthy, and that, if a moderate gale should catch us at sea, the chances were largely in favor of our going to the bottom.

About dusk I heard that supper had been prepared in the dining saloon, for the officers who had us in charge, and that, as far as it would go, those of us who chose to pay for it, could partake of it. It was at the same time stated, that the officers of the boat had received no notice of the number of the prisoners she was to carry, and had not made the slightest provision for them. Under such circumstances, but very few of us could get a single meal in the dining saloon. By dint of great patience and perseverance, I succeeded in getting some supper about nine o'clock at night. The next day, after many ineffectual efforts, I managed to get a very late breakfast, and that was the last meal I got from the officers of the boat or Government. I was far better off, however, than the mass of my companions; for Mrs. GELSTON again stood our friend. She had heard we were to leave Fort La Fayette, and had thoughtfully sent to those occupying the casemate in which I was, a huge basket of provisions for our journey. It contained pheasants, chickens, tongues, pies and other delicacies, and one of my room-mates, Mr. WARFIELD, and myself, consented, or perhaps volunteered, to take it under our especial charge during the journey. On these stores, I and my former room-mates lived for the ensuing two days, sharing them, however, as far as we could, with

other friends. But our supplies were wholly insufficient to meet any but the most limited demand, and we could extend our invitations to but few. Most of the prisoners had to put up with the hard bread and coffee, during the two days and nights we remained on board.

Just before dark, the clerk of the boat came on the after-deck to distribute the keys of the few state-rooms assigned to us, which until then had been kept locked. The North Carolina officers had the berths in the dining saloon. There were, as already mentioned, about twenty-two state-rooms altogether, in the upper after cabin, and one or two of these were used for different purposes by the officers of the boat, and one or two others could accommodate but one person each. It was obvious that not more than one-third of us would get any beds. Here again I was very fortunate, for I happened to be standing by Governor MOREHEAD, to whom the clerk gave the first key, and I was able to secure one. Those who failed to obtain berths, either in the dining saloon or state-rooms, and they constituted a very large majority of the party, had no alternative, but to drop down wherever they could, and try to sleep. After those who had beds had retired, the cabin presented a scene that no man who was present will be likely to forget. It was densely packed with men, in every possible position. Upon each of the hard wooden settees two or three persons had contrived to stow themselves in half recumbent positions, that were little likely to afford them the desired rest. Those who had chairs were sleeping on them, some sitting bolt upright, and some leaning back against the sides of the cabin. But many could get neither chairs nor places on the settees, and these were lying or sitting upon the floor. Over the latter had been strewn bread and pieces of fat pork, all of which being saturated with the expectorations of numberless tobacco chewers, had been trampled into a consistent mass of filth, by the feet of one hundred and fifty men. Some of the unfortunates, whom absolute weariness had compelled to lie down on the floor, were lucky enough, as they esteemed themselves, to obtain some newspapers, which they spread

between the dirt and their persons ; others had to take the floor as they found it, and the vacant spaces were so limited that many were not even allowed a choice of places. As for the prisoners of war, the privates, they seem to have slept, if they slept at all, wherever they could manage to stretch themselves. We were not suffered to go among them, but I could see from the door of the dining saloon, the morning after we started, that they were lying about between decks, on piles of coal, coils of rope, or the bare floor.

We reached Fort Warren about dusk on the evening of the 31st, and Colonel JUSTIN DIMICK, who commanded the Post, came on board. He said that he had only expected one hundred and ten prisoners, that not the slightest notice of the coming of the prisoners of war, had been given, and that he was wholly unprepared to receive us. He, however, ordered some three hundred of the North Carolina soldiers ashore, and said the rest of us must remain that night on board. Thus we had another cheerless and wretched night to look forward to. It passed like the previous one, and we were only too glad when day dawned, well knowing that whatever might happen, our situation could not be made worse.

That morning before we left the boat, I vainly endeavored to procure a glass of drinkable water. There was none to be had on board. The only supply of water left, was stale and foul and was used for washing, though not fit for that purpose. I was too thirsty to be particular, and having disguised the color and flavor of a glassful by pouring into it a teaspoonful of essence of ginger, I made shift to swallow it. I then breakfasted on the scraps which remained in our basket, and prepared to go ashore.

This account of the privations to which we were subjected on that occasion, I have neither over-stated nor over-colored. On a convict ship our position could have been no worse, and even on such a vessel, more regard would be manifested for the safety of the prisoners than was shown for ours. And all this was endured by numbers of gentlemen who would be disparaged by being compared, in point of charac-

ter, intelligence and position, with Mr. LINCOLN, Mr. STANTON, or Mr. SEWARD. It was an extremely fortunate thing, that the weather was fine, and the sea calm, after we passed out of the Sound. Wretched as our situation was, it would have been aggravated ten-fold, had many of the prisoners suffered from sea sickness. We were, however, spared such addition to our troubles. I need not therefore surmise, how miserable in such a case, our lot would have been, nor what would have been the inevitable result of our being overtaken by such a gale as set in the very night after we reached Fort Warren. With a very little forethought and trouble, and a very slight expenditure of money on the part of the Government, or of those of its officers who were charged with our transportation to Fort Warren, our journey might have been made in tolerable decency, if not comfort. As it was, we were treated with as little consideration as cattle. The brutality that characterised the higher officers of the Government, seemed, as far as we could then judge, to be equally conspicuous in most of their subordinates.

Fort Warren.

WHEN we reached Fort Warren, late in the afternoon of the 31st, Colonel DIMICK came on board, as I have stated, and informed us that he had only expected about a hundred "political prisoners." He invited several gentlemen to go ashore and see the quarters he had set apart for us. Among these were Commodore BARRON, Mayor BROWN, and Messrs. FAULKNER, CHARLES HOWARD and KANE. They hurriedly inspected the various rooms by candle-light, and after about an hour's absence they returned. That night they selected their quarters and their room-mates, as Colonel DIMICK had requested them to do.

About 10 o'clock the following morning we landed, and were marched into the Fort, where the roll was called, and we were shown to our respective quarters. The Fort is situated on an island containing forty-three acres, nearly the whole of which is covered by the fortifications. The interior work is built in the most substantial manner, of granite, and encloses a space of some five or six acres. It is an irregular structure, which it is impossible for me to describe accurately. The five principal sides are each about three hundred feet long. Two of these sides are divided into deep casemates, on a level with, and opening on the parade-ground. One other side contains rooms intended for officers' quarters. There were ten of these rooms on a level with, and looking out on the parade-ground, and immediately in the rear of these were ten more fronting on the space between the curtain and an exterior work. Beneath these twenty rooms, both in front

and rear, there were twenty more of the same size as those above, the inner or front ones being, of course, basement rooms, and opening upon an area about seven feet wide and ten or twelve deep, and those in the rear looking out on the space between the interior and exterior works above mentioned, which was below the level of the inside enclosure. Between the front and rear rooms, above and below, there were also two very small dark rooms, intended, I presume, for store-rooms. All the interior or front rooms were lighted by large windows, and those in the rear by narrow loop holes, about six inches wide, at the outer edge, and four or five feet high. The upper rooms were all neatly finished, and those in front were very light and airy. The lower rooms had cement floors, and were much less desirable. Sixteen of the rooms I have attempted to describe, were assigned to the "political prisoners," and the officers who were prisoners of war, viz.: four front rooms opening on the parade-ground, and four immediately beneath them, and eight just in the rear of these, together with the smaller rooms or closets which separated the front and rear rooms. One large, long casemate, in another side of the Fort, was devoted to the same purpose. Commodore BARRON and several of the army officers with him, and Marshal KANE, selected one of the four upper front rooms; the North Carolina officers of the highest rank another; the Baltimore Police Commissioners another; and the Mayor of Baltimore and Messrs. MOREHEAD and FAULKNER the fourth. These several parties having, in accordance with Colonel DIMICK's request, made choice of their rooms, also selected as their companions, in their new quarters, those who had been their room-mates at Fort Columbus and Fort La Fayette. I thus found myself again among my old room-mates. The other prisoners, generally choosing their own room-mates, were quartered in the other rooms and in the casemate before mentioned. The crowded condition of the room I occupied will illustrate the situation of our fellow prisoners. This room was nineteen-and-a-half by fifteen feet, and one of the little closets of which we had the

use, was ten by ten-and-a-half feet. Into this room and closet, nine of us were crowded. So close together were our beds, that it would have been impossible to have put another one in the room without blocking up the doors. There was scarcely space enough for another, even in the middle of the floor. Those who got into the long casemate were far worse off than their other fellow prisoners. This casemate was, I should suppose, less than fifty feet long and less than twenty wide, and so crowded was it, that the inmates were compelled to sleep in bunks which were arranged one above the other, in three tiers. They had also to cook their meals in the same room.

When we were installed in our quarters we began to look around to see what sort of provision had been made for us. As we had been told that at least a hundred of us had been expected, we naturally took it for granted that something had been done to make us tolerably comfortable. Our former experience ought to have prevented us from entertaining any such hopes, but we were not long under any delusion. No preparation had apparently been made for one single prisoner, except that fires were kindled in the various rooms. Colonel DIMICK, whose demeanor towards us was on all occasions that of a gentleman, seemed to be annoyed at the position in which he found himself. He informed us of his inability to provide for us decently, and expressed his regret at the fact. But his good feeling could not much alleviate our situation. Not a bedstead, bed, blanket or chair was then furnished any of us. Those of us who had carried on the bedding we had purchased at Fort La Fayette, were able to lend a few articles to our friends, but the great majority of the prisoners were forced to sleep upon the floor, upon their great coats and the few cloaks and shawls they happened to have or could borrow. This state of things continued two or three weeks, at the end of which time, Colonel DIMICK managed to have the furniture, which had been so tardily provided for us at Fort La Fayette, sent on to Fort Warren. In the mean time, many had, at their own expense, supplied themselves from Boston with necessary articles,

but the others had to shift for themselves as they best could, until the arrival of the furniture from our former prison. The day we landed, the only dinner provided for us consisted of a barrel of crackers and a couple of raw hams, which were placed on the head of a flour barrel, in front of our quarters. We were informed that the Government would allow us the ordinary soldiers' rations, but that we would have to cook them ourselves, and a place would be given us for the purpose. Mr. HALL, the purveyor for the laborers and officers at the Post, agreed to furnish us that evening with supper. It consisted of cold, boiled salt beef, bread and bad coffee, which however, we were hungry enough to eat with considerable relish. This was the only meal we had that day, or until noon the day following. Not knowing exactly how we could manage our rations after they should be distributed to us, a number of us by Colonel DIMICK's permission, requested Mr. HALL to furnish us two meals a day, at least until we could make some other arrangement. This he agreed to do at the rate of one dollar a day each, and a good business he must have made of it, for scantier and worse entertainment we had never seen provided at anything like half the price. We were forced, however, to continue this arrangement for a week, at the end of which time we took matters into our own hands. We obtained the use of two casemates and cooking stoves, and established two clubs or messes, and engaged some of the North Carolina prisoners to cook and wait in the mess-room, and also to attend to our quarters. As there was a Government boat running regularly between the Fort and Boston, we ordered daily supplies of meats, milk, and vegetables, and with the addition of our rations, were enabled to live with reasonable comfort. After the North Carolina prisoners were exchanged, we from time to time, got servants from Boston, almost invariably foreigners, and continued, though at an increased expense, to live as we had previously done.

In speaking of our treatment, I speak solely of the "political" or "State prisoners." As I know nothing of the way in which prisoners of war are entitled to be,

or usually are, dealt with, I have nothing to say upon that point. I will merely state, that the North Carolina prisoners, numbering about six hundred, exclusive of their commissioned officers, were confined in eight casemates. They were thus terribly crowded. During the first two or three days they had scarcely anything to eat. I do not know the cause of this, but the fact is, that they absolutely suffered from hunger. Afterwards they received their rations regularly, and large boilers were placed in front of their quarters for them to cook in. These were in the open air, and not in any way sheltered, and the men had to cook there in all kinds of weather, during the time they remained, which was until they were exchanged in February, 1862.

In front of the range of rooms occupied by the "political prisoners," and about ten yards off, sentinels were placed, and beyond them we were not allowed to go. The officers who were prisoners of war, were permitted to walk about the whole island, both within and without the Fort, on their parole; but we were confined to the space some hundred yards long, by ten wide, between our quarters and the line of sentinels just mentioned. This regulation was enforced for nearly six months, and as we understood at the time, was specifically directed by the Government. During that time, we were kept strictly within those narrow bounds. Why men who were taken with arms in their hands were less rigorously treated than we, was obvious. The Confederate Government could exact certain rights for them, but there was no power or law in this part of the country, to protect us. The day after our arrival, I wrote to my wife this hurried account of our journey from Fort La Fayette.

♦

"FORT WARREN, Boston Harbor, *Saturday, Nov. 2d.*

"We have arrived here safely, and a more uncomfortable set of human beings have never, I trust, been collected before in these quarters. We left Fort La Fayette on Wednesday morning, and together with the prisoners from Fort Columbus, came here on one of the Sound steamers. There were about four times as many on board as the vessel could accommodate, and the only food which the Gov-

ernment provided was bread and fat pork and a liquid called coffee.— I saw the most prominent gentlemen of Maryland, Kentucky and Virginia drinking what purported to be coffee, out of a dirty horse-bucket, while water was served out to them from a large tin, such as is used to hold the greasy plates after dinner. Pieces of fat about two inches square, were handed round to those who could swallow them, and a man's fingers constituted the table furniture. A number of elderly gentlemen could not at night find a place to sit; and scores of my friends slept for two nights upon the floors, which were the filthiest that you are ever likely to see. At this place no provision whatever had been made for us. Many of the rooms are not fit for the accommodation of human beings in the winter months in this climate. No beds have been furnished, and none are to be—a sack of straw being the only thing which the Government will supply. Even such bedding as this has not arrived. We have been here twenty-four hours, and most of the party have lived on a little raw ham and bread, and have slept on the floor. Not even a blanket has been given us. I have managed to get along better than most of my fellow prisoners, for I brought my mattress and a basket of provisions. I also was lucky enough to secure a state room. The privations I have suffered, serious as they were, have been light compared to those which numbers of my companions have endured. It is now 10 o'clock, and we are as yet vainly trying to get some breakfast, which a caterer from Boston has agreed to furnish. I thus give you the brief outlines of this phase of our story. It is not necessary that I should supply the comments. I will write again when I have had a little time to look about me. The officers, as far as I can judge, are polite and kind, which in my late experiences is a novelty. It has been our misfortune to meet but few, if any, gentlemen, thus far, and a change in that particular will be grateful."

I give this letter at length, because it was returned to me by order of Colonel DIMICK, who sent me word that his instructions prohibited the transmission of any such intelligence as I had attempted to send my family. It is evident from the suppression of so simple a statement of facts, that the Government had determined to resort to all the means in its power, to prevent the victims of its tyranny from making their situation known to the public. We were specifically ordered not to discuss public affairs in our letters. It is needless to recapitulate all the admonitions we received upon this point. The following

examples will suffice. On the 8th of April, 1862, a letter was returned to a "political prisoner" with this note, in Colonel DIMICK's handwriting :

"The Government require the gentlemen at Fort Warren to avoid, in their correspondence, discussing the differences between the North and South, or giving any account of the battles between the contending forces. This letter is, therefore, respectfully returned."

An order relating to the letters of prisoners was posted in our quarters, on the 10th of April, which concluded thus :

"Military and political subjects must be avoided in all correspondence.

"LIEUT. JAMES S. CASEY, U. S. A.

"*Officer in Charge.*"

Notwithstanding these regulations, we continued to discuss, from time to time, the forbidden subjects, and, as a large number of letters were to be inspected every day, many, which were in violation of the above orders, found their way to our friends. But this happened, I suppose, because the examining officer had not time to read the letters very carefully, for the rules were never directly relaxed or modified.

After we had been a few weeks in Fort Warren, an order touching the employment of counsel by prisoners, and signed by Mr. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, the Secretary of State, was read to us by the United States Marshal for the District. We were unable to procure an exact copy of that order, but we afterwards obtained a copy of a similar one which was read, somewhere about the same time, to the prisoners then in Fort La Fayette. This latter order was signed by a Mr. SETH C. HAWLEY, chief clerk of the Metropolitan Police Commissioners of New York, who subsequently visited us also. He was acting, as he stated, under Mr. SEWARD's directions. The order ran as follows, and was read at Fort La Fayette on 3d Dec., 1861 :

“I am instructed by the Secretary of State to inform you that the Department of State of the United States will not recognize any one as an attorney for political prisoners, and will look with distrust upon all applications for release through such channels; and that such applications will be regarded as additional reasons for declining to release the prisoners.

“And further, that if such prisoners wish to make any communication to the Government, they are at liberty, and are requested to make it directly to the State Department.

“SETH C. HAWLEY.”

The purport and phraseology of the order read to us in Fort Warren on the 28th of November, and of the above were identical, except that stronger language was used in the former. Instead of being told that the employment of counsel on our behalf, would be regarded as an additional reason “for declining to release” us, we were distinctly notified that any attempt to communicate with the Government through such channels, would be considered a sufficient reason for prolonging our confinement. We were thus precluded from endeavoring to set our respective cases in their proper light before the State Department, even if we had desired, as some of the prisoners did, to pursue that course. We could look for no relief except such as should be voluntarily vouchsafed to us, by what our oppressors were wont to call “the freest and most beneficent government on earth.” The privilege of sending our communications “directly to the State Department,” was one to which our past experience forbade us to attach much importance. The fate of the communications we had already addressed to the various Government officers, gave us little encouragement to seek redress in that way, and the sequel will show that our view of the matter was correct. The day after the foregoing order had been promulgated, Colonel DIMICK caused this further order to be read to us :

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, Nov. 27th, 1861.*”

“COLONEL :

“The Secretary of State has been informed that Mr. WM. H. LUDLOW, has represented to some of the prisoners confined in Fort La Fayette, that he possesses or can use some influence in their behalf, and has made it a ground for obtaining from them money in hand, or engagements for money or other valuable consideration.

Discountenancing and repudiating all such practices, the Secretary of State desires that all the State prisoners may understand, that they are expected to revoke all such engagements now existing, and avoid any hereafter, as they can only lend new complications and embarrassments to the cases of prisoners on whose behalf the Government might be disposed to act with liberality. All persons can communicate directly by letter with the Secretary of State through Colonel DIMICK himself, or any unpaid and disinterested agent whom they may find for that purpose.

[Signed]

“WM. H. SEWARD.”

What the cause or precise object of this order was, it was difficult to comprehend. Mr. LUDLOW had had the freest access to the prisoners in Fort La Fayette, and he could only have obtained that privilege from Mr. SEWARD himself, whose Department then had us in charge. Why, then, was he so suddenly and publicly denounced? This question we could not and did not much care to solve; but a fact that transpired immediately afterwards, satisfied us that the apparent quarrel between the two was not irreconcilable. At all events, Mr. SEWARD's hostility did not much damage Mr. LUDLOW, for but a week or two had passed, when it was announced that the latter gentleman, whose proceedings had been “discountenanced and repudiated,” had received a commission in the Army. He was made a Major, and appointed a member of General DIX's staff, at Baltimore, where he remained until General DIX was assigned another Post. That Mr. SEWARD was animated by a desire to protect us against imposition, or by any other creditable motive, none of us for an instant believed. But whatever may have been his object in excluding Mr. LUDLOW from what might have been supposed

to be a profitable field of professional labor, he certainly did not prevent other lawyers from acting on behalf of the prisoners. How many of these employed counsel, or declined to "revoke" pre-existing engagements, I cannot say. But, in two cases, at least, the paid counsel of "political prisoners" in Fort Warren, were in communication with Mr. SEWARD, about and subsequent to the date of these orders. Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON, was acting for, at least two gentlemen in Fort Warren, whose release he afterwards obtained; and Mr. EVARTS, of New York, was acting, and continued long after to act, as counsel for another, and was, as such, in communication with the Government.

From time to time, offers were made to different prisoners to discharge them conditionally. Sometimes an oath of allegiance, which bound the party taking it to support the "United States Government," notwithstanding any action which his State might take, was proposed as the price of his release. This was almost uniformly declined. Then various forms of parole were proposed, which bound the respective parties either not to go into the Seceded States, or not to go into the Border States, or not to correspond with any one in any of those States, or not to take up arms against the Government. The simplest parole, in form, merely imposed an obligation not to give "aid and comfort to the enemies in hostility against the United States;" but, as any discussion of the corruption or imbecility of the Administration was regarded by it as treasonable, this form of parole was probably for its purposes, the most comprehensive. Many of the prisoners accepted some or other of the terms proposed, and were released; others declined to make any concessions whatever—insisting that, as they had been arbitrarily imprisoned, they would not recognize the right, which Mr. LINCOLN claimed, to impose upon them any conditions. It is to those who took and maintained this ground that the ensuing portion of this narrative mainly refers.

One fact, however, concerning the negro servants of the prisoners of war, may be worthy of mention. There were

with the officers, who were taken at Fort Hatteras, three negroes, two of whom were slaves. At Fort Columbus the Government had offered them their discharge on taking the oath of allegiance, which they had declined. At Fort Warren the oath was again tendered to them, and again refused. Finally, they were offered their liberty on giving their simple parole not to do anything hostile to the Government. They inquired whether, if they went out on such conditions, they would be furnished with passes to go South. They were told these could not be granted, and they then refused to accept the terms offered them. They were bent on returning to their old homes in North Carolina; and one of them took very high ground in the matter, saying, in reply to an inquiry about his refusal to give his parole, that he "wanted to go out honorable." They subsequently went back to North Carolina with the Fort Hatteras prisoners, when the latter were exchanged.

On the 14th of November a notice was posted in the doorway of our quarters, signed by Mr. SETH C. HAWLEY, apprising us of his intention to visit Fort Warren for the purpose of inquiring what prisoners would take the oath, as a preliminary to the investigation of their several cases. On the following day Mr. HAWLEY appeared, and in pursuance of his purpose, called on the prisoners in their quarters. Almost every one rejected his proposition, many taking occasion to couple with their very unequivocal refusal, expressions of contempt for Mr. HAWLEY and those who sent him.

Several of the Members of the Legislature desiring to put in writing the reasons for their refusal to submit to the conditions which Mr. HAWLEY came to propose, signed and handed to him a paper which Mr. S. T. WALLIS had drawn up as his own answer to the inquiry:

“FORT WARREN, *November 15th*, 1861.

“MR. SETH C. HAWLEY,

“SIR :

“A notice signed by you appeared this afternoon, upon the walls of the quarters in which we are confined. We quote it, in full, as follows, viz :

“The undersigned appointed by the Secretary of State, U. S., to examine into the cases of the political prisoners at Fort Warren, desires those prisoners to be prepared, to-morrow, to answer the question whether they would severally be willing to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States, if they should be set at liberty. Further inquiry into each case to depend upon the answer. To-morrow there will be an opportunity to answer the question.

(Signed,)

“SETH C. HAWLEY.

‘FORT WARREN, *November 14th*, 1861.’

“We presume we are among those whom you designate as “political prisoners,” and supposing that you may call upon us, to-morrow, to answer the inquiry which you have indicated, we desire to furnish our reply in our own language, in order that we may not be misunderstood or misrepresented.

“As we understand your notice, ‘further inquiry into each case,’ is to depend upon the willingness of the individual to take the oath which you propose ; that is to say, that no man’s case will be inquired into, unless he first signify his willingness to swear as required. We have now been in confinement for more than two months. We were arrested, without process or form of law, upon the alleged authority of the Secretary of State of the United States, who clearly has no lawful authority, whatever, in the premises. We have been dragged from one fortress of the Government to another, by military force, and have been dealt with in a manner which would have been indecent if we had been convicted felons, instead of free men, accused of no offence against the laws of our country. We have been separated from our homes and families, and exposed to constant suffering and privation, to the injury of health, the prejudice of our interests and good name, and in flagrant violation of every right which we have inherited as American citizens. More than this, as members of the Legislature of Maryland, we have been unlawfully withdrawn from the performance of our official duties, in derogation

of the constitutional rights of our State and her people. To tell us, after all this, that our 'case' has not even been inquired into, thus far, and that it will not even now be made the subject of inquiry, by the Government at whose hands we have suffered so much wrong, unless we will first submit to conditions as unlawful and arbitrary as our arrest and imprisonment, is to offer to each of us an insult, which we should forfeit our self-respect if we did not repel.

“ If we are accused of having committed any offence known to the law, we are entitled to be lawfully and publicly charged therewith, and to be tried—not by you, nor by the Secretary of State—but by the constituted tribunals of the District, from which we have been violently and illegally removed. If we have been guilty of no crime against the law, we are entitled to be discharged, without any terms or conditions, and the Secretary of State—if you really represent him—is only visiting us with an additional outrage, by attempting to impose such upon us.

“ We are, your obedient servants,

“ E. G. KILBOURN,
S. TEACKLE WALLIS,
T. PARKIN SCOTT,

WM. G. HARRISON,
HENRY M. WARFIELD,
J. HANSON THOMAS.”

The reasons which influenced the parties to the foregoing document were the same that operated upon all those who declined to make any compromise with the Administration. We still felt, in addition to our own sense of personal wrong, that the cause of constitutional liberty in our State was at stake, and that, as far as our efforts would avail, we were bound to defend it. A refusal to acquiesce in the proceedings by which the Government had outraged the people of Maryland, was the only mode of resisting arbitrary power that was left to us, and we had no hesitation in adhering to our course. But while we, in Fort Warren, were thus endeavoring to discharge what we felt to be our duty in such an exigency, we were hopefully looking to those who were differently situated to support us. Armed resistance on the part of the people of our State would, we well knew, have been utterly vain; but we hoped there would, at least, be a continual and vigorous assertion of their rights from all whose position

gave them any influence, or any opportunity of making themselves heard. We thought it possible that when Congress met it might manifest a disposition to compel Mr. LINCOLN to surrender the power he had usurped, and conform thenceforth to the plain dictates of the Constitution and the laws. In this we were disappointed. Some few brave and honest men manfully denounced the course of the Administration, but an overwhelming majority of both Houses, while uttering unmeaning platitudes about our "free Government," our "indestructible constitution," and our "inalienable rights;" subserviently supported every despotic and infamous act of Mr. LINCOLN and his advisers. Others held their peace.

About this time, being struck by some paragraphs in a speech delivered, in the Senate, by Mr. TRUMBULL, of Illinois, early in December, 1861, I addressed him the subjoined note :

"FORT WARREN, *December 8th, 1861.*

"HON. LYMAN TRUMBULL, *United States Senate,*

"SIR :

"In the speech delivered by you in the Senate on the 5th inst., I find the following language: '*The power of Congress to pass a bill of this kind is, to my mind, unquestionable; but I do not place it upon the same ground which has been advanced in some quarters, that in times of war or rebellion, the military is superior to the civil power; or that in such times, what persons may choose to call necessity, is higher than, and above the Constitution. Necessity is the plea of tyrants, and if our Constitution ceases to operate the moment a person charged with its observance thinks there is a necessity to violate it, it is of little value. * * * * * As unpopular as the avowal may be for the moment among the thoughtless, I here declare that I am for suppressing this monstrous rebellion according to law, and in no other way. * * * * * We are fighting to maintain the Constitution, and it especially becomes us, in appealing to the people to come to its rescue, not to violate it ourselves. How are we better than the rebels, if both alike set at nought the Constitution.*' I take leave to recommend these emphatic words to your re-perusal and re-consideration in connection with the following facts. I am a citizen

of the State of Maryland, and, of course of the United States. On the 12th of September last, I was carried from my house at midnight, by armed men, who professed to be acting under the orders of the Secretary of State, but who refused to produce any warrant whatever in justification of their proceedings. I was carried to Fort McHenry and have been transferred successively to Fortress Monroe, Fort La Fayette, and Fort Warren, and am now confined in the latter. Nearly three months have elapsed since I have been imprisoned, and no charge has been or can be preferred against me, for I have violated no law, State or Federal. My offence is that I have denied the justice and policy of the present war, and that I have insisted on the right of Maryland to ally herself with either section in the event of the dissolution of the Union—the final destruction of the political system which she aided to establish. I have expressed political opinions in opposition to those entertained at Washington, and for this I am now in prison. Now I presume that you have some regard for the rights of each and every one of your fellow citizens, and for your own reputation likewise, and that after the language I have quoted, and the facts I have referred to, you cannot refuse to call public attention to my case, and to denounce, from your place in the Senate, the wrongs that have been done me and scores of my fellow prisoners. If you expect a future generation to vindicate your reputation for integrity, it is absolutely necessary that you should intervene publicly in behalf of men who have been made the victims of just such arbitrary and unconstitutional measures as you have protested against. I trust it is not too much for me to anticipate that your action in this matter will be such as your avowed opinions have led me to look for.

“ I am, very respectfully,

“ F. K. HOWARD.”

Mr. TRUMBULL did not “ call public attention to my case;” but a few days afterwards he did introduce in the Senate a resolution calling on the Secretary of State for information as to whether he had caused the arrest of any individuals in the various States, and if so, for what cause. This resolution was advocated, by Mr. TRUMBULL and one or two others, with vigor and ability, but was referred to one of the Standing Committees, and never heard of more. Mr. TRUMBULL, apparently, soon ceased to trouble himself about the matter.

To the course of our own Representatives in Congress we looked with great anxiety. I must frankly say, that we did expect them to take ground publicly against the usurpations of the President. We cared less, far less, about any private effort on their part to extricate us from the situation in which we were placed, than we did for some outspoken vindication of the rights of the State of Maryland—some open denunciation of the wrongs which had been done her people. Under the influence of these feelings, I wrote to two of the Representatives of our State, Mr. MAY, of the House, and Mr. PEARCE, of the Senate. I had heard that Mr. MAY desired to comment, in his place, upon the course of the Government, but was restrained by the conviction that our chances of release would be thereby damaged. I accordingly wrote to him :

“ FORT WARREN, *January 11th*, 1862.

“ DEAR SIR:—

“ It has been reported here that you have hitherto refrained from expressing, in Congress, your views upon the situation of Maryland, lest any public effort to aid or vindicate us should result to our disadvantage. As I am one of the parties interested, permit me to assure you that I desire no such consideration for me to influence any man’s course. On the contrary, I conceive it to be the duty of each and every citizen of Maryland, at all times and in all places, to lift up his voice against the arbitrary proceedings of the Administration, and to denounce the wrongs done us, be the consequences what they may. At all events, allow me to say, that I shall never be the one to complain of such a course on your part, however severely it may be visited on me by those in power. I write this because, having heard the rumor in question, I desire to make my own position perfectly clear.

Respectfully, yours,

“ F. K. HOWARD.

“ HON. HENRY MAY, *Washington, D. C.*”

To this letter I received no reply, but Mr. MAY referred to it in a letter to Colonel KANE, which he requested him to inform me of, and said :

“ I am solely governed by public considerations, as I ought to be, and of such a nature that, being founded on my own sense of duty, HOWARD can neither release me from them, nor can —— wish me to yield them up for any consideration personal to him or myself.”

I immediately wrote again to Mr. MAY :

“ FORT WARREN, *February 9th*, 1862.

“ MY DEAR SIR :—

“ Colonel KANE has just shown me a letter, in which, referring to the note I addressed you some time since, you say that you are actuated by ‘ public considerations,’ founded on your own sense of duty, from which I cannot release you. I am somewhat surprised that you should have so far misapprehended the tenor of my note. You will recollect that I simply expressed the wish that, in discharging what I conceived to be your duty, you should not be influenced by the fear that the consequences of your action might be visited on us. So far from assuming to release you from any obligations your sense of duty imposed on you, I merely desired to free you from those personal considerations which I heard had, up to that time, prevented you from discharging a public duty most thoroughly. We did differ perhaps about the nature of the public duty which, in this crisis, has devolved upon you, and the manner in which it should be met. If I had thought we could have so differed, I would probably have refrained from referring to the subject. But I did suppose, considering your own late experiences and our position, and the relations existing between you and us, that but one path was open to you. I did imagine that we would agree upon the proposition that it became Marylanders to resist and denounce the despotism established among us, rather than wait until the evil might correct itself, or be overthrown by others. I am, therefore, for the first time, apprised of my error and thus hasten to explain it. Permit me also to say that as I did not expect any immediate personal advantage to accrue to me from the course I hoped our representatives would pursue in Congress, I was animated by no such considerations when I wrote to you. On the contrary, I thought it possible that such efforts to vindicate our rights might redound to our disadvantage, but I preferred to see the liberties and honor of my State boldly vindicated, even if I paid the penalty. These are still my views, and time will, I am confident, confirm their propriety and justice.

“ I remain, very respectfully yours,

“ F. K. HOWARD.

“ HON. HENRY MAY, *Washington, D. C.*”

Between the dates of the foregoing letters, I wrote also to Senator PEARCE, of Maryland.

“ FORT WARREN, *January 24, 1862.*

“ DEAR SIR:—

“ As one of the Representatives of Maryland in the United States Senate, I take the liberty of calling your attention to the fact that I, with other of my fellow-citizens, am still a prisoner in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor. You are probably familiar, as is the whole civilized world, with the circumstances under which so many gentlemen of our State have been dragged from their homes and imprisoned by order of the general Government. It may not be amiss, however, to refer to the manner and causes of my arrest and detention. A little after midnight on the 12th of September last, I was seized in my own house by a band of armed men, who professed to be acting under the orders of Mr. WM. H. SEWARD, but who showed no warrant whatever for their proceedings. The indignities to which I was subjected, and the painful scenes consequent upon that outrage, I need not detail to you. Suffice it to say, that my house was searched from garret to cellar, my private papers were examined and carried off, and I was sent to Fort McHenry. From that place I was transferred successively to Fortress Monroe, Fort Lafayette, and Fort Warren, and at each of these Posts I have been kept a close prisoner, and have received the treatment of a common prisoner of war. It is proper that I should say to you that I have not in any way whatever, violated any law, State or Federal. I was one of the editors of the *Daily Exchange*, and expressed through the columns of that journal, opinions at variance with those entertained by the Administration. I opposed the war upon the South, and this I had an indisputable right to do. I argued that it would only render the separation of the two sections more certain, that it would leave us burthened with a fearful debt, and that it would demoralize both Government and people, and lead us insensibly towards a despotism or anarchy. These views also I had the right to entertain and utter. Such is the sum total of my offences; and for such cause have I been held a close prisoner for more than four months under an arbitrary order of a member of the Cabinet. My business is in all probability ruined, and I leave you to conjecture what distress my family has suffered. In this matter my rights and the liberties of my native State have been alike contemptuously violated. Now, it seems to me, sir, that a Representative of Maryland has but one clear line of duty to pursue, and that is, to denounce

persistently and boldly the usurpations of the Executive. I am aware of the fact that you have more than once expressed your views upon this subject, on the floor of the Senate, but it has been when the topic was started by other Senators. Our Representatives have only played subordinate parts, in debates which others initiated and chiefly sustained. I am not aware that you or your colleagues have challenged the attention of the country to the wrongs done us, or have made any public or detailed statement in regard to individual cases here, of which there are many well calculated to arrest the attention and awaken the indignation of the people. Such a course might not, it is true, be productive of practical results to us, but it is, if you will permit me to say so, the path which I think it becomes those public men to follow who have been educated as, and are worthy of the name of American freemen.

Whatever might happen to individuals, the principles which underlie our Government, would thus be vindicated, and they can be manfully vindicated, at present, in no other way.

“ I have written to you more plainly than you may perhaps think warrantable. But I feel that I need offer no apology for so doing — I have been subjected to personal outrage and political degradation. You are a representative of Maryland and have a high, and it may be a dangerous duty to discharge; for as a citizen of that State, I have a right to ask that you should even jeopard your liberty in defence of mine, and that you should uphold, even though it be in an unavailing struggle, the honor of our State. This I do, and I trust that in dealing thus frankly with this question, I have not uttered anything that is otherwise than personally respectful to you. If so, I have done violence to my own feelings and intentions, but I have too much at stake to hesitate to speak with perfect candor.

“ I remain, very respectfully,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ F. K. HOWARD.

“ HON. JAMES A. PEARCE, U. S. Senate, *Washington, D. C.*”

Receiving no answer, I again wrote to Mr. PEARCE:

“ FORT WARREN, *February 27th, 1862.*

“ DEAR SIR:—

“ On the 24th ult. I addressed you a letter from this place, but, as the regulations of the post-office are somewhat stringent in

these days, I am in doubt as to whether my letter ever reached you. Will you be good enough to let me know whether you received it? I do not write to solicit a reply to its contents, but only to get the information I have herein requested.

“ Respectfully, yours,

“ F. K. HOWARD.

“ HON. JAMES A. PEARCE, *Washington, D. C.*”

About a week afterwards I received this answer from Mr. PEARCE :

“ SENATE, *5th March, 1862.*

“ DEAR SIR :—

“ I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th February, and of the former one to which you allude. That letter I did not answer for more reasons than one. An indisposition from which I have long suffered, makes writing difficult and painful to me, and, as I was engaged in earnest efforts to procure the release of yourself and other gentlemen illegally and unjustly detained, as I think, I thought it best not to write till I could communicate fully. There was another reason. You seemed to think that, though I had on several occasions expressed my opinions freely as to these arrests, and had strongly condemned them, there was something else that I ought to have done, but had omitted to do. What this was you did not say, but you intimated that it was a high and might be a dangerous duty. What that duty was I could only infer from your remark, that what I had said in this Senate was but incidental only. Any direct proposition submitted by me would not, I think, be dangerous to me. And were it so, I trust I should not be deterred from the discharge of a duty by fear of consequences to myself.

“ But I am satisfied that no benefit to you, and to gentlemen alike unjustly confined, as I think, can be secured by any movement made by me in the Senate.

“ There is a disposition on the part of the Administration to relax these rigors towards all so situated.

“ But, at this time, I feel that I can neither benefit those I wish to serve, or promote sound doctrine on this subject, by any proceedings of mine. Mr. TRUMBULL's resolution was sent to the committee on the judiciary to be there entombed, and I doubt whether any resolution by me would be allowed to be discussed. But I shall watch for

any opportunity of changed feelings or altered circumstances, which will afford the least promise of doing anything useful in this respect. Mr. BROWN has been kept in confinement, I am sure, for fear that his release would complicate the police question in Baltimore. Most of the gentlemen with you, I know and esteem highly. They have my warmest sympathies, nor would I hesitate to pursue any practicable plan which promised to secure their release.

“ Very respectfully and truly yours,

“J. A. PEARCE.

“ F. K. HOWARD, ESQ.”

I have reproduced these letters simply to illustrate fully our views. They will show how anxious we were that the great principles which we were endeavoring to uphold, at such a cost to us, should be vindicated by those whose position enabled them to command, at least for a moment, the attention of the country. The gentlemen whom I had thus addressed thought a different course best and wisest ; but, however that may be, their decision was certainly deeply regretted by all the “ political prisoners ” from Maryland in Fort Warren.

In the early part of February we learned through the newspapers that we had been transferred from the custody of the State Department to that of the War Department. Very soon afterwards a lengthy Proclamation signed by Mr. STANTON appeared in the newspapers. It was dated February 14th, 1862, and was entitled “ Executive Order in Relation to State Prisoners, No. 1.” This Order contained a summary of Mr. STANTON’S views and opinions upon the revolution in the Southern States, its course and probable results, and upon the action of the Federal Government, and concluded thus :

“ The insurrection is believed to have culminated and to be declining. The President in view of these facts, and anxious to favor a return to the normal course of the administration, as far as a regard for the public welfare will allow, directs that all political prisoners or State prisoners now held in military custody be released on their subscribing a parole engaging them to render no aid or com-

fort to enemies in hostility to the United States. The Secretary of War will, however, in his discretion, except from the effects of this order, any persons detained as spies in the service of the insurgents, or others whose release at the present moment may be deemed incompatible with the public safety.

To all persons who shall be so released, and shall keep their parole, the President grants an amnesty for any past offences of treason or disloyalty which they may have committed. Extraordinary arrests will hereafter be made under the direction of the military authorities alone.

“By order of the President.

“EDWIN M. STANTON,

“*Secretary of War.*”

Shortly afterwards the following Order was also promulgated by the Secretary of War :

“OFFICIAL.

“*Executive Order, No. 2, in Relation to the State Prisoners.*

“WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington City, *Feb. 27th, 1862.*

“It is ordered:—

“*First*—That a special commission of two persons,—one of military rank and the other in civil life,—be appointed to examine the cases of the State prisoners remaining in the military custody of the United States, and to determine whether, in view of the public safety and the existing rebellion, they should be discharged, or remain in military custody, or be remitted to the civil tribunals for trial.

“*Second*—That Major General JOHN A. DIX, commanding in Baltimore, and the Hon. EDWARDS PIERRPONT, of New York, be and they are hereby appointed commissioners for the purposes above mentioned, and they are authorized to examine, hear and determine the cases aforesaid, *ex parte*, and in a summary manner, at such times and places as in their discretion they may appoint, and make full report to the War Department.

“By order of the President.

“EDWIN M. STANTON,

“*Secretary of War.*

After the Proclamation of February 14th, was issued, Colonel DIMICK was authorized to release a number of persons upon their signing a parole not to give "aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States;" and some weeks after the appointment of Mr. STANTON'S commission, orders were received for the release of other parties upon the same conditions. A number still refused to accept the proffered terms. Two of them, Messrs. WM. H. GATCHELL and WM. G. HARRISON, gave their reasons for so refusing, in the following letters to Mr. STANTON :

" FORT WARREN, *February 22d*, 1862.

" HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War*,

" SIR :

" I have been arrested and imprisoned for nearly eight months, in violation of the Constitution and Laws of the United States, having *never* committed any offence against either.

" I am not, in any legitimate sense, the subject of an amnesty. That, as I have always understood, is an offer of pardon *by the offended to the offending party*. The proclamation and the parole are to be taken together, and they reverse the order of things.

" I cannot consent to any terms, which even seem to justify the action of the Government towards me, or will place me in any different condition from all other free citizens.

" Your obedient servant,

" WM. H. GATCHELL."

" FORT WARREN, *February 22*, 1862.

" HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War*.

" SIR :—

" As a member of the Legislature of Maryland, I was taken from my dwelling house, at midnight of the 12th of September last, by the military police of the city of Baltimore, and have since been incarcerated in several prisons, and now nearly four months in this one, Fort Warren. I was told my arrest was by orders from Washington. I refuse any release, except an unconditional one, because I

will not seem even to acquiesce in an act, which has violated one of the most sacred bonds of our Government, (vide Article 4th, Amendments to the Constitution.) I have been arrested in defiance of law, punished without charge of crime, or trial, and judgment of my peers, and I will not sanction the insinuation which a parole affords, that any charge has been made or proved, warranting what has been done.

“ Respectfully,

“ W. G. HARRISON.”

As I saw, from the Proclamation and Order of the new Secretary of War, that he intended to deal with us arbitrarily, instead of justly, I did not think it necessary to await propositions which I could not accept, and which might not even be offered to me. I had never made any statement of my wrongs, nor had I individually forwarded any remonstrance against my arrest to the Government, and I therefore took that occasion to put my case upon the records of the Department, and sent this letter to Mr. STANTON :

“ FORT WARREN, MASS., *March 3d*, 1862.

“ HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, *Sec'y of War*,

“ SIR :

“ For six months past I have been detained in close custody in one or other of the Forts of the United States. I am, I believe, termed, in the novel language of the day, a “ political prisoner,” or “ prisoner of State.” Until recently I have been held subject to the order of the Secretary of State, but I now understand that I am specially in charge of the War Department. You, therefore, are responsible for my further detention. Under these circumstances it is proper that I should place upon record, in your office, a statement of the wrongs done me, and a demand for an instant and unconditional release.

“ On the night of the 12th of September, 1861, between 12 and 1 o'clock, I was made prisoner in my own house, in Baltimore, by a band of armed men, who, although they showed no warrant or authority for their proceedings, professed, and I have no doubt truly, to be acting under the orders of Mr. SEWARD, the Secretary of State. My house was searched from garret to cellar—my private papers ransacked, and

most of them, as far as I can learn, were carried off. I was kept for an hour or more a prisoner in my own parlor—armed men being stationed throughout my house, and even at the door of my children's chamber while this search was proceeding. I will not comment further upon the indignities then put upon me. I was finally carried off to Fort McHenry, leaving my house in possession of the myrmidons who had invaded it, and who refused to allow me to send for my wife's father or brother, who were in the immediate neighborhood, and to whom alone my family, at such a moment, could look for protection. I was detained at Fort McHenry during the following day, and then transferred to Fortress Monroe. At this latter post I was confined a close prisoner, with fourteen other gentlemen, for ten days, none of us having been suffered to leave for an instant the two casemates which were there assigned to us. So rigid was our imprisonment, that the very windows and doors, through which we could look out on the parade ground, were closed and padlocked. I was then carried, with my companions, to Fort La Fayette. At this latter Post no provision whatever had been made for our reception, and no decent accommodations were at any time provided. I slept in the dark, cold gun-battery, in which I was quartered, upon a bag of straw until I procured bedding from New York; and during my whole stay I was compelled to pay for my meals, as I could not have eaten the wretched rations offered me by the commanding officer. On the 1st of November last I was brought to this place on an over-crowded and filthy steamer, which was insufficiently supplied even with the miserable pork and bread provided for our subsistence. But for the fact that I had brought my bedding with me, I should have been forced, like many of my companions, to sleep for two weeks after my arrival here upon the bare floor, and without a single blanket to cover me. Such is a brief statement of the treatment to which I have been subjected.

“From the moment of my arrest down to this hour no charge of any sort has been preferred against me, and none can be alleged or established, for I have not violated any law whatever, State or Federal. I was, as you may perhaps be aware, one of the Editors of the Daily Exchange, a morning journal published in Baltimore. In that paper I had expressed my political opinions without reserve. I had, a year ago, advocated the adoption of some compromise by Congress which should stay the then threatened rupture between the North and South. I had subsequently deprecated any attempt to coerce the South, on the ground that it would only render the separation of the two sections inevitable and final. I asserted that war would leave the country in a worse condition than it found it; and, as it would entail upon us an enor-

mous debt, I felt it to be my duty to resist, and I did resist its initiation. I was unable to see how the Union could be preserved if a large majority of the Southern people were bent upon a separation, and I said so. I was unable to comprehend how the President could, from the injunction which commanded him to see that the laws were faithfully executed, derive authority to supersede and violate the fundamental laws of the land, and I said so. I was equally unable to see how, upon the theory of upholding the Constitution, I was under an obligation to support those who were daily manifesting their contempt for all its provisions—nor could I conceive how this Government had any existence whatever outside of the charter which established it. All these political opinions I had the absolute right to entertain and promulgate. I choose to refer to them here, because they constitute the offences for which I am undergoing punishment. Notwithstanding the fact that many thousands of persons in the Northern States had entertained and expressed these views within a twelve-month, the Administration determined that it was criminal in me to continue to hold and utter them, and has, therefore, arbitrarily inflicted upon me the indignities and wrongs which I have mentioned.

“Although no direct offer has been made to me to release me upon any terms whatsoever, I, nevertheless, presume that mine was one of the cases which, either your Proclamation of February 14th, or your Order of February 27th, was intended to cover. Now, as I cannot accept a conditional discharge, coupled with a gracious amnesty for offences which it is assumed I have committed, and as I must equally refuse to appear at the bar of an irresponsible tribunal to justify my right to the ordinary privileges of a citizen of Maryland, it is due to myself, at least, that I should state the reasons which impel me to the course I shall pursue. To the principles which govern my action now I shall appeal, when in the future I seek redress and enter upon my own vindication. It must be obvious to you, Sir, that I cannot, consistently with my own self-respect, accept any such conditional release as is referred to in your Proclamation, or avail myself of such amnesty. As I was despotically deprived of my freedom, I can make no compromise to regain it. As I am punished merely for venturing to dissent from the theories and policy of the Administration, I need and will ask no pardon. Nor, even if I should accept the terms mentioned, would I have any security that I would not, immediately after my release, be again subjected to precisely similar outrages to those which have already been inflicted upon me. As the Administration has once determined that I, by expressing my political sentiments, was giving ‘aid and comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States,’ I could

only escape a re-arrest by consenting to forego or conceal my opinions. This I will never, for one instant, do. I deem it to be my bounden duty to defend, to the last, every privilege and right to which, as an American citizen, I was born; and I shall do so until I am deprived of these by some known and fair process of law.

“Nor can you fail readily to comprehend why I decline to submit myself to the jurisdiction of the strange tribunal which is organized under your order of February 27th. I recognize no such judges of my guilt or innocence, of my loyalty or disloyalty, under the Constitution or laws of this land. The courts, both State and Federal, are in the unobstructed exercise of their several functions in Maryland; and they could long since have examined and disposed of any charge which might have been preferred against me. In them, and in them only, will I meet any accusation; and, while they are closed to my demand for justice, I shall decline to defend myself before any Star-Chamber commissioners whomsoever.

“Such, Sir, are the motives of my present action; and as the rights which I seek to uphold are not dependent upon the alleged necessities of the Administration, or upon the fate of battles, my convictions can not be affected by the supposed exigencies of the one, or the results of the other. I shall continue, then, to vindicate them, as I best may, with the consciousness that, after the delusions, the falsehoods, and the passions of the hour shall have passed away, my course will be approved by every honest man who has been educated in the knowledge of the privileges and duties of an American freeman. I have only now to demand, at your hands, a prompt release from the imprisonment to which I am so unjustly and arbitrarily subjected.

“I remain

“Your obedient servant,

“F. K. HOWARD.”

The only notice taken of this communication was the following note from the Adjutant-General:

“WAR DEPARTMENT,
 “WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *March 10th, 1862.*

“TO COLONEL JUSTIN DIMICK, *Fort Warren,*

“BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

“COLONEL:

“I will thank you to inform Mr. FRANK KEY HOWARD, that his letter of the 3d instant has been duly received, and that his case has been referred to the Commissioners named in the within order.

“By order of the Secretary of War.

“L. THOMAS,

“*Adjutant General.*”

With this letter was forwarded a printed copy of Mr. STANTON'S order of February 27th. The views of all those who had refused to accept any conditional discharge were, in the main, those set forth in the above letter to Mr. STANTON.

Our time at Fort Warren, as at our previous places of imprisonment, passed as may be supposed, monotonously enough. Living as we did in overcrowded apartments, it was impossible to read or write with any satisfaction. Restricted as we were for many months to our quarters or to a narrow strip of ground in front of them, we could derive little pleasure from exercising in the open air. To pace up and down within these contracted limits, where nothing was to be seen but the dull, gray walls of our prison was not a cheerful or invigorating mode of exercise. As month after month dragged wearily on, our hopes of release grew fainter and fainter, and though we seldom permitted ourselves to talk despondingly to each other, we did not think the less bitterly about the homes we had left and the indignities we had endured.

At Fort Warren the soldiers of the garrison differed, we were glad to find, from their comrades at Fort La Fayette. While the latter were incapable of delivering a message or of giving the simplest order, save in a manner at once insolent and brutal, the former were uniformly

good-natured and civil. COL. DIMICK, the Commandant of the Post discharged his disagreeable office in a way to which we could take no exception, and none of us in any interview with him ever found him otherwise than courteous and kind. As far as lay in his power he left nothing undone to promote our comfort.

On the 19th of April an order was issued giving us permission to walk, between 1 o'clock, P. M., and sunset, upon that portion of the ramparts immediately over our quarters. The space thus assigned us was just the length of that to which we had been limited upon the parade ground, that is, about three hundred feet. This extension of our bounds was an infinite relief to us, as from the ramparts we had a view of the bay and the surrounding shores.

The unwillingness of the War and State Departments to grant passes to persons desirous of visiting any prisoner, may be judged from the following note from Mr. SEWARD to REV. MR. HITSELBERGER, a Catholic priest residing in Boston. He had applied, at the request of Mr. T. PARKIN SCOTT, for a permit to enable him, as a priest, to visit the latter, and received this reply:

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

“WASHINGTON, *Nov. 20th, 1861.*

“To the REV. A. L. HITSELBERGER,

“BOSTON COLLEGE, Harrison Avenue, Boston.

“SIR :

“I have to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 15th instant, with a copy of that which you addressed to COL. DIMICK, on the 15th of November. This Department having adopted a rule which precludes all visits to political prisoners, even from Ministers of the Gospel—of any denomination—has hitherto strictly observed it.

If, however, the persons themselves shall in the event of sickness, or any other reasonable cause, require the services of their spiritual advisers, the rule would be relaxed in favor of any one of undoubted loyalty.

“I am Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“WILLIAM H. SEWARD.”

It was not until April that MR. HITSSELBERGER succeeded in obtaining a pass to visit Fort Warren.

Genl. DIX and Judge PIERREPONT, who had been appointed Commissioners to examine the cases of "State Prisoners" by Mr. STANTON'S order of February 27th, arrived at Fort Warren, May 7th, 1862. They were engaged about five hours in disposing of these "cases." Their "examination" consisted in asking one or two simple questions no way touching any crime or offence known to the laws, and in offering to release, on parole, most of the parties called before them. Several persons were released on some special grounds which distinguished their "cases" from those of the strictly "political prisoners," who unanimously rejected the proposals of the Commissioners. The latter did not attempt to say that the Government had any specific charges to prefer against those on whom it wished to impose conditions. That these prisoners had been confined simply because their opinions were in opposition to those of the members and partisans of the Administration, was tacitly conceded by the Commissioners in their so-called examination.

The following is a memorandum of the interview between Mr. WM. H. GATCHELL and Mr. STANTON'S Commissioners. It was drawn up by Mr. GATCHELL a few hours after his "examination."

"As I entered the room in which the Commissioners held their meeting, Genl. DIX advanced with his hand extended, saying, 'good morning, Mr. GATCHELL.' I declined the proffered hand, remarking, 'excuse me, Sir, if you please.' In a very short time, Judge PIERREPONT observed, 'I really forget, Mr. GATCHELL, whether you have been offered the parole or not, heretofore.' I replied, that 'I had been and that I had declined it, for the reasons stated in my answer to the Secretary of War, which I supposed he had seen.' He said he 'had not seen that answer.' I told him that 'I would furnish the Commissioners with a copy, that they might understand the grounds on which I placed my refusal to accept it.' I was then asked, 'whether I continued of the same mind?' I answered, 'certainly.' Then, said he, 'for the present, we have nothing more to do with your case.'

“I then turned to General DIX and said: ‘At the time we left Fort McHenry for Fort La Fayette, you, Sir, assured our families and ourselves that our treatment there should be as comfortable, if not more so, than at Fort McHenry; instead of which, for the first thirty days we were there, we were treated like brutes—that, but for the fact of our having taken our bedding with us, we should have been obliged to sleep upon the bare floor, and for fifteen days we had not a chair to sit upon.’ He said, ‘I could not know what the condition of things was at La Fayette.’ I replied, ‘You ought to have known before you made the promise, particularly as we were sent there by your orders.’ He then said, ‘Mr. GATCHELL, nobody knows better than you that what I did was by orders from my Government. ‘Yes,’ I replied, ‘but, as Commander of a Military Department, those orders must have been suggested by you, or adopted with your advice and consent.’”

The reasons why the gentlemen then in Fort Warren refused to give the required parole, have already been adverted to. Four of us: Messrs. SCOTT, WALLIS, my father and myself, whom the Government had not, openly—or secretly, so far as we knew—charged with any illegal act, were not summoned before the Commissioners. Our “cases” were therefore not “examined,” nor were we offered our liberty on any terms. Col. KANE, against whom the Government had managed to procure an indictment for treason, and who had been carried out of the State immediately afterwards, remained unnoticed, also. He had been removed hundreds of miles away from the place where it was alleged he had committed a crime, and though for nine months the Government had failed to bring him to trial, the Commissioners suffered his case, also, to pass unexamined. To Mr. BROWN, the Mayor of Baltimore, Gen. DIX said that all parties in Baltimore bore testimony to his personal integrity and that the Government recognized his fidelity in his intercourse with it, and he then offered to release him, provided he would resign his office. Mr. BROWN replied that he was in the power of the Government and submitted only because he could not help himself, but he peremptorily refused Gen. DIX’s proposition to resign his office, remarking that to do so would be to forfeit his

own self-respect. Comment on this infamous and insolent proposal is needless.

An article which appeared in the Baltimore *American* on the 15th of May, furnished conclusive evidence of the spirit in which the Commissioners had acted. The principal editor and proprietor of that journal was Mr. CHARLES C. FULTON, a man who had been for years the apologist of every species of fraud and violence which had been perpetrated to advance the ends and interests of his party or himself, and who was at that time the subservient dependant of Gen. DIX and Gen. DIX's master. As his account of the visit of the former to Fort Warren was mainly correct, so far as the facts therein stated were concerned, it may be fairly presumed that he received it from one of the Commissioners or their clerk. In that article it was said :

“We understand that the prisoners not examined were Messrs. S. TEACKLE WALLIS, T. PARKIN SCOTT, CHARLES HOWARD, F. KEY HOWARD, and GEORGE P. KANE, all of this city. The reason why no examination was made in these cases is understood to have been the conviction, on the part of the Commissioners, that they ought not to be permitted to return to Baltimore, on any condition, while the class of citizens here of which they are a type keep up an unrelenting hostility to the Government—provoking, most justly, a hostile feeling towards them on the part of the Union men of this city. * * * That the feeling of hostility to which we have alluded has been fostered and embittered by the vindictiveness of the Secession women of Baltimore there can be no doubt; and to them is due—in a great degree, at least—as prime movers of disloyalty, the continued imprisonment of their friends.

It is manifest, from these extracts, that the “hostile feeling” of Mr. LINCOLN's partisans towards us was one of the reasons why the outrage done us remained unredressed; and a disposition to inflict vicarious punishment on the women of Baltimore was another of the manly and just motives operating upon General DIX. On May the 9th, Colonel DIMICK enlarged our bounds. We had permission from that time to walk where we pleased, both inside and

outside of the fortress, on giving our parole not to attempt to pass beyond the line of sentinels who were stationed along the shore. Our parole also required us not to communicate with the shore, or with any one who might land on the island, and not to talk to the soldiers of the garrison, or to discuss political matters in their hearing.

On Saturday, May 24th, Colonel DIMICK notified us that the "political prisoners" were to be sent back to Fort La Fayette. We regarded this as indicating a determination on the part of the Government to subject us to all such indignities or punishment as it was in its power to inflict. That the Government itself considered Fort La Fayette as peculiarly a place of punishment, was made evident by an order which was received at the same time for the transfer of certain other persons to the same Fortress. A number of prisoners of war, who had been taken in the battle below New Orleans, had reached Fort Warren but two days before. Among them were six officers of the steam-battery Louisiana, which they had blown up rather than suffer it to fall into the hands of the Federal forces. For this reason the Government chose to regard them as meriting severe treatment. On their arrival, they, like all other Confederate officers, were allowed the liberty of the Island upon their parole. With the order for our transfer to Fort La Fayette came another directing that these officers should not be regarded as, nor receive the ordinary treatment of prisoners of war, and that they should be sent to Fort La Fayette with us. Their parole was instantly revoked and they were placed under all the restrictions to which we had so long been subjected. It was thus made manifest that the Government was fully aware of the specially painful character of the imprisonment which the unhappy captives in Fort La Fayette were compelled to endure.

On Monday, the 26th, Colonel DIMICK received a dispatch informing him that Fort La Fayette was already full to repletion, and ordering him to retain us for the time at Fort Warren. That morning the public had been made aware of the fact that General BANKS had been driven by General JACKSON across the Potomac in great confusion. A

special dispatch had been received at Fort Warren to the same effect, during the previous night, and the garrison left that day in great haste for Washington. Probably the Government had, for some time, more important matters to think about than the punishment of "political prisoners," for we heard no more of any orders for our removal. On Thursday, July 31st, the prisoners of war then in Fort Warren, some two hundred in number, left on a steamer for James River, where they were to be exchanged. After their departure there were but fourteen "political prisoners" left in Fort Warren.

On the 25th of October, a petition for a writ of Habeas Corpus in behalf of Mr. WM. H. WINDER was filed in the United States Circuit Court in Boston. Judge CLIFFORD, one of the Judges of the United States Supreme Court, ordered the writ to be issued. The Marshal declined to serve it. It was then placed in the hands of one of the Sheriff's officers. The officer endeavored to reach the fort on the boat which was in the service of the Government, but was refused a passage, unless he could get an order from Colonel DIMICK, or the War Department. He then hired a sail-boat and attempted to communicate with the fort; but a vigilant lookout was kept, and he was warned off by the sentinels. He was utterly unable to serve it; and thus ended this attempt to release a "political prisoner" from Fort Warren through process of law.

On the afternoon of the 12th of November, my father received a telegraphic despatch, informing him of the "extreme illness" of my sister. At the same time, Colonel DIMICK notified him that he was authorized to release him upon his parole to return to Fort Warren at the expiration of a limited period, and to commit no act of hostility in the meantime against the Government. This was one of those few cases in which we had all agreed that it would be our duty to accept a temporary release. Colonel DIMICK desired to extend this parole to thirty days; but my father stated his unwillingness to remain in Baltimore, under any conditions whatsoever, any longer than might be absolutely necessary, and gave a parole, therefore, to return to Fort Warren in twenty days. The friends who had procured

for him this temporary release had applied for one for me also, but of this application no notice was taken. Had I been then permitted, I should have thought it proper for me to go home. On the evening of the 14th I received a message from my father, dated in the morning, informing me that my sister's end was rapidly approaching. At the same time COL. DIMICK told me he was authorized to release me on parole. I subsequently learned that this order to him was the result of a renewed application on my behalf. But it came too late, and there were no longer any reasons moving me to take advantage of it, save such as were purely personal to myself. A few moments reflection satisfied me that, under such circumstances, I ought not to deviate from my course. I therefore declined to accept the temporary and conditional release which Mr. STANTON had so tardily offered me. While my father was at home COL. DIMICK proposed to extend the time of his stay indefinitely, and to receive his simple pledge to return to Fort Warren when so ordered, without exacting from him any other conditions whatsoever, thus leaving him, in all other respects, perfect freedom of action. My father declined, however, to take into consideration any further proposition looking to his discharge, temporarily or permanently, upon any terms whatsoever, and notified COL. DIMICK that he would be at Fort Warren on the 3d of December, the day when his parole would expire.

On the 24th of November an order of the War Department, dated Nov. 22d., relating to the discharge of prisoners who had been arrested for interfering with the draft, &c., appeared in the Boston papers. Though the order did not refer directly to persons in our situation, still there was so much ambiguity in its language that it was not clear whether it might not be intended to include us. On the same afternoon, Col. DIMICK received this dispatch :

“ WASHINGTON, *Nov. 24th*, 11.50 A. M.

“ COMMANDING OFFICER, Fort Warren, Boston.

“ None of the prisoners confined at your Post will be released under order of the War Department of the 22d instant, without

special instructions from the Department. By order of the Secretary of War.

“E. D. TOWNSEND.

“A. A. G.”

I had not myself thought that the order of November 22d would affect us, though some of my companions were of a different opinion. The above dispatch to Colonel DIMICK effectually banished from the minds of most of them any doubts upon the point.

Late in the afternoon of the 26th of November, 1862, Colonel DIMICK entered our quarters and, with a manifestation of much pleasure and good feeling, announced to us that our captivity was ended. He had just received a telegram from Washington ordering our release and containing no suggestion about terms or conditions. He furnished us the next morning, at our request, with the following certificate:

“FORT WARREN, BOSTON HARBOR,

“November 27th, 1862.

“GEORGE P. KANE,
 “GEORGE WM. BROWN,
 “CHARLES HOWARD,
 “FRANK K. HOWARD,
 “HENRY M. WARFIELD,
 “WILLIAM G. HARRISON,
 “ROBERT HULL,
 “S. TEACKLE WALLIS,
 “CHARLES MACGILL,
 “WILLIAM GATCHELL,
 “THOMAS W. HALL,
 “T. PARKIN SCOTT,
 “WILLIAM H. WINDER.

“The above named prisoners are released agreeably to the following telegram.

“J. DIMICK, *Col. 1st Art'y Com. Post.*

‘ WASHINGTON, *Nov. 26th*, 1862.

‘ COL. J. DIMICK, U. S. Army, Fort Warren, Boston :

‘ The Secretary of War directs that you release all the Maryland State prisoners, also any other prisoners that may be in your custody and report names to this office.

‘ Signed,

‘ E. D. TOWNSEND.

A. A. General.

“ True copy.

“ FORT WARREN, *November 27th*, 1862.

“ J. DIMICK,

“ Col. 1st Art’y, Com’g Post.”

We left our prison for our homes on the morning of the 27th.

There were, at the time of our release, no other prisoners in Fort Warren than those named, except one, who was a native of Massachusetts, and who had been arrested in that State, a few weeks previously. The gentlemen above named had, with a single exception, been my companions in Fort La Fayette, and of course in Fort Warren. All but one had been imprisoned over a year, and Mr. GATCHELL, Col. KANE and my father for nearly eighteen months. Each of them had determined at the outset to resist, to the uttermost, the dictatorship of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, and having done so, each had the satisfaction of feeling, as he left Fort Warren, that he had faithfully, and not unsuccessfully, discharged a grave public duty. We came out of prison as we had gone in, holding in the same just scorn and detestation the despotism under which the country was prostrate, and with a stronger resolution than ever to oppose it by every means to which, as American freemen, we had the right to resort.

SECRETS

OF THE

AMERICAN BASTILE

by
W. H. Winder
"They love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil."
Biblical Daguerre of the Lincoln Dynasty.

"The suggestion that the Union can be maintained by the numerical predominance and military prowess of one section, exerted to coerce the other into submission, is, in my judgment, as self-contradictory as it is dangerous. It comes loaded with the death-smell from fields wet with brothers' blood. If the vital principle of all republican government "is the consent of the governed," much more does a union of co-equal sovereign states require, as its basis, the harmony of its members and their voluntary co-operation in its organic functions."

EDWARD EVERETT.

"Successful co-ercion by the North would be just as revolutionary as successful secession by the South."

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

"A bargain broken on one side, is broken on all sides,"

DANIEL WEBSTER.

"When these dis-United States part, let them part in peace, the natural gravitation of affinity will bring about the only enduring union."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

"The Chicago Platform is a declaration of war upon the Constitution; and its practiced exposition the most consummate despotism."

TOUT LE MONDE.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY JOHN CAMPBELL,

NO. 419 CHESNUT STREET.

1863.

P R E F A C E .

Contrary to the writer's original intention, but yielding to the representations of gentlemen to whose good judgment he defers, this pamphlet makes its appearance.

An admirable pamphlet, entitled "Fourteen Months in American Bastiles," by Frank Key Howard, Esq., and published by Kelley, Hedian, & Piet, Baltimore, has already been presented to the public. So far as it purports to treat of the matter, it does it so well and so thoroughly, that no one could expect to go over the same ground with advantage to the public or with credit to himself. To it, therefore, for information in regard to the trials and hardships of State prisoners, the reader is referred.

The purpose of the succeeding pages is to show the character of offences which induced the Administration to resort to a despotism. The case of the writer will serve as a sample, as it were, of the others.

His offence was a letter to Wm. H. Seward—a letter written with no purpose of offence, but, on the contrary, from many circumstances known to the writer, he supposed its contents might receive Mr. Seward's favorable consideration.

In addition to the matter given in the following pages, to show the ground upon which this expectation was based, the official despatches of Mr. Seward, since published, would seem strongly to confirm all the assumptions of the writer as to Mr. Seward's original peaceful policy.

In his despatch No. 2, page 74, dated Washington, April 10, 1861, to Mr. Adams, speaking for the President and himself, he says:

"He (the President) would not be disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of theirs, (the Confederates,) namely, that the Fed-

eral Government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest, even although he were disposed to question that proposition. But, in fact, the President willingly accepts it as true. Only Imperial or despotic Governments could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State. The Federal Republican system of ours is, of all forms of government, the very one which is most unfitted for such a labor. Happily, however, this is only an imaginary defect.—*The system has, within itself, ADEQUATE, PEACEFUL, conservative, and recuperative forces.* Firmness on the part of the Government in maintaining and preserving the public institutions and property, and in *executing the laws where authority can be exercised without waging war*, combined with such measures of justice, moderation, and forbearance, as will disarm reasoning opposition, will be sufficient to secure the public safety until returning reflection, concurring with the fearful experience of social evils, the inevitable fruits of faction, shall bring the recusant members cheerfully back into the family, which, after all, must prove their best and happiest, as it undeniably is their most natural home.

“Keeping that remedy steadily in view, the President, on the one hand, will not suffer the Federal authority to fall into abeyance, nor will he, on the other, aggravate existing evils by attempts at coercion, which must assume the form of direct war against any of the insurrectionary States.

“*You will rather prove, as you easily can, by comparing the history of our country with that of other States, that its Constitution and Government are really the strongest and surest which have ever been erected for the SAFETY of any people.*”

The state of affairs was simply this: The principles and policy of the *dominant element* in the Republican party, as exhibited in its platform, its campaign text-books, and as expounded by its most trusted leaders, were so clearly subversive of the Constitution, and imminently threatening to the rights, peace, and dignity of the South, that, unless they should prove to be the most consummate liars, the South was compelled to anticipate such action by the Federal Government and the combined State Governments of *all* the non-slaveholding States, acting in concert, as would cause, “under one Republican Administration, slavery to pass away.” This statement of the position of affairs cannot be successfully contradicted.

Thus situated, the South put itself in a position to secure safety, either in or out of the Union, as necessity might dictate. A party which had carried on a life-long envenomed war against the institutions, interest, and character of the South, had suddenly obtained possession of the Federal Government, with threats still hot on its lips; yet, hoping that the glut of spoils and the sweets of office, might so far assuage this bitter hate as to induce it to forego its baleful programme, the South sought such reasonable assurance of its safety and of its constitutional rights, as might allow it to remain in the Union with safety. The President was deaf to every appeal by the South and the conservative North; he would know no Shibboleth except the Chicago platform; he persistently and ostentatiously announced himself the President of his party, and would carry out its avowed principles. In the very act of taking the oath to maintain the Constitution, he flouted defiance of the Supreme Court in the very face of the Chief Justice administering to him the oath.

His chosen friends in Congress—a ruling portion—inexorably refused to forego one jot or tittle of their announced purposes; purposes which were deliberate, malign, and monstrous treason, wilful and perverse violations of the Constitution; they refused to the South even that small portion of its rights contained in the Crittenden Compromise; they refused to the North its prayer, made in countless petitions, to *allow the people* of the North to give this assurance. In the Senate, the South, through its representatives, begged that some evidence would be given, that hostility was not intended against the South, and all would be well. This was scornfully refused. A Peace Convention was obtained through the efforts of the South, “seeking an excuse to remain in the Union;” but, unhappily, the men in that Convention, of the Republican party, professed to believe that “the South could not be kicked out of the Union,” and that the programme announced of kicking and spitting upon it in the Union should not be changed.

Thousands upon thousands of the wisest men in the North expressed alike their horror of the Republican policy, and declared that, as a "necessity" for its safety, the South would be driven from the Union.

The South did thus go, but in a manner to demonstrate that it was more in sorrow than in anger, and with evident expectation of a return under proper assurances. Matters were thus brought to this issue, Shall we confirm the Republican programme and lose the South, or shall we force the Government to adhere to the Constitution, in letter and in spirit, and retain complete the Union?

The Administration knew full well that, upon this alternative, it would be forced within the limits of the Constitution, it would be compelled to abandon its blasted and blasting policy. Its only hope of preserving unbroken its policy, was by a collision. Mr. Blair, as has always been well understood, secured this policy, by the assurance that, once "set the Federal machine in motion, and the South would clear the track like a flock of sheep before a locomotive." Even then the South had its Commissioners in Washington, seeking, in vain, negotiation.—By fraud and design the Administration succeeded in bringing about a collision, and ever since, amid the smoke of battle, has contrived to conceal the true issue from the public.

Bold and persistent efforts were made, early in the day, to recall the people to this issue. Popular feeling was fast rising. Such papers as opposed force, gained circulation with marvellous rapidity. The New York Daily News, Day Book, Journal of Commerce, Freeman's Journal, The Catholic Herald and Visitor, of Philadelphia, and all such papers, were gaining circulation, while the prostrate condition of business was curtailing all others. The circulation of The News increased with incredible rapidity, and promised, in a few months, to exceed the combined circulation of the Herald, Times, and Tribune. Peace meetings were springing up all over the land, when suddenly this wicked Administration, unable to vindicate its course, and to escape an issue fatal to it, sought to stifle all discussion, and, with an iron hand, suppressed papers and imprisoned many who

were active in opposing its policy. By a concerted howl of treason from its press and office-holders, and by threats of incarceration, it did silence expression for a time, until, at length, its corruption and imbecility so augmented the ranks of opposition that a general denunciation arises from the whole land.—*The late laws of Congress are intended to give the semblance of color of law to a renewed system of terrorism, to which, if the people submit, they will richly have earned the sufferings and humiliation to which they, in that case, are clearly destined.* It was during this reign of terror that “*Ribboned Oxen*”^{*} became numerous; Democrats who, with false and cow-

* Daniel S. Dickinson thus pictured the condition of himself and other Democrats, seduced by the appeals and threats of Republicans to a too willing frailty :

“Do you know, my Democratic friends, how the Republicans serve Democrats who go over to them? I will tell you how. They serve them as a New York butcher serves his fat ox. He puts gaily covered ribbons on his horns, and marches him through the streets as a spectacle to be stared at, and then—last scene of all—he drives him to the slaughter-pen. This is the way Republicans serve Democrats who are flattered and cajoled by them into an abandonment of their principles.”

And thus Mr. Dickinson describes the Republican party, which has “*ribboned*” him, a pitiful spectacle, trudging the path to this Republican shamble :

“And what constitutes now the opposition to the Democratic party? A faction in a portion of the States, made up of the bad remnants of the Whig party—made up of deserters and outcasts from the Democratic party—made up of fanatics, disappointed office-seekers, profligate priests, and political mountebanks in general, who have congregated all the bad elements of existence altogether, like that drag-net which Scripture says was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind, but unlike that net, they have kept the bad and thrown away the good. * * * * *

“If we may believe their lips, they have great benevolence and philanthropy, and are going abroad seeking that they may do good; but the truth is, that they are walking up and down the earth, like that spirit that has gone out walking among dry places, seeking rest and finding none, and finally returning with seven other spirits, more wicked than itself, to make the last state of the people worse than the first; and in my humble judgment, * * * if Satan has been commissioned to scourge mankind, he could not have better fulfilled his mission than by turning an Abolition disunionist, and preaching the doctrines they preach. A more graceless set of politicians never congregated. They are desperate men from all parties—the lame, the frail, and the blind, gathered together; and what are they going to do? Going to help freedom! Freedom for whom? Their every effort jeopardise freedom; and if only their efforts prevailed, we would not have a free government, Freedom for a few blacks.

“Turning aside from the great destinies of humanity, leaving this country and the

ardly hearts, deserted the principles of life-long profession, to take upon themselves the Republican yoke to get fed at its stalls, have earned an infamy, the leprosy and stench of which neither gold nor office can conceal nor smother, and which will prove to their descendants a sad heritage for generations to come. They betrayed the people who had trusted them. They will rot beneath a nations' curse.

The original issue is still before us. It is this : The Administration claimed the right and avowed its purpose to substitute for the Constitution the Chicago platform, interpreted by Abolition high priests. The South, clinging to the Constitution as the ark of common safety, as *the* bond, the *only* bond of Union, protested against this monstrous substitution, and demanded an unqualified adhesion to the Constitution and lawful decisions of the Supreme Court.

The whole scope and purpose of the action of the South was to force a decision upon this, the only true issue.

Certain of defeat upon this naked issue, the Administration designedly and fraudulently precipitated other issues to avoid this, the only true one.

The salvation of the Administration depends upon a suppression of the truth. Its acts cannot bear the light; light must be shut out, or the Administration dies. It has no punishment for the admitted general robbery and corruption by its own agents in every branch of public employment, although it is its bounden duty to punish such persons but it reserves its malignant activity to oppress those who contend for the preservation of the Constitution unsullied. That is the mortal, the unpardonable sin.

W. H. WINDER.

PHILADELPHIA, MARCH, 1863.

race to whom its destinies were committed, to go off in a crusade, jeopardising the institutions of the country, violating the Constitution, menacing the harmony and integrity of every bond of union, rather than slavery should be extended. What do they care for slavery? They would seek to rivet slavery upon the limbs of thirty millions of people, and upon humanity for all time to come, in order that mad, cruel, incendiary ideas should be carried out in reference to a few blacks."

THE SINS OF STATE PRISONERS.

“ Ex uno disce omnes.”

On the morning of the 10th day of September, 1861, I had mailed a letter to Governor Seward. As this letter exercised a potent influence in keeping me in confinement, some preliminary explanation of the causes and motives which led to my writing it, is necessary fully to comprehend its import.

In the month of August, 1861, I addressed the following letter to General Cameron, then Secretary of War, in which was stated, my conviction that war could not secure union, but would insure separation.

[Copy.]

“ PHILADELPHIA, 30th AUGUST, 1861.

“ DEAR SIR :

“ I take the liberty of enclosing to you an article from the ‘ North American ’ of this date. It is from the pen of Henry Hays, Esq., a member of one of our oldest and most respectable families. I enclose it because I think it takes the true ground—that the outcries against the head of the War Department are as general and indefinite as they are boisterous and clearly malevolent. The fact that no specifications are attempted, suffices to show the calumniators have knowledge of none. The few instances sought to be adduced some time since recoiled fatally on the accusers.

“ Mr. Hays and I are antipodes on the war. He thinks that only by war can union be restored, while I am sure that war is a patent for separation inevitable, as Mr. Douglass well said. Accordingly, Mr. Hays, early in the day, sent an application for appointment as second lieutenant in the regular army, enclosed to Mr. Blair, who promised to lay it before you. He forwarded a strong letter from Commodore Stewart, who has generally refused letters to any one, and who feels greatly mortified that his letter did not secure Mr. Hays’ appointment. His friend and schoolmate, Mr. Hazlehurst, also wrote you in his fa-

vor. Mr. Caleb Cope, Morton McMichael, John Grigg, and Evans Rogers, and others, also gave letters. I have no doubt his appointment would be a good one, and that he would make a good officer, acceptable to the regular army as any civilian could be. I suppose you would have given him the appointment if you could have given consideration to his application. In enclosing the within, I do so not only without Mr. Hay's knowledge, but I am sure very much against his wish if he knew of it. I believe that the assaults on you are malevolent, and that, if any good men join in them it is from ignorance.

"My own position is this: I am confident that you, or Governor Seward and President Davis, or any two reasonable men North and South, could, in a few hours, arrange terms of union which, being submitted to the people of both sections, would receive the support of a majority of both sections, and thus secure a happy reunion. I believe a war to be certain and final dissolution. Thus believing, I look upon the war as a monstrous and wanton evil, and I shall continue, clearly and distinctly, to avow my convictions that union is practicable in that way, by peace, and in no other, and I will resort to every honorable and legal mode to impress this conviction on the people and on the Administration. I believe, further, that a continuance of this war will involve us in a collision with the powerful Governments of Europe, and so exasperate each section as to render a union—a fraternal union—an impossibility.

"While my personal regard for you inclines me to do you justice, and to stand by you against unjust assaults, I regret to find myself differing so widely from your present action and policy as to deem its overthrow indispensable to the national salvation—to any union.

"I know you will excuse my frankness in so distinctly stating my dissent.

"Yours, respectfully,

"W. H. WINDER.

(Signed,)

"Hon. S. CAMERON."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER 2, 1861.

"DEAR SIR:

"Your letter of the 30th is at hand.

"I regret that it was not in my power to appoint young Mr. Hays, who, I recollect, was highly recommended by gentlemen in whom I have great confidence. It is not singular that even such competent men as he, were overlooked, for applications came by thousands, and were pressed upon me, by day and by night, by Senators and Representatives. When, finally, the vacancies were all filled, I was absent from the city, on a brief visit to my home, made necessary in consequence of indisposition. There are now no more lieutenants to be appointed, excepting such as may be selected from meritorious non-

commissioned officers; otherwise Mr. Hays' claims would receive favorable consideration.

"For your many evidences of personal friendship and respect, I have the highest appreciation. We have never agreed very well in politics, but I have never doubted that you had at heart the best interests of the country.

"Truly yours,

"SIMON CAMERON.

"W. H. WINDER, Esq.,

"Philadelphia."

[Copy.]

"PHILADELPHIA, 7th SEPTEMBER, 1861.

"DEAR SIR :

"Your favor of the 2nd instant has been received, in which, in reference to Mr. Hays, you say, 'there are no more lieutenants to be appointed, otherwise Mr. Hays' claims would receive favorable attention.' I am much gratified at this assurance, which will secure him an early appointment to fill any occurring vacancy.

"The very handsome manner in which you tolerate my strongly differing opinion, is worthy of your liberal spirit, and is very acceptable to me.

"Yours, most respectfully,

"W. H. WINDER.

"HON. SIMON CAMERON,

"Secretary of War."

Emboldened by this frank declaration of General Cameron, as my personal relations with Governor Seward had always been friendly, I conceived that a letter from me might be received by him in a spirit of equal candor, and accordingly I addressed him the letter above referred to.

During the session of Congress in 1850, in which the compromise measures were passed, Governor Seward and I occupied, in Washington, adjoining houses, and had much intercourse, and being then of the same party, though differing on the compromise measures, freely discussed political subjects. In one conversation on platforms, he expressed his preference for a

platform large and broad enough to accommodate every variant interest, believing that in a contest with the Democratic party, the hope of self profit, which each interest would indulge, would constitute it a compact army ; he relied upon some kind of oil, which he did not distinctly define, to lubricate the attrition which, after success, a rivalry should generate.

After the passage of the compromise measures I expressed a strong hope that agitation would cease, as, in this compromise, the North had got pretty much everything, the mere change of fugitive slave bills being, in no just sense, a compromise by the North. Governor Seward was very decidedly of the opposite opinion, and he declared his conviction in the most emphatic language, that from that time forward agitation on the fugitive slave law would go on increasing at the North until the line between the free and slaveholding States would be the line of parties, when the North would take the reins of power and govern the country. It seemed to me, then, so improbable a prophecy, that I was blunt enough to pronounce it preposterous—an impossibility that a united South and a Democratic North, with all the influence of the Federal and Democratic State Governments, could fail to command votes enough at the North to constitute, with the South, a majority of the Electoral College ; that the evils patent upon such a division of parties had been too solemnly foretold by Washington to permit the people to become thus insane. He said he would regret such a result, but that its coming, at no very distant day, was inevitable. He, alas ! was the truer prophet. How far his expressions of regret were sincere, let his subsequent course attest.

Previous to the nomination for President at the late election, in frequent conversations with a very devoted and very intimate friend of Governor Seward, I was strongly urged to support Governor Seward for the Presidency. In reply to my declaration that Governor Seward's Abolition proclivities rendered such a course an impossibility to me, and, I believed, would prove fatal to Seward's hopes, I was assured that I was very

greatly in error; that Governor Seward's nomination was certain, his election beyond a peradventure, and his re-election certain by unanimity at the South—his warmest supporters.

I replied, if this will be so, it must be from the adoption of a policy very different from that which now he so vehemently urges. I took occasion, subsequently, editorially, in "The Pennsylvanian," to give what I understood, from these conversations, to be Governor Seward's programme, and enclosed it in a letter to this gentleman, as being the views of Governor Seward, as I understood them from him.

" PHILADELPHIA, 10th FEBRUARY, 1861.

" MY DEAR SIR :

" In my solicitude to avert that most dreaded of calamities—a separation of our friendly Union into two hostile sections, I sometimes engage in the contests between the Republican wings. As an instance, I enclose you some remarks I have made on Greeley's attempt to defeat a settlement.

" 'This man seems to me to have but two mainsprings of action—vanity and spite. They flare out in all that he says or does, and a post-mortem examination will surely disclose the great prominence of a white liver.

" I hardly suppose that you will concur in all my Democratic views expressed in the enclosed, but in many of them I believe you will.

" From the action of Mr. Weed, and, still more, from the innate kindness of your nature, I assume that your patriotism predominates over party, and that your aspirations are first for an harmonious union of the States.

" With great respect, I am, most sincerely, yours,

" W. H. WINDER.

" R. M. BLATCHFORD, ESQ., New York."

[From the Pennsylvanian, of February, 1861.]

" GREELEY ON COMPROMISE.

" The 'fighting Bob' of the Tribune, who *now*, for the selfish and sinister purpose of crushing Seward, Weed & Co., resists the 'yielding of one inch' of the Chicago platform to save the Union, and who denounces all compromisers as traitors, thus spoke through the Tribune on the 5th August, 1850 :

‘A SIGN.—The developements of public sentiment and the fruits of agitation in the Territories themselves, appeared concurrently almost certain to secure the non-extension of slavery thereto, even in the absence of any Congressional prohibition. Our opinion of the propriety of the Wilmot proviso has not changed one hair, but the necessity for it is now far less than what it has been, while the probability of enacting it appears to have receded into the vague future. *Now*, therefore, WE are willing to COMPROMISE, and take HALF our right rather than continue a controversy from which we can anticipate no good, but apprehend much evil.’

“ This was ‘ fighting Bob ’ Greeley’s doctrine of compromise when Seward, Weed & Co. were opposed to a compromise. He went for compromise to crush Seward, Weed & Co., and on that occasion succeeded ; *his compromise* included the hated fugitive slave law, and was passed in spite of the utmost efforts of Seward, Weed & Co. to defeat it.

“ Greeley, now a ‘ fighting Bob,’ has uniformly advocated the abolition of the army and navy, as being a national burden, solely for the benefit and advantage of the slaveholding States, and he was always most unequivocally against war with *foreign* nations. So long as he supposed that Seward, Weed & Co. were uncompromising for the enforcement of the laws, he was faithful to his non-combatant policy, and was loud and frequent in his declarations of letting the Southern States go in peace. By taking this position, he thought he had got the coercionists—Seward, Weed & Co.,—on the flank. But their sagacity disappointing this expectation, Greeley instantly assumed the character of ‘ fighting Bob,’ has become as foul-mouthed as Thersites, and as bloody-minded as such ineffable cowards usually are. Greeley, like the Irish pig, must be driven the way one does not wish him to go.

“ Again, and still later, so long as Seward and Weed continued radical, Greeley continued conservative, compromising. The Tribune, still harping on my daughter—the defeat of Seward—had, previous to the nomination, the following shot at radicals: ‘ From information from unquestionable sources ’ it said that ‘ if a radical candidate (such as Seward, Chase, Wade, Lincoln,) be insisted upon at Chicago, a large defection may be expected in Pennsylvania and New Jersey among the conservative portion of the opposition.’ Thus the Tribune continued the advocate of compromise and compromise candidates, (Bates, Bell, and McLean,) and the bitter foe of radicals. So effectually did the Tribune intend to lay Seward out cold, that it included in the above anathema all radicals likely to have Seward in their Cabinet, and as Mr. Lincoln was one of the denounced, he can judge how far Greeley’s support of his nomination was honest. He

cannot shut his eyes to the fact that he owes the support of Greeley exclusively to Greeley's still more bitter hostility to Seward, and not at all to any confidence in or regard for himself. Greeley sold to Giddings his compromise principles, and adopted his own anathematized radicalism, receiving, as pay therefor, the head of Seward.

“Governor Seward's sagacity showed him clearly that *now* was the time for compromise ; that the Republican victory, in connection with congressional representation, under the new census, would make the free States so immensely predominant that any future control of the Federal Government by the slave States was a clear impossibility. To Seward's mind the case presented itself simply thus :—His object in inaugurating a sectional contest for the control of the Federal Government was to check what he deemed an undue influence of the South in the councils of the nation. The late victory and the census render the accomplishment of his purpose a certainty, and there is no longer any beneficial result possible from that sectional strife which Washington so solemnly warned us would inevitably sever the Union. In addition to which Governor Seward sees, as do all sensible men, that while the Republican party elected its President through unhappy divisions of that overwhelming majority opposed to it, yet the result of the election clearly showed that nearly two-thirds of the people of the United States had declared against the Republican party, and in favor of the South's claims. And further, that this overwhelming majority was fully sustained by the emphatic opinion of that tribunal which the Constitution itself has made the umpire ; that, in fact, all that the Republican party had to countenance its doctrines is the chance or bogus election of Lincoln ; all other authorities, including the Supreme Court, being against the Chicago platform ; and thus to persevere with chance-gotten power, to disregard these, would be treason of the rankest class.

He is perfectly aware that, under any and every concession by the free States, including the extremest doctrines enunciated in the Dred Scott decision, nearly the entire territory now owned by the United States must infallibly be free States, and that to resist ‘surrender of an inch’ in concession, would be to dissolve the Union, involving all its untold horrors, to gain not an atom more than will certainly be gained by war, even if successful, would in reality gain nothing which would not be equally secure under the extremest construction asked by the South. But there is one motive stronger with ‘fighting Bob’ Greeley than all the averting of dissolution and civil war, and that is the killing off of Seward and Weed. Nothing under the sun is more absolutely certain than that if Seward and Weed had taken the ‘yield not an inch’ ground, the Tribune batteries would promptly have been armed with the Armstrong artillery of conservatism, and Seward and Weed would have been powdered. His rage and mortification at

this unexpected stand of Seward and Weed are knawing his vitals, and in his contortions he will most probably mortally wound himself. These manifest inconsistencies and this daring disregard of popular intelligence are in entire conformity with that spirit of falsehood which is nature with Greeley, as is odor with the onion, and both are in perpetual exhalation. We now close these remarks with the following graphic picture of Greeley, Beecher, Cheever & Co. :—‘ Liberty’s ministers are the fellest pirates that ever swept the earth with desolation, filling it with the cries of distress and bereavement.’ ”

“ NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 14, 1861.

“ MY DEAR SIR :

“ I thank you for your letter and its enclosure. It expresses pretty much my views. I am for preserving the Union by some concession, if necessary. I hope enough will be done to keep in the border States. A convention would, I doubt not, settle the whole matter satisfactorily.

“ Very truly, yours, &c.

“ R. M. BLATCHFORD.

“ W. H. WINDER, ESQ.”

The statement of Governor Seward that he would “ give his head for a football if peace and satisfaction to the South was not had in sixty days,” all his prophecies, at an early date, of an early peace, I understood to be predicated upon expectations of inaugurating the foregoing policy. The Albany Evening Journal was earnest for compromise, solemnly warning people of the terrible future in case of a disregard of this advice. I was aware of General Scott’s letter—the one read by Mr. Van Buren. How I learned its contents I cannot now recall, for at the time I learned it I did not suppose it was a secret. Mr Seward had distinctly stated his readiness “ to sacrifice party to the Union.”

But the Abolition faction, having an ally down deep in the heart of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Seward had his choice to abandon his peaceful policy or his position in the Cabinet. All who know Governor Seward, know full well that a subsidence into private life is to him a greater horror than

a descent into the grave itself. This feeling was intensified by the idea of *Greeley and his friends* monopolizing power and patronage, which, together with the electric shock of Sumter, that brought, apparently, the whole North to its feet, to be instantly precipitated on the South—carried him, against his convictions, I believed, into the war camp.

The battle of Bull Run had taken place, and a stagger had been given to overweening confidence. In August I had the correspondence with General Cameron, then Secretary of War, already given.

My object in writing the letter to Governor Seward was to induce him to resume his old position, which I hoped might bring about a reconstruction, even at that late hour, or at any rate leave an opening for such a junction of the States as, in the language of Mr. Adams, is the only Union that can be permanently valuable—"the Union brought about by the gravitation of affinity."

This letter will suffice, also, to explain the mystery *why* I was not released when General Cameron, whose name alone appeared on the record of the Bastille as the authority for my imprisonment, wrote to Governor Seward disavowing all knowledge of my arrest, and requesting my release. Having me confined on General Cameron's record, he kept me imprisoned to punish me for the wound it inflicted on his *amour propre*, but conceals himself behind General Cameron's record, to avoid the issue of that letter, which caused my long confinement.

[Copy.]

“PHILADELPHIA, 10th SEPTEMBER, 1861.

“DEAR SIR :

“I have taken the liberty of addressing you the accompanying communication because there is so much of humanity about you as to attract even those who revolt at many doctrines you have enunciated, and because I believe, *if you felt that you had the power*, you would seek a peaceful restoration of the Union. Your political destruction is one of the aims of those men who unfortunately find access to the confidence of the President, and, so far, have overruled your efforts or your wishes to that end. If you could nerve yourself to the fight you

could crush those men, and save your country from the horrors of war and of that dissolution towards which all the aims of those men tend whatever they may profess.

“I feel that I have been bold in speech, but not half as much so as I am in heart and purpose, to do all I can for the restoration of a fraternal Union, which I deem vital to the interests of both sections. I do not mean to assert that the South has been exempt from blame; but being the weaker, all her errors can and will be remedied on the restoration of the Union.

“I should be gratified to learn that you receive this communication in good part, and still more gratified to learn that you look with a favoring purpose on any practicable scheme of a peaceful Union, and that you will clear your skirts of the diabolical spirit which actuates those men who seem to hate you almost equally with the South.

I am, most respectfully and truly, yours,

“ W. H. WINDER.

“HON. WM. H. SEWARD.”

The following is the communication referred to in the letter just given :

“ DEAR SIR :

“ While, perhaps, I may, in submitting to your consideration the following suggestions, incur the charge of presumption, I am very sure that I am entitled to credit for frankness, sincerity, and right motive—a deep and absorbing desire to preserve in perpetuity a constitutional, fraternal union of all these States, and that your candor will attribute to me only this motive.

“ I address you because, from the evidence of circumstances, I believe that, deep down in the profound of your soul, you will find an approval of them; and, meaning no offence, in saying that much of the responsibility of bringing to a certain stage the terrible crisis which now quakes our political existence attaches to you, I yet believe that, if at that stage of the crisis, you had had control—had been the Executive—the storm would have blown over with little damage, yet clearing the atmosphere of the pestilential vapors which threatened the life of the Union.

“ But at that stage bolder and infinitely bad men, your bitter enemies as they are the unadulterated enemies of the Constitution, the Union, and the rights of man, thrust you and your better purpose aside, and, gaining access to the Executive, poured into the porches of his ear that cursed juice of hellebore—Abolitionism—which, down in the recesses of his soul found genial soil, whence sprouted this unhappy war, by which the Abolition wedge is being driven through

the Constitution, pushing hopelessly assunder the fragments of the Union, and, by mad action, inviting collision with the strong powers of Europe. But briefly and without argument to the purpose of these suggestions.

“ Senator Wade spoke truly in the Senate chamber, when he declared his conviction that the whole southern mind labored under the firm belief that the accession of the Republican party to power was imminently dangerous to their peace, dignity, and most intimate institutions: fears which he declared to be not well founded.

“ Senator Davis, apparently to meet this declaration, and to bring about the happy condition of affairs which would exist, if Senator Wade’s disclaimers were true, made the strongest appeals to him and his associates. He said that “ fraternal feeling was all the South asks to perpetuate a Union. For himself he believed it did exist in the northern heart. Submit to our people the evidence that hostility does not exist, and I feel that all this bitterness will cease;” because where fraternal feeling dwells, intentional injustice could not; and so solicitous for “ an excuse to remain in the Union ” was the South, he added, that, “ if the Republican party would, in good faith, offer the Crittenden compromise it would be received as a sufficient evidence of fraternal feeling, though it fell far short of their constitutional rights, as expounded by the Supreme Court.” To this generous and earnest appeal the Republican Senators sat in sullen, frowning silence, and indignantly voted down the olive branch—the Crittenden compromise—*thus* showing, as clearly as they could, their purpose inexorably to carry out the Republican programme.

“ Mr. Webster has truly said, the purposes of a party are known by the outspakings of its leaders, and it must justly be held accountable for what they promulgate, if it continues its countenance and support to these men. He says there is no other authoritative exponent. Let us see, then, the state of affairs.

“ The ‘ irrepressible conflict ’ had been nursed from the date of the compromise of 1850 until it culminated in the Chicago Convention. At a previous convention, before the virus had become so strong, when Fremont was nominated, a northern man, so moderate, so cautious, so law-abiding, so eminent in position as President Fillmore, had deemed it a duty to proclaim to the whole American people that the principles of that party were so in violation of the Constitution, so imminently threatening to the just and vital rights of the South, that the election of Fremont would be a just, as it would prove the inevitable, cause of dissolution.

“ *A fortiori* of the nominee of the Chicago platform, northern men of every station in life and position declared that such an election could have no other result than separation, as a just and necessary consequence—an exit through the portals of the Union being the only safety for the South. When a strong man, an enemy, threatens to strike you,

it will be too late to wait to see if he will do it. *Assured safety can be found only in an anticipating separation.*

“ Thus, when Mr. Lincoln said ‘ the States cannot exist half free, half slave,’ and that ‘ slavery must be placed where the public mind shall rest satisfied that it is in process of extinction,’ and when he urges the equality of the black and white races, and that ‘ artificial burdens must be lifted from the shoulders of all men ;’ when Governor Seward exclaims, ‘ with this victory [Lincoln’s election] comes the downfall of slavery,’ and that ‘ one Republican Administration will suffice to destroy it,’ and when he certifies, under his own hand, that he has carefully read and approved the ‘ Helper Crisis ;’ when Senator Wilson exclaims, ‘ We have our heel on the neck of slavery, and will not raise it while one slave remains in bonds ;’ when Thurlow Weed, the able *alter ego* of Governor Seward, certifies ‘ that the circulation in the *free States* of the ‘ Helper Crisis ’ will insure the election of a Republican, and the passing away of slavery ;’ when all these black threats hung over the South, who saw all the northern State Governments—legislative, executive, and judicial—banded together in marked subserviency to the party of these men, with personal liberty bills covering their statute books, with repeals of all acts of amity, with excommunication from all religious association, it had cause for apprehension, and little inducement to a continued Union. But such was its hereditary attachment to the Union and its old glories, that so long as the Federal Government remained a barrier between it and the unfriendly party of the North, it was desirous of remaining in the Union ; but, should the Federal power come into the hands of this party, already in the possession of all the Northern States, it could see no safety except in the escape through the portals of the Union. So said thousands at the North itself.

This most dread calamity—more dread than all others together which have ever fallen on our people, in the wrath of Heaven did come, and the curse of the Lord, Abraham Lincoln, is upon us.*

“ Staggered at this evidence of hostility, while preparing for escape, the South yet parleyed with this party, to try and get some reasonable assurances that it would not carry out its threatened desolating programme ; but that, having power, it should give security that the South, remaining in the Union should not have her rights, peace, and dignity invaded. This has been steadily, haughtily refused, until the South came to the conclusion it was safer out of the Union, with open hostility, than to remain in and be smothered. I do not hesitate to make the assertion, from personal knowledge, that up to the hour he left the Senate chamber, Jefferson Davis was a better Union man than would be the whole Anti-Slavery Republican party, rolled into one man.

* This sentence was expunged from the copy sent to Governor Seward, not because it was undeserved, nor from any doubt of his concurrence, but because it was hardly *comme il faut* for a Cabinet Minister to let it be *said*. So many persons have read my copy, seized by Governor Seward, from which it was not erased, that to avoid a charge of garbling, I replace it with this note of explanation.

In order to vindicate myself in asserting that the South was pre-eminently attached to the Union, I will not enter into the history of New England in order to show that she was last to meet the foe, but the first to strike a friend; nor to show that "the Massachusetts School," from 1800, has been uniform and consistent in favor of the right, and in favor of the practice of State Sovereignty and Secession, and that no one more strongly advocated it than did Mr. Everett, who now so conveniently turns his back upon *all* his past life—but I will refer you to what the South has borne for the benefit of the North.

The North furnished nothing to the South which it could not get elsewhere: it might be sunk in the sea and would not be missed by the South. The North gets from the South nothing which it could get elsewhere. The North could not find customers as substitutes for the South. The South could find customers for everything it has without reference to the North.

The North has been incapable of taking care of itself, without heavy duties for protection. The South has always been able to take care of itself without such protection. To illustrate: A duty of 30 per cent. on five millions of cloths, raises the price of the fifty millions made in the United States 30 per cent., all of which the South pays to the North—that is, it pays the North 30 per cent. more than it would have to pay to Europe for the same goods. The same of Iron. Thus, by a moderate calculation, the South has paid to the North, since the formation of the Constitution, several thousand millions of dollars. Besides which, it has allowed an absolute, exclusive monopoly of ship-building and the coasting trade, and has allowed fish and other bounties.

Suppose the South had required the expenses of Government to be paid by direct taxation and free-trade; it would have saved vast millions, and the North would have remained comparatively destitute of manufactures, and her population would not have exceeded that of the South, which up to 1810, both black and white increased at the rate of one-third in ten years—the North only one-fifth.

Let any man picture to himself the relative position of North and South had there been absolute free-trade in all things, ship-building and coasting trade included, and let him contrast it with the present relative condition, and then let him candidly acknowledge the mountainous indebtedness of the North to the patriotism, love of Union, and fraternal feeling which has characterized the South from the beginning.

The South paid annually to the North at least five hundred millions, and she paid the entire proceeds of her cotton, rice and tobacco—of her naval stores and lumber—of her grain and cattle sold—of her minerals, &c.; these amounts from the fifteen States, are fully equal to five hundred millions a year, including the money spent in visiting the North, in sending her children to our colleges, legal, medical and classical.

In a separation, this money properly expended, would augment immensely the cities of the South, giving advantages which would render a resort to the North for anything unnecessary.

In a word, Union is of the first importance to the Northern pocket, which it fills as it depletes that of the South.

And yet, notwithstanding the manifold advantages to the North, and disadvantages to the South, among which, as is important to be noticed, is the fact that the North has the power and has shown the will to build a Northern Rail Road to the Pacific, by the issue of hundreds of millions of United States bonds, by the donation to the Road of alternate sections of thirty miles in width of the land along the Road, and by means of a Homestead Bill to give Northern men and strangers the remainder of the National domain. By the issues of other hundred of millions of bonds, for the needed and needless improvements of Northern rivers and harbors—all to build up the North; while the South, thus stripped of all its share of the public domain, is, in addition, to pay its share of the hundred of millions expended for the Pacific Rail Road, improvement of rivers and harbors, and a tribute of from 10 to 30 per cent. on all manufactures. These are some of the inequalities of the Union.

But notwithstanding all these very serious drawbacks, the South has contentedly remained, satisfied in good brotherhood, free institutions, and a Government to command respect. But it requires itself that respect in the Union which it gives to the North.

And I now close, leaving much unsaid, by stating that the end and object of this communication is to state my conviction, that if proper persons be selected to open negotiations with the Confederates, that terms could be agreed upon for union, which being submitted to the people of both sections, would receive the sanction of a majority of both sections. I feel emboldened to say so, by the terms in which President Davis expresses his willingness to entertain negotiations for a settlement. The terms are so broad, as would seem, they were intentionally made to include negotiation for a return to the Union.*

I know that negotiations are opposed by the Sumners, Wilsons, Wades, Fessendens, Chandlers, and others of that ilk—crimson-dyed Abolitionists, with no spark of a genuine Union, Constitutional feeling—because peace and restoration of the Union is death to them. If negotiations fail to bring peace, what harm? We will so far have vindicated our cause as to bring the issue to an undisguised and unequivocal focus, when the real difference being before the world, a true and just judgment may be had, and then if need be war, coercion can be used. But if negotiations, which may bring peace and Union, be denied us, and war urged, and in its progress it shall bring us into collision with great European Powers, ending with final separation, and leaving the nation bleeding at every pore, exhausted, overwhelmed in debt, and every family tearful by bereavement, will these men, the Blairs, Sumners, Wilsons, Chandlers, Greeleys, Wades, &c., be able to indemnify

* The reply of President Davis to the Committee of the Maryland Legislature, sent to him simultaneously with another to Mr. Lincoln, to induce them to open negotiations for an adjustment of difficulties,

the country for all these evils, the fruits of their malignant contrivance? If they cannot, had we not better first try that other inexpensive, christian course towards our fellow countrymen, who, we believe, act under much misapprehension, which being dispelled, may lead to peace and Union.

Let every one advocate war, or negotiation for a peaceful Union, as he wishes to incur or avoid the weighty responsibilities we have above adverted to.

In regard to the relative manifestations by the North and by the South, what are the facts? The whole earth has been dinned by the noise of our press, in trumpeting the marvellous, unprecedented uprising of the North in favor of the Union; and truly and most justly is it stated, that with the exception of that class which herd with the Sumners and Garrisons, the Wilsons and Greeleys, the Wades, the Chandlers and the Phillips, the North is sincerely and truly a unit in its desire for the perpetuation of the Union. But how—by what means? By war? With a population, in the non-seceding States of twenty-four millions, after the most wonderful efforts we have succeeded in getting, about 225,000 men for the army. Of these, if I be well informed from one-half to two-thirds are foreigners, leaving about 80,000 American soldiers. Of these, more than half enlisted from sheer starvation, leaving at most about 40,000 American soldiers. Of the foreigners, a very large majority may be said to have enlisted from necessity and want of employment. If we relied upon the same class of men which constitute the Southern Army, we could not raise a *volunteer* force of 100,000 men from the whole 24 millions.

“The South has made no trumpeting to the world, calling on it to admire its wonderful uprising, but with a white population of about four millions—one-sixth of the population of the adhering States—with a less proportion of money, and a still less proportionate ability to equip and provide for a proportionate number, it has now under drill about four hundred thousand men, which, in proportion, would require two million four hundred thousand by the North. What mean these figures? They can have but one meaning, and that is that the South feels to the quick that this war, as waged for unconditional submission, if successful, is a fatal knell to its peace, dignity, and safety, to a degree rendering extermination less hateful. Nothing short of a deep, absorbing, overwhelming, abiding conviction that such would be the result, could account for the attitude of the South, which, through its President, has vainly offered to negotiate for settlement of difficulties, in terms and language which might include Union. What mean the meagre figures of the northern army, with the great population, the immense wealth, and the undoubted patriotism of the people, and their desire to perpetuate the Union? There can be but one meaning. It is that they have no confidence that a ruthless, vindictive, relentless war, carried on with a press spluttering incessant hate and calumny against the South, until all christendom has expressed itself shocked and horrified at the demon spirit

manifested, can ever restore an harmonious Union—a Union of hands, a Union of hearts—a Union of States.

“What but principle, dearer than life, can embolden four millions of people, with a questionable population in their midst of equal number, what could induce them to brave the full power of twenty-four millions in immediate contact? It must be a principle, to maintain which, is worth more than all the harm your million of men authorized to be raised, can do them.

“They perceive in this war, or, what is tantamount, they believe they perceive, in this war, a purpose of subjugation of the most degrading character, such as is incompatible with the existence of honorable men, and I have no doubt the actions and purposes of these incomparable wretches, Sumner, Wilson & Co., are of a character which should render life undesirable, and these are the men who control public affairs, and who, linked with the Blairs, are fast driving this country into a collision with the great powers of Europe, whose condemnation of our course is most apparent. We place, ourselves, obstructions in the way of their prosperity, to an extent that will permit no forbearance, of every right they may construe to be theirs. The three hundred million dollars raw material of cotton, tobacco, &c., sent to Europe, *when manufactured sells for over one thousand millions of dollars.* There is that temptation to Europe to find excuse to disregard our blockade. Other inducements, of not less import, might be mentioned.

“A peaceful adjustment and reunion would consign these infinitely wicked men to retirement, perhaps to a juster doom; and because they prefer power, their own safety, and the glutting of their own ignoble vengeance on the South, they furiously urge a war which will certainly cost us Union, besides entailing all the widespread, dread, and enduring evils of war.

“*I assert it, as a fact beyond contradiction, that full four-fifths of the American people would have had an harmonious Union under the Crittenden compromise, and that the responsibility of defeating it and of causing the war, rests wholly and solely upon the infamous conduct of these men.* The South distinctly expressed its willingness to accept the Crittenden compromise. The whole of the northern Democracy, the Bell-Everett party, and hundreds of thousands of Republicans—not Anti-Slavery—by petitions in countless numbers and in the strongest language of appeal and instruction, desired Congress to adopt it, or, at least, to allow the people themselves to pass upon it. Thus there were clearly four-fifths in favor of a measure which bore peace and healing on its wings. The fact that the South was willing to accept so small an evidence of northern good-will and remain in the Union, is conclusive evidence of its strong Union feeling. And yet *these men*, who have done all these wrongs, now again forbid the North and South communing peacefully, lest a Union should follow, with their inevitable disgrace, and probable destruction.

“The people have declined to swell the army. Let this silent voice teach the propriety of negotiations. If this still small voice of monition be disregarded, a speedy, deep, lasting remorse will overtake us, beneath collisions with foreign powers.

“I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

“W. H. WINDER.

“Hon. WM. H. SEWARD; Washington.

“PHILADELPHIA, 10th SEPTEMBER, 1861.”

On the 11th—immediately, no doubt, on its receipt—he telegraphed to the Marshal, who showed me the despatch—“Send W. H. Winder to Fort Lafayette. W. H. Seward”—he then being ignorant that, on the *night of the 10th*, I had been arrested. On the morning of the 12th, learning of my previous arrest, he telegraphed again to the Marshal:—“Send W. H. Winder to Fort Lafayette, New York, and deliver him into the custody of Colonel Martin-Burke. Send the papers and evidence here. He is reported to have been arrested by detective Franklin. W. H. Seward, Sec. of State.” The Mayor of Philadelphia, who furnished me with the above copy of the second despatch after my release, told me I was in error throughout in supposing I was imprisoned by General Cameron. He said it was Governor Seward’s doings; and he added, the moment he had read the copy of my letter to Seward, he knew *that was the trouble*; and such I understood him was the conclusion to which others came who saw my papers, and concurrent testimony, from many sources, confirm this.

On the evening 10th, between 7 and 8 o’clock, I was arrested by detective Franklin, *put in a station-house cell*, and confined there all night. He showed me a warrant, issued by the Mayor of Philadelphia, induced by a despatch from General Andrew Porter, Provost Marshal of the city of Washington, directing it. When I was brought before Mayor Henry in the morning, he told me, in the presence of detective Franklin, that he had given him express orders not to arrest me that day unless he could do so before half past two o’clock, in order that I might have time conveniently to get bail. But this man chose *par*

posely; to disregard this peremptory order, as I was at my office or hotel the whole day. He knew where to find me, but would not, his object being to prevent my being at large to interfere with his ransacking my office, from which, besides my papers relating to politics, he took books, pictures, also letters having no shadow of relation to politics, but referring to the most sacred secrets of other parties, these also, and many other things, were taken, wholly unjustifiably, even supposing the right of search to exist. I was arrested in the armory* of a company to which I was attached and taken to my chambers, my person there searched by detective Franklin, and my papers and all my keys taken from me, except the key of my office, which I held in my hand; my trunk, closets, &c., were searched, every scrap of paper taken, though not one of them in any manner referred to politics, as he saw by reading. After shutting me up in the station-house, he proceeded to my office, broke open the door or picked the lock, and had an examination of my papers; for my clerk found a piece of candle in my room next morning when he went there, and other evidences of a night visit. He also found an officer there, who went on with the examination of my papers, &c. On leaving that day, Franklin told him he had better not come to the office, while they held possession. For about two weeks they held continued, exclusive possession, ransacking safe, chests, drawers, cases, &c., and a collection of papers of more than thirty years, violating the

* Under the excitement caused by the alleged marching of the Confederates upon the Capitol, this and other companies were organized to resist a possible attack on this city, which it was supposed might be attempted, if the Capitol should fall into Confederate hands. In its organization, in the most unqualified terms, it was declared that it was solely for the defence of the city of Philadelphia. Although I discredited in every way all rumors of any intended invasion, yet willing to show my readiness to perform all my duties as a citizen, and opposed alike to invasion by either party I joined this company; having thus manifested my purpose to do my whole duty, I claimed, and declared, on all proper occasions, my determination to exercise all the rights of a citizen. When, subsequently, a consultation was held, to see if the members would volunteer to go wherever ordered, I distinctly declined, on the ground of opposition to the war, and as the tender of the company never was made, I suppose that a large proportion of them declined.

sanctity of private correspondence during all that time, under pretence of hunting treasonable matter during the few months preceding. They allowed access to my private papers to reporters of newspapers, for the purpose of publication; and false, garbled, malicious slanders were published as the alleged contents of such letters. At the end of two weeks my clerk was allowed to take possession of the office; they, however, doubtless, holding keys for access at pleasure. They carried off letter-books, letters to me, copies of my letters, a large book having pasted in it extracts from newspapers of matter written by me. Among other letters, they stole copies of my letters to Cameron and Seward, and General Cameron's letter to me. They took my Army Dictionary and Navy Register, my Genealogical Tree, pictures and autograph letters. From so very large a collection of papers as I had, it is impossible for me to determine, with any certainty, the full amount of the robbery.

On the morning of the 11th September I was taken to the Mayor's office, when the Mayor told me that, on signing a bond for \$200 in my own recognizance to appear in October, he would discharge me. There was no charge made, no questions asked me, no testimony offered. I signed the bond, supposing there was an end of the matter, when to my surprise the Mayor said to me that, in compliance with the request of the United States District Attorney, I hand you over to the Marshal, whose deputy is here to take charge of you—he pointing to an individual present as the deputy—who immediately took charge of me, saying that I would have a hearing before the Commissioner that afternoon at four o'clock. In the meantime he confined me in Moyamensing prison. At four o'clock I was at the Commissioner's office, with my counsel, George W. Biddle, Esq., for whom I had sent. At the opening, the District Attorney, Coffey, stated that they had been unable to procure the expected evidence, but that reports of my conversations had reached his ears, and he wished the hearing postponed until the 13th, at four o'clock, to give him time to hunt up such evidence. Notwithstanding this confession of destitution of evi-

dence to justify my arrest; and the flimsy pretext of hoping to hunt up reports of my conversations, the Commissioner, instead of discharging me, granted the delay, and recommitted me to Moyamensing, and the Marshal gave strict injunctions to allow no one from outside to see me, although several other State prisoners there confined were allowed to go about outside in the neighborhood.

On the afternoon of the 13th, at the time appointed, my counsel and I were at the office of the Commissioner. Attorney Coffey kept us waiting an hour before he made his appearance. This delay was, doubtless, designed to allow me no time to take out a writ of *habeas corpus* before I could be hurried off to New York, as had been determined on. On coming in, Attorney Coffey stated to the Commissioner that the paper which he held in his hand would render any further action before him unnecessary, and he desired my discharge by the Commissioner, in order that the directions in the paper, which he handed to the Commissioner, might be carried into effect. That paper *purported* to be a despatch from S. Cameron, Secretary of War, and was in these words :

“ WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 11, 1861.

“ GEORGE A. COFFEY, U. S. District Attorney :

“ Have telegraphed Marshal Milward to arrest Wm. H. Winder, and transfer him to Fort Lafayette.

S. CAMERON, Secretary of War.”

The Marshal was present, but he produced to the Commissioner no despatch such as above referred to, and I have every reason to believe that he never received any such despatch.

Yet a District Attorney, upon this reputed telegraphic information that the Secretary had sent such an order, but which order he knew had never reached the Marshal, demanded of the Commissioner my release from his charge, in order that I might be incarcerated, upon the *sole* authority of a reputed telegraphic despatch that such an order had been telegraphed.

The Commissioner, without a word of comment, discharged the case.

It will be seen that the date of this *reputed* despatch from the Secretary of War, S. Cameron, is the 11th of September, *and received doubtless on that day*, and was probably the authority and inducement of Attorney Coffey to request the Mayor to turn me over to the Commissioner for examination. In expectation of being able to produce evidence giving such color to a charge as to authorize the Commissioner to bind me over for trial, Attorney Coffey said nothing about it at the hearing on the afternoon of the 11th, and, unwilling to abandon the prosecution, if such color of charge could be produced, he obtained a postponement until the afternoon of the 13th instant, at which time his hunt for criminatory evidence was barren of results. Although two days had elapsed since the receipt of the notification that S. Cameron had "telegraphed Marshal Milward to arrest W. H. Winder, and transfer him to Fort Lafayette," *yet no such order was produced by Marshal Milward*. Notwithstanding this remarkable fact, the Attorney could reconcile it with his sense of duty, upon mere telegraphic report that an order had been issued, illegal even if issued, to propose to a United States Commissioner to join him in a violation of the rights of a citizen. It is well worthy of notice that no order, real or forged, of any kind, has ever been received by Marshal Milward from General Cameron, Secretary of War, for my imprisonment or arrest. They have no show or shadow of authority, save and except, the reputed despatch, produced by Attorney Coffey; and General Cameron, under his own hand, explicitly denies all knowledge of this one to Mr. Coffey. It was evidently a manufactured despatch. I wrote to a friend in Washington to call at the telegraph office and examine the original manuscript of this despatch, to see in whose handwriting it was, and who and by what authority such persons used the name of the Secretary of War to arrest persons in distant places, not only without the order of the Secretary of War, but without notifying him of such a purpose, and never reporting

the arrest after being made ; so that, the Secretary of War, in my case, seven months after my arrest and imprisonment under color of his name, was in entire ignorance of this fact. The reply to the inquiry at the telegraph office was, that if such a despatch had been sent from that office, the party bringing it to the office had waited until the message had been sent, and, as in all other such cases, had demanded and received back the written order—thus covering up the tracks of the forger, if forged, or concealing the author, whoever he might be. I was also informed that there was a parcel of wretches—some of them foreigners—in the office of the Provost Marshal, called detectives, who, either upon an assumed or general delegated authority, used the names of the Secretaries of War and of State, and that their acts were not overruled.

Instantly upon my discharge by the Commissioner, the Marshal told me I was to go to New York. He put me in a carriage he had waiting at the door, drove round to my rooms for me to get my trunk, and then drove down to the Market or Arch street wharf, where we crossed and walked down to the Camden and Amboy depot, to take seats in the train, with the passengers who were coming over the ferry from Walnut street wharf on the company's boat.

While in the carriage with me, in order to show, as he said, his consideration towards me, the Marshal took out of his pocket a despatch, and showed it to me. It was as follows :

“ WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 11, 1861.

“ Send Wm. H. Winder to Fort Lafayette.

“ W. H. SEWARD.”

He said he had had it in his possession several days (it was then the 13th) but had not used it. I saw instantly that it was the response to my letter of the 10th instant to him, and that the moment he had read it, with all the imperiousness of manner and all the amiability of purpose of Richard, he pronounced the doom, “ Off with his head ! So much for Buckingham ”—of which his despatch is a Republican despot's translation. At

this time Governor Seward had not learned of my arrest on the previous night. At the cars the Marshal confided me to the charge of two deputies, who accompanied me to New York, where they engaged a hack, and in it we were driven to Fort Hamilton, and with me, the deputies delivered to Colonel Burke the letter consigning me to his custody.

Colonel Burke sent me under escort to Fort Lafayette, to which place from Fort Hamilton I was taken in a row-boat.

The abominable treatment of prisoners in Fort Lafayette is too well known to require any notice in this statement. I early took occasion to write to an acquaintance, who was on terms of the closest intimacy with Governor Seward, requesting him to come and see me. He did come. I told him my profound ignorance of the cause of my arrest and imprisonment; that I knew no just cause existed, and that a proper examination, in my presence, would clearly establish this; that in regard to Governor Seward's despatch of the 11th September, though not used, it came so instantly upon the receipt of my letter by him, that it would seem to be justly attributed to it; and upon my stating how freely I had stated my views in it, this gentleman seemed to think there was no doubt of it. My object in wishing to see him was to request him to go to Washington and learn the cause of my arrest, and inform me. He promised to go and learn of Governor Seward, and to report to me, *if permitted*, the cause of my offence, if it should be other than the letter to which we both attributed Governor Seward's despatch. He promised me also to see Cameron. I told him then, in the most distinct terms, that I required an unconditional release—a release which, of itself, should perfectly vindicate me. He left me; and, never having corrected this assurance, I was confirmed in my opinion of the cause of Seward's despatch.

FORT LAFAYETTE, SEPTEMBER 17, 1861.

DEAR SIR: Believing that General Cameron and Governor Seward would be glad to find that no sufficient cause existed, even according to the policy marked out for their action, for my incarce-

ration in this Fort, I am so far induced to rely upon your consideration for me as to request of you a visit for the purpose of having a conversation with you. It will be necessary for you to get from Washington written permission to visit me. I will here simply state that I propose to say nothing to you which you are not at liberty to publish to the world, if need be.

In regard to the cause of my confinement, all that I have been able to learn is from the face of the warrant of the Mayor, on which my arrest was made, which alleges treasonable correspondence with the Confederates, "to overthrow the Government and seize upon the property of the United States."

In regard to correspondence with the Confederates, I can simply state that I have not, since 12th April, written a letter or sent a message to any one whatever in the South, nor have I received a letter or a message from any one. I have had no communication with the South whatever, except that I may have written one or two letters to the secretary of our mining company in North Carolina, (if so, copies of them are in my letter-book, which has been seized,) and two letters written, but not sent, because the Express Company had ceased, by order of Government, to take charge of letters for the South, but the letters themselves have been seized, and will speak for themselves. They are in reply to a letter from the secretary of our mining company, who said the State would probably confiscate our property in retaliation for the confiscation act of Congress. His letters are in possession of the Government. The above includes, I may say unqualifiedly, all the letters sent by or received by me, to or from any parties in the Confederate States or of the Confederate States. But, in order to simplify the whole matter, I will state, that unless a difference of opinion in regard to the policy of the Administration as to the best mode of securing the Union of all the States, be, to the Administration, just cause for incarcerating me, no cause for my confinement exists. But if that difference of opinion be cause for what has been done to me, then there does exist the most abundant cause. Claiming, as I do, an absorbing desire for a Union of hearts, a Union of hands, a Union of States, to a degree second to no man, I have not hesitated to present to others my views as to the surest and speediest mode of attaining this end, and to none have I more forcibly or more frankly, I might say so forcibly and so frankly, as I have done by direct communications to members of the Administration itself, in the hope that the Administration might thus be induced to give some heed, to what you may rely upon it, was and is, the earnest prayer of millions of Americans, not less anxious than the Administration itself to secure that Union which is the avowed purpose of its policy.

I will close by briefly stating, that, in the foregoing, will be found the length and breadth of any offence by me; and that, if there be

any seeming evidence of anything at variance with this, I pronounce it not authentic, however imposingly it may be presented, and that all such will dissolve and disappear in my presence,

With many apologies for a trespass on your courtesy, which may subject you to much inconvenience,

I am, most truly, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

Hon. R. M. BLATCHFORD, New York.

FORT WARREN, JANUARY 6, 1862.

DEAR SIR: Some three months since, in the visit you were good enough to make me, in my confinement at Fort Lafayette, I made request that you would ascertain the cause of my arrest and confinement. I stated to you the tenor of a letter I had addressed to Governor Seward, and that, on the next day—the day of its reception by him—a despatch was sent to the Marshal of Philadelphia, in the following words: “Send W. H. Winder to Fort Lafayette. W. H. Seward.” I understood you to promise that you would learn the cause; and if it should prove to be any other than the letter, to which you attributed the despatch, and you should be permitted to inform me, that you would do so. As I have not since had a line from you, I have concluded, as you did, that the letter of the 10th April was the offence which caused the despatch, and as I had nothing different to say I have made no effort to obtain release other than to ask an interview with Governor Seward upon it. The time is not far distant when a just interpretation of that letter will be made by Governor Seward, when right motives will be admitted as the cause of it, and true, and faithful, and friendly counsel its contents, and its writer among the truest and most devoted Unionists. * * * in several letters intimated, on your authority, that the obstacle to my release was my objection to taking the oath, and thus it would seem I am made to be my own jailor. While I was glad to have seemingly such authentic information that such was the only obstacle to my release—(if wrongly advised in this please inform me)—I still think that a due consideration of the matter, with the light of passing events, will induce the conclusion that the best interests of the country, so far as I am concerned, will be most effectually subserved by my free discharge.—The signs of the times are portentous, and in a conflict with England my zeal and services would be as valuable as those of any other individual similarly circumstanced.

I have differed from the policy of the Administration, agreeing with the early expressed views of Governor Seward, and the wise warnings, at an early day, of Thurlow Weed. Had Governor Seward adhered to his convictions, so distinctly and so prophetically

declared, and when overborne in council had resigned, issuing a pronouncement of his own policy and difference from that of his co-ministers, and had returned to private life, how thoroughly would events have vindicated him, and how pre-eminently he would have loomed up, *the man of the times!* Would that he had done so, alike for his country as his own sake. The kindly personal feeling I then entertained towards him had inspired the wish that he should do it.

As I know you to be as solicitous for all that concerns Governor Seward as for yourself, I am still willing to believe that you retain confidence in my candor and motives. I have written you thus freely. My opinions, as hitherto expressed, are deepened by the current of events, which are simply the fulfilment of all that I have said.

Respectfully, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

Hon. R. M. BLATCHFORD, New York.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 9, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: I did speak to Mr. Seward about your case, but I did not write to you because I had nothing very satisfactory to communicate. I learned enough in Washington, however, to be sure that, if there was a disposition to release you, it certainly would not be done unless you took the oath of allegiance; and *that*, you remember, you were not willing to do. I did not inquire about the reason that led to your arrest, nor learn whether they were such as would now allow your release on your being willing to take the oath. I should be glad indeed to see you free again. And if you have changed your mind about the oath, I will write to Governor Seward in your behalf. That will bring him to the decision whether your further imprisonment is deemed necessary.

I am very truly, yours, &c.

R. M. BLATCHFORD.

On the 29th October we embarked on board the steamer State of Maine for Fort Warren. On 1st November, 1861, we entered that Fort, where no preparation whatever had been made for our reception. The rooms had not even a chair, and for about eight days we had nothing but the bare floors to lie on, over which we spread our overcoats, having neither bed nor blanket. Some few perfectly raw hams, in the open air, cut upon a barrel head, were distributed, and some of the prisoners thus got something to eat.

The commander, Colonel Dimick, it is only just to say, manifested throughout a disposition to grant every indulgence consistent with his instructions, and his whole course was in marked and favorable contrast with the fellows at Lafayette. I say this of him, though no one received less consideration at his hands than I, and I owe him nothing but the recollection that he acted courteously to all, whatever especial regard he may have shown to some.*

At Fort Lafayette it was a rule that we should require that no portions of our letters should be published, and the restrictions as to their contents were very rigid.

On the 5th December I addressed to Governor Seward the following letter, but to which no reply was ever received :

“ FORT WARREN, DECEMBER, 5, 1861.

“ To the Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State :

“ SIR : In accordance with your letter of instructions, read to the parties confined in this Fort, to address you directly in relation to their release, I proceed to do so, relying upon the implied assurance of your letter that these communications will receive your personal attention and reply.

“ I have been confined now nearly thirteen weeks, and during all that time I have been unable to learn of any charge whatever ; consequently I can only state that I am unconscious of word or act inconsistent with the character of a true American citizen, and hence I infer that my arrest did not emanate from the head of a Department, and that the names of such, when employed in this matter, were merely *pro forma*, without attention to, and probably without knowledge of, the document to which they were attached,

“ In this state of affairs I most respectfully submit to your consideration the propriety of allowing me, on parole, to visit Washington for the examination of my case, and I will add my conviction that a short

*I have some hesitation in mentioning the fact, that upon two occasions I wished to send sealed letters, stating to Lieut. Edw. R. Parry, who had supervision of all correspondence, that the contents were exclusively of a private character, and made no reference whatever to politics or to military operations, and unless he could let them pass sealed, I should not send them. Without a moments hesitation, Lieut. Parry assented, upon the assurance above given. I sincerely hope this acknowledgement of his courtesy will not bring upon him the displeasure of the Department.

interview will satisfy you of some error in my arrest and confinement, which have proved seriously detrimental.

“Should the granting the parole prove to be inconsistent with your purposes, I trust I shall not be disappointed in my expectation of receiving a statement of any charges against me, fully, specifically, and with all the evidence in the possession of the Department, together with the names of all parties making charges.

“Respectfully, your obedient servant,

“W. H. WINDER.”

On the 14th January I was offered release on condition of taking the oath of allegiance, which I declined. I had sought of Governor Seward, through several persons, for a temporary leave on parole, to attend to some important business, but in vain. Senator Pearce, of Maryland, among others to whom I had written to learn my imputed offence, and to get this temporary boon, in reply on 21st January, 1862, says: “Your frequent correspondence and bold conversation have made you obnoxious. I fear there is no influence—certainly I have none—to avail for your purpose”—(temporary absence on parole.) Again, on 2d February, he says: “With Mr. Seward I can do nothing. I saw him again yesterday, and he is as rigid as cast-iron.” I wrote back, before we should be done with Seward, we would melt this cast-iron beneath a white heat. This “frequent correspondence” became known only after my arrest and the seizure of my papers.

On the 16th February I was again offered release on condition of taking the oath, which was denominated a modified oath. As I required an unconditional release, I refused. On 22d February the “amnesty” and “parole” were tendered as conditions of release. I refused for reasons stated in the following letter to the Secretary of War:

[Copy.]

FORT WARREN, 22d FEBRUARY, 1862.

I have been held in confinement in Forts Lafayette, N. Y., and Warren, Mass., without process or form of law, now more than five months, having been arrested in Philadelphia, my residence, from whence, by

order of Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, by telegraphic despatch, it was transferred to those distant points.

Immediately upon my arrest, in my absence, my office, desks, chests, &c., were all broken open, and all my papers, a collection of more than *thirty years*, ransacked, on pretence of hunting treasonable matter during the *few months* preceding; the sanctity of private correspondence was violated and inalignantly calumniated, by the publication of pretended contents thus seized; other parties were grievously slandered by statement of falsely alleged contents, and I debarred of all opportunity to contradict such infamous publications. My letter-books, writings and letters are still in possession of public officials. Even pictures, twenty years old, found in my possession, were misrepresented to slander me. My correspondence, addressed to me at Philadelphia since my arrest, has been intercepted. I am to this hour in ignorance of the cause of my arrest and detention. Gov. Seward, Secretary of State, caused an order of his to be read to the prisoners, in which he stated that the employment of paid counsel would only have the effect of prejudicing the case of such parties, would be deemed an offence, and would occasion prolongation of imprisonment; his order required all applications to be addressed directly to him or through unpaid parties.

In accordance with this order, never having employed counsel, on the 5th Dec'r. last, I addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, in which referring to his order giving assurance that he would read and reply to our communications, I proceeded to state my long confinement, my ignorance of the causes therefor, and requesting permission to go to Washington for an investigation of my case, or for a statement of the charges against me, if any, the full testimony, and the names of my accusers, or else an unconditional discharge. To this hour no reply has been received.

My release was tendered me on condition of taking the oath of allegiance, &c. I declined to accept release upon conditions. A second time release was offered upon condition of taking the oath, which offer was accompanied by a letter of explanation from Gov. Seward, intended to remove objections, in stating that support of the Constitution did not include, necessarily, support of the individual members of the Executive. My objection being radical, applied to all tests or conditions which might be supposed to admit that I had done anything inconsistent with the character of a true American, and I, of course, declined this second offer of release.

In common with my fellow members of the company to which I was attached, I took an oath to support the Constitution, and I am still under its full responsibility. I am ready, in common with all others, on every proper and lawful occasion, to take it a thousand times. But as a discriminating test, imputing past and future intended wrong, it is not possible for me thus voluntarily to calumniate myself. The interior of Fort Warren, with the *mens sibi conscia recti*, is preferable to a release purchased at expense of character. So far from being willing thus to calumniate myself, I have challenged and do now challenge a comparison of record

of fidelity to the Constitution and its Union with all concerned in my arrest and detention, confident that the result will furnish none of them with cause for self-gratulation.

In this state of the case, the Secretary of War announces that the President will grant "amnesty" for past offences, and take "parole" against the commission of future ones, of all persons, "except spies in the service of the insurgents, or others, whose release at the present moment may be deemed incompatible with the public safety."

Thus I should be turned loose, stained with an unnamed guilt of the past, supposed to be covered by the "amnesty," and the equally nameless guilt of the future averted by the "parole," allowing a censorious world to impute any wrongs it may please as being concealed beneath the cloaks of "amnesty" and "parole," to which, by my acceptance, I would give, at least, a *quasi* admission, and certainly would leave upon myself the color of guilt, without power of vindication against such imputation.

The "spies" and others, whose liberation "may be deemed incompatible with the public safety," will have, probably, the opportunity for a perfect vindication, while those favored with "amnesty" and "parole" will stand forever beneath those clouds.

It would seem to be an exquisite aggravation of the original wrong, which the order admits and purports to remedy and correct. The wrong done was illegal incarceration without charge; the redress now proposed is to confess that wrong has been done and to receive "amnesty" therefor; to acknowledge intention to do future wrong, and then give "parole" to forego such intention.

The condition, in a Northern State, of a man accepting "amnesty" or giving "parole," would be a confession of guilt, bearing in its train intolerable consequences.

For these reasons, and many others which naturally present themselves, and would be stated if necessary, the undersigned hopes the Secretary of War will find it consistent with his duty to reinstate him at home to his original position before arrest.

If there be any charge of crime, I am ready to meet it. If there be none, I trust the Secretary will see that to impose conditions on me as the price of my liberation is to aggravate the wrong which will then stand confessed.

It might be simple justice alike to the Administration as to prisoners, to have the informers who misled the Department exposed to view and to just punishment.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. H. WINDER,

Hon. E. B. STANTON, Sec. of War,

Washington.

On 15th March I opened a correspondence with General Cameron, to ascertain the charges and the accuser, which had induced him to send me to Fort Lafayette. It follows, and will explain itself :

FORT WARREN, 15th MARCH, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON,

SIR—It was by your order, through Telegraphic Despatch, that I was taken from Philadelphia to Fort La Fayette and placed in confinement there, from whence I was transferred to this Fort in which I am confined, still ignorant of the cause which induced you to issue that order.

The object of my writing this letter is to obtain from you information, at whose instance and upon what representations you were influenced to the issue of the order for my confinement in Fort La Fayette. I believe I do not err in supposing the order could not have been of your own motion, but was upon the statement of party or parties who ought not and whom you supposed would not mislead you. I trust that my reliance on your readiness to afford me the information will not prove delusive. I feel myself entitled to this consideration at your hands, and am unwilling to doubt your inclination to accord it to me.

I am, Resp'y, Your Ob't Servant,

W. H. WINDER.

LOCHIEL, 24 MARCH, 1862.

W. H. WINDER, ESQ.

SIR,—You surprise me by saying in your letter of the 15th inst., received to-day, that it was by my order that you were taken from Philadelphia to Fort La Fayette, and placed in confinement, &c.

I knew nothing of your arrest until I saw the fact stated in the newspapers, and being at the time closely engaged in the discharge of my official duties, neglected to inquire into the cause; presuming, however, that it was done by order of the State Department, which has charge of such cases as I presumed yours to be.

Respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON.

FORT WARREN, March 31, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Lochiel, near Harrisburg.

SIR,—I have to thank you for your prompt reply to my request for information as to the causes which induced you to issue an order for my transfer to Fort La Fayette. Your reply of the 24th, stating your surprise at learning I had been sent there by your order, and that you

knew nothing of my arrest until you saw it in the papers, and presumed it had been done by order of the State Department, confirms me in my supposition that your name had been used either without your knowledge, or inadvertently signed to a paper without heeding its contents. It was obtained somehow through the District Attorney.

I give you a copy of the document upon which Col. Burke took charge of me and placed me in Fort La Fayette.

“ Lt..Col. Martin Burke, Com'g Fort Hamilton.

Philada, Sep. 13, 1861.

Dear Sir,—Permit me to introduce to you my Deputy Mr. Sharkey, who carries with him Mr. Winder to be delivered to your custody per order of Secretary of War.

Your ob't serv't.

WM. MILLWARD, U. S. Marshal.”

I am respectfully,

Your ob't ser't.

WM. H. WINDER.

FORT WARREN, 31 MARCH, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Lochiel, near Harrisburg,

SIR,—Since writing you to-day I have received the following copy of despatch from Philadelphia.

“ 65.

WASHINGTON, 11 SEP. 1861.

GEO. A. COFFEY, U. S. District Attorney.

Have telegraphed Marshal Millward to arrest Wm. H. Winder, and transfer him to Fort La Fayette.

S. CAMERON, Sec'y War.”

I have supposed this may recall to your mind the communication of Mr. Coffey, to which, apparently, it is a reply.

I am respectfully, your ob't ser't,

W. H. WINDER.

LOCHIEL, 2 APRIL, 1862.

W. H. WINDER, Esq:

SIR,—I have enclosed your letter of 31st, received to-day, to the Secretary of State, and disavowed all knowledge of your arrest, with request for your release if you have been held by my direction.

Very Respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON.

FORT WARREN, 5th APRIL, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Lochiel, near Harrisburg.

SIR,—I have been much gratified by the receipt of your letter of 2d April, in which you advise me of your having sent my (first) letter of 31 March to the Secretary of State, with request for my release if I have been held by your direction.

This is satisfactory, and is all the action the case requires at your hands, unless, indeed, a disregard of your request, should render it proper for your own vindication against an act which you repudiate, but the responsibility for which is placed on your name, by the record.

Your obd't. serv't,

W. H. WINDER.

On the 6th May I was summoned into the presence of the Commissioners, Dix and Pierpont. General Dix sought, by argument, to remove my objections to giving my parole, contending that doing so could not properly be construed into taint upon my conduct. I gave my reasons on the other side, that if no taint was intended, and it was as he said, and it was their object to hold me guiltless, an unconditional discharge would leave no doubt of an entire acquittal, while to hold me there, admittedly guiltless of wrong, except on condition of parole, was without excuse. General Dix specified, as the exceptionable items, my correspondence with Senators Davis, Toombs, and Breckenridge, Burnett, Vallandigham, and Hallock, of the Journal of Commerce. I took issue with him upon them, in the manner stated in my letter of 9th May to these gentlemen.

The secretary, Webster, said I had received treasonable letters from C. H. Winder, Washington; but on my objecting to the word treasonable, General Dix directed him to strike out the word from his notes.

General Dix said I knew that the war, to which I was opposed, was forced upon the Federal Government by an impending attack on the Federal Capitol. In reply to this, I begged the attention of the Commissioners to the facts I should state, and challenged them to controvert the correctness of any one of them. I denied *in toto* the fact or purpose of an impending

capture of Washington. I stated that the Confederacy had not a soldier within five hundred miles of the city of Washington; that not a single soldier had been set in motion to proceed there; that the States of North Carolina and Virginia interposed their whole breadth between the city of Washington and the Confederacy; that the first had refused to call a convention even to consider the question of secession, and that two-thirds of the convention of the latter were opposed to secession; that, in fact, there did not exist a scintilla of evidence that the Confederacy entertained the purpose, much less had forces in imminent proximity hastening to the capture, except the solitary drunken declaration of Mr. Walker. I stated that, notwithstanding the zeal with which evidence of this purpose had been sought, none had been, none could be obtained of what had no existence.

To all this General Dix had nothing to urge but that *he believed* that in Virginia, Mason and others were raising troops for that purpose. He acquitted Hunter, as being a mere "doctrinaire," as he called him, from any active participation.

And thus in justification of this frightful war, all that could be advanced was *an opinion* that in Virginia, (not in the Confederacy) against which *alone* was charged a purpose to take the city, and against which this army was to act, *somebody* was raising troops with this intention; and yet to this hour they have been unable to find this somebody, or a single fact to support the charge.

I stated, in regard to the relative position of the State and Federal Governments, that the resolutions of 1798-'99 embodied my opinions. The Secretary (Webster) greedily snatched at this statement, as though he had pinned me with conclusive evidence of treason, and I noticed a day or two afterwards, in a Republican paper in Boston, a bitter article, denouncing these resolutions as the cockatrice egg from which the monster secession was hatched.

On 9th May I addressed to Messrs Dix and Pierpont the following letter, which will explain itself, and refutes the card of

those gentlemen, published in the New York papers of November :

“ FORT WARREN, MAY 9, 1862.

“ To Major-General JOHN A. DIX and Judge PIERPONT,

“ Commissioners appointed by the War Department for the examination of political prisoners:

“ GENTLEMEN : When General Dix told me the Commission would consider the reasons urged by me for an unconditional release, I supposed I should learn the result before your departure from this Fort.— Not having heard from you, and reading in the papers the announcement of your leaving Boston for New York, I have supposed that it may be your purpose to refer the matter for decision to the Department. In such case I deem it proper, in justice to myself, that a more full record of what I said than the meagre notes of your Secretary furnish, should accompany the statement of my case. I have, therefore, to request that this further statement of what transpired may be placed with the other papers.

“ In appearing before you, at your summons, I was told that my offence was “ my correspondence with various parties, and my writings for the newspapers,” and you wished to know what I had to say.

“ I stated that this offence became known only *after* my arrest and the seizure of my papers. And in regard to that correspondence and those writings, I had to say that loyalty and devotion to the Constitution breathed from them throughout as inseparably as fragrance from the rose. That if any charge of crime could be founded on them, I was ready to meet such charge. If no charge of crime could be construed from them, and yet the writings and correspondence should be deemed amenable to censure, I challenged their publication entire as the ground of my confinement, and should desire no more perfect vindication than their publication would afford me.

“ The Secretary interposed, saying that although the writings did profess devotion to the Constitution, yet they opposed the war. I stated that my conviction of the propriety of the course advocated by me in all these writings had been deepened by subsequent events, and that I adhered to them still. That nevertheless, in my difference from the Administration I had violated no law, nor in any way had done anything inconsistent with the character of a true American. It was true I had assailed unsparingly the Abolition element in the Republican party ; that I did so now, and ever would anathematize it.

“ I further stated, very distinctly, that I had written to the Secretaries of War and of State, (and referred the Commission to the letters which were in their possession,) in which I had, in the strongest and most explicit manner, given my views, entirely in consonance with all my writings and correspondence. These letters were sent prior to my

arrest. And I stated that Government, and I presumed the Commission also, were in possession of the reply of one of these Secretaries, who stated that, notwithstanding my uncompromising difference from the Administration, he had none the less confidence in my loyalty and patriotism. I also produced and left with the Commissioners a copy of correspondence with the late Secretary of War, (General Cameron,) in which he disavowed all knowledge of my arrest and confinement, made in his name, and in which he stated he had so written the State Department, and requesting my release. My reply to Secretary Stanton's offer of "amnesty" and liberation on "parole," the Commission had, as General Dix said.

"I referred to my reasons given in this reply for refusing a conditional release. I stated that I had challenged a comparison of record of fidelity to the Constitution and the Union with all concerned in my arrest and imprisonment; and that again in their presence I repeated the challenge, confident of a favorable result.

"I denied *in toto* that there was anything in the writings to which objection was made, which is inconsistent with the truest patriotism and truest loyalty to the Constitution and its Union. I stated my belief that, now, every one, except the Abolitionists, must admit that it would have been wiser to have yielded the modicum which would have satisfied the South and have retained the Union, than was the course pursued in creating a debt of thousands of millions of dollars, with all the horrors of the gigantic war, which, even if successful, could not establish the Union so favorably as it would have continued if such counsels and measures as I sustained had been adopted.

"I could find no language too strong to express my abhorrence of the Abolition influences allowed to prevail under the present Administration.

"With this statement, which please file with the other papers, I await result, while I mean, in no manner whatever, to admit the legality of the tribunal.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. H. WINDER."

I subjoin the following letter of Messrs. Dix and Pierpont, taken from the New York Herald of 19th November, 1862; with this and the foregoing letter, the reader may judge between us. I challenged them to a public issue, by a publication of the seized papers. They declined the issue. With the disavowal of "the late Secretary of War" of all knowledge of my arrest, and his request for my release in their possession, they allege I was arrested "by order of the late Secretary of War." It is for those gentlemen to explain this contradiction.

To what "official of high eminence," or, "in answer to your (what?) inquiry," I am left in the dark; but the presumption would seem to be that "the official of high standing" was desirous of placing on "the late Secretary of War" the responsibility of an arrest and imprisonment which he disavowed, and had requested of "an official of high eminence" my release.

It is due to those gentlemen to say that their examination was made courteously; and I certainly understood General Dix, the spokesman, distinctly, to say, while urging me to give "parole," that it would afford no countenance whatever to a supposition derogatory to my integrity as a true American. I therefore interpret the intimation of disloyalty in their card to be that of the imprisoning official, and not theirs. If theirs, then let them establish it:

"THE CASE OF W. H. WINDER.

"The following letter to an official of high eminence will explain the matter:

"NOVEMBER 12, 1862.

"DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry as to the facts of the case of Wm. H. Winder, a prisoner of State in Fort Warren, we reply that, on investigation, it appeared that Winder was arrested by order of the late Secretary of War; that a large number of letters and papers were seized, tending to show disloyalty to the Government, and a purpose to aid the rebellion. But after careful investigation of all the papers, and after a personal examination of Mr. Winder, we determined to release him on his giving his parole not to take up arms against the United States, or to give aid to the enemy, which he refused; and, as we are advised, there has been no day since when he might not have freely left the Fort upon that simple parole.

"Very respectfully yours,

"JOHN A. DIX, Major-General.

"EDWARDS PIERPONT.

Again, in August, 1862, I addressed the following letter to Mr. Stanton, of which no notice was ever taken:

[Copy.]

“To the Hon. E. M. STANTON, Sec. of War, Washington :

“FORT WARREN, 20th AUGUST, 1862.

“SIR : More than eleven months have elapsed since my arrest and the seizure of all my papers. During the last six months of this confinement my clerk has been sick and absent from the city, so that I have not had a word from him, and my affairs, already most damagingly embarrassed, are threatened with a more complete ruin.

“At the present moment my personal attention is vitally important to the carrying into effect some proposed arrangements in relation to my affairs, and for this purpose I desire a leave of absence from this Fort for thirty days.

“In order to obviate any hesitation which might arise, I will state my readiness to give parole not to engage in political or military discussions, also to report myself to the commanding officer of this Fort within thirty days from the date of my leaving it.

“As numerous parties, confined with me, have had this leave after only a few months’ imprisonment, I trust it is no misplaced reliance by me to anticipate a like consideration.

“I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“W. H. WINDER, of Philadelphia,”

On 5th October Messrs. George W. Biddle, W. B. Reed, and P. McCall arrived in Boston to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*. Mr. Biddle telegraphed to the Secretary of War for permission to see me, and received a peremptory refusal. Thus I was refused access to counsel, while other prisoners had been allowed visitors, and at that very time seven friends of prisoners were daily visitors at Fort Warren.

On the 29th October my counsel applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*, the issue of which was delayed to enable the District Attorney to receive instructions from Washington. If the Administration relied upon Mr. Binney’s argument and authority to suspend the *habeas corpus*, the District Attorney would have received instructions to oppose the issue, or plead this right. If not sure on that point, and it had any evidence of guilt, legal or moral, on my part, which would secure public condemnation, and palliate the outrage on the Constitution and law, by a too eager but manifestly patriotic impulse, it would have adduced

it. But discarding Mr. Binney's argument as unsound, and destitute of the other, it aggravated its wickedness by imposing upon the commander at Fort Warren the dirty part of sneaking from the just action of the law, and resisting, with the military, the rightful action of the Court. The commander of the Fort thus became, in fact, legally the prisoner of one whom he illegally held in prison, for he dared not leave the walls of Fort Warren. Thus the Administration wantonly presented the spectacle of using military force in Massachusetts to prevent, to defeat the regular operations of the civil law.

The following letter to *my counsel* was not allowed to pass, but was returned as contraband, and following it is the letter to Colonel Dimick :

“ FORT WARREN, OCTOBER 31st, 1862.

“ HON. GEO. S. HILLARD, Boston.

“ DEAR SIR : In a note this day received from Mr. Biddle, referring me to the papers for the proceedings on the application for a writ of Habeas Corpus in my behalf, I am made acquainted with your indefatigable professional efforts in the case, for which I take this early occasion to make my earnest acknowledgements, reserving a more suitable manifestation until after my release.

“ Will it not seem a strange thing to sensible men in their calm moods, that there can be any good reason why I was not arrested and prosecuted according to law, if I had offended the law ; or that there can be an offence, not in violation of the law, yet of a character so heinous as to justify the violation of the most cardinal provisions and principles of the Constitution and the laws ; and even supposing this possible, that it should be necessary to keep the offence a secret for fourteen months ;— and further, to preplex simple minds, that during that time the offending party should have been offered his release no less that four times—twice on condition of taking the oath of allegiance, and twice on parole ; and to cap the climax, that the party charged with such offence should, persistently, refuse a release except on terms that should acquit him and self-condemn his accusers as being the genuine malefactors.

“ It would seem to me that with all, except lunatics from “ Negro on the Brain,” and those who have the dollar so close to their eyes as to be able to see nothing else, this and similar cases present much for reflection on the dangers which hang imminent over all.

“ Mr. Biddle added in his note, “ we hope the time may soon come when your enlargement will take place.” I am at some loss to guess whether he refers to the battering ram which the elections are about to apply, or to that earlier discretion so much applauded by honest Sir John.

To suppose that it will come from any motive likely to influence sensible men and statesmen, is to fly in the face of all past experience.

“The Republican papers, *passim*, contend that there is a *lex non scripta* which, whenever the Administration feels its withers wrung, authorizes the punishment of the authors thereof “by consignment to military custody.”

“I am, most respectfully and most truly yours, &c.

W. H. WINDER.

Upon return of this letter, I addressed to Col. Dimmick the following :

“FORT WARREN, 1st NOVEMBER, 1862.

“SIR: Yesterday you refused to let pass a note to my Counsel in Boston, unless all of its contents should be expunged, except the paragraph making my acknowledgements of his professional services.

“I, therefore, deem it due to myself to call your attention to the following facts—

“1.—That my confinement in Fort La Fayette was under an alleged order of the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, and that there is on the record no other authority for my confinement there and here.

“2.—That you are perfectly aware that Gen. Cameron denied all knowledge of my arrest, repudiating the act, because the whole of my correspondence with him on this subject, passed through your hands open and under your perusal.

“3.—You know perfectly well that an imprisonment here under order of a Department, without charge, warrant and other form of law, would be a clear violation of the rights of a citizen under the Constitution and the laws, subjecting the violators to a penalty.

“4.—You know that the record does not show even the color of that authority.

“5.—You know how stringently the law prohibits the opening of letters of other parties, even if lawfully in custody.

“6.—You know full well the unquestionable right of all citizens to have counsel, and to confer with them alone and by sealed letters, even though legally in custody, under charge of the most serious crime.

“7.—You know that I have sedulously sought to learn if there was any charge of crime against me, declaring my readiness to meet any such.

“8.—You know that no charge of crime has been made against me.

“9.—You know that for the express purpose of forcing a lawful issue on the question of my incarceration here, a Writ of Habeas Corpus was issued addressed to you.

“10.—You know that you diligently and designedly thwarted the

process of the Court, preventing by threatened force its service upon you, evading your just responsibility to the law.

“ 10.—You know full well that in accordance with the Constitution and the laws, it was your bounden duty, as a good citizen and officer, to allow the service of the writ, and to obey its summons.

“ If to your knowledge, or in your opinion, I have erred in any of the above, I beg your prompt correction, as it would cause me great regret to have misrepresented you in any manner, but on the contrary, I will rejoice at any explanation which may relieve you of what now seems to be your responsibility.

“ If I have not erred, then the deductions from the foregoing would seem to be clear—that knowing that I have been feloniously incarcerated and that there is no warrant or lawful authority for my detention, you nevertheless continue to hold me in custody, an abettor.

“ That with full knowledge of the law in regard to opening letters, you aggravate its daily breach, by refusing to allow us to receive or to send freely our letters.

“ That knowing, as you do, the undoubted right of every citizen to appeal to the law for relief against illegal restraint, you have, by force and design, resisted and defeated the solemn efforts of the law, because you knew you held me in unlawful confinement; and excluded from personal interview, as my counsel have been, you suppress a letter which is addressed to my counsel and exclusively confined to such views of my case as I wish presented to him.

“ I now protest against any interposition between me and my counsel by you, and, indeed, against your keeping me here; and I demand of you the evidence of any authority whatever, real or pretended, except the physical force of your soldiers, for holding me a prisoner—for opening and reading all my letters to and fro, and for suppressing all that are distasteful.

“ If you have the means to justify yourself, I shall certainly receive such an answer, if you can find none to justify you, I would suggest that you would adopt such a course as will find its justification in the Constitution and the laws which you have sworn to support on penalty of perdition if you prove false to them.

“ Respectfully yours,

“ W. H. WINDER.

“ Col. JUSTIN DIMICK.”

FORT WARREN, NOVEMBER 17, 1862

DEAR SIR: I find my mind so importunately beset by most distressing reflections upon the course which you, and too many others, have taken in relation to the emancipation proclamation, and the orders already issued for instant action, intended to secure its

instant accomplishment in the most horrid form, that I cannot resist giving them expression.

While professing indignation at its purpose, and declaring the proclamation to be clearly unconstitutional in fact, you and others nevertheless prove false to the Constitution and to humanity, and aid the unconstitutional measure most effectually, by lulling watchfulness and smothering action with the syren songs of "*brutum fulmen*" and "a Pope's Bull against the Comet."

If you really be in earnest in your belief in its unconstitutionality and injustice, it would seem you should show it in some efficient manner. For if it be unconstitutional and improper, it is your duty, as it is of all loyal to the Constitution, of all professing loyalty to Christianity, to denounce and to oppose, by all legal and honorable means, all steps manifestly tending and intended to accomplish this unconstitutional measure.

Most especially should you denounce all those orders, which, on penalty of dismissal in such disgrace as is in the power of the official, require army officers to aid negroes in obtaining freedom, forbidding them to interfere in any attempt which the negroes may make to free themselves.

A Lieutenant Johnson, of Kentucky, deeply impressed with the unconstitutionality of the proclamation policy, tendered his resignation rather than violate his oath to support the Constitution. For this he was instantly *put in irons* and sent to jail. Being resolute, he again tendered his resignation, for which he was, in the language used, dismissed the service disgracefully, in presence of the army, his shoulder-straps and insignia of office rudely torn from his person!!! This is the treatment for fidelity to one's oath to support the Constitution and to defend it. What a spectacle!

The sworn conservators of the Constitution issuing proclamations subversive of the Constitution and revolting to Christianity, manacled in irons, and disgracing, so far as they can disgrace anybody, an officer for tendering his resignation rather than become a *particeps* in an outrage upon the Constitution. The case of Lieutenant Johnson, as reported, is even more flagrant and calls for deeper damnation than that of Mrs. Brinsmade.

Why are you, and the other "*brutum fulmen*" syrens, silent upon this case of Lieutenant Johnson, and upon the orders issued in consequence? The New York Times of the 14th, in a special despatch, says information having been received by the War Department that certain military commanders have been returning fugitive slaves from within our lines, to *loyal* as well as rebel masters, and the Secretary has ordered a report of the cases to be made to the Department, *in order that the officers may be duly punished.*

Why don't you publish again General Butler's reply to Governor Andrew's lecture to him upon similar proceedings? You en-

dorsed that letter at the time as a fitting rebuke, and so did the nation generally. Give us the letter.

Why don't you boldly and openly sustain all who maintain and sustain the Constitution! Why not proclaim to the army and navy that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land?

When, by your course, and that of other "*brutum fulmen*" syrens, the horrors of a servile war shall aggravate the desolation of the South, mortally embittering hatred without securing subjugation or Union—Union with murderers alike of the Constitution as of women and children—what a Union is offered *thus* to the South—a fraternity of the "Massachusetts School," will you be able, in that dread day to find syren songs which will lull your awakened conscience?

Why not act consistently with your declarations of the unconstitutionality of the proclamation and of a desire to restore a fraternal Union? Will it weaken the North at home, or disgrace it abroad, for you and others to take all necessary steps to avert the disgrace abroad and the horrors at home of its enactment?

With the thunder of the popular voice, let the lightning of its will strike all who lay sacrilegious hands upon that ark of our security, the Constitution.

I look upon the imprisonment of all State prisoners, indeed upon their summary execution, though all be pure as was Washington, as a light crime in comparison with the proclamation policy.

How the papers teemed, at one time, with denunciations of an emancipation policy, universally scouting the idea as a monstrous slander, and they and the army vied with each other in giving assurance that, whenever an emancipation policy should be announced, that the whole army would refuse to act, and would lay down their arms. Can't you publish some of the many thousand assurances so vehemently given?

The sins of this war are already a sufficient stench in the nostrils of nations. Shall this country, by the adoption of the proclamation policy, attach to itself an inextinguishable odor of infamy?

Very respectfully, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

Hon. JAMES BROOKS, New York.

Respectfully returned as being contrary to instructions of Col. Dimick.

By order of Col. Dimick.

EDWARD R. PARRY,

1st Lieut. 11th Infantry,

Post Adjutant,

COL J. DIMICK, Commanding Fort Warren.

SIR:—I have had returned to me by Mr. Parry, the accompanying letter to the Hon. James Brooks, a member elect of Congress, which he refuses to send. I have supposed it may have been returned in ignorance of that fact

A refusal to allow Mr. Brooks to receive it, is no less an insult to him, than it is an unmitigated tyranny and defiance of law. It is to charge Mr. Brooks with incapacity or indisposition to act rightly upon its suggestions.

In view, therefore, of the fact, that Mr. Brooks has been elected a member of Congress, is a public man, upon his responsibility as such, I again deposit the letter to be sealed and forwarded to its destination, believing it has been returned in ignorance of that fact. The violations of our rights sufficiently abound, without excluding us from communications with members of Congress.

Respectfully, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

November 17th, 1862.

The enclosed letter to Honorable James Brooks, written by Mr. Winder, was respectfully returned to him as contrary to my instructions to allow to pass. He re-endorsed it to me with this letter. I refer the matter to the Department, that the letter may reach its destination, if there be no objection to it.

Fort Warren, Nov. 18, 1862.

The above is a copy of Col. Dimick's remarks on Mr. Winder's letter to him, on referring it with Hon. James Brooks' letter to Adjutant-General's Department.

Respectfully forwarded to Mr. Winder, by order of Col. Dimick.

EDWARD R. PARRY,

1st Lieut. 11th Infantry, Post Adjutant.

Nov. 18, 1862.

FORT WARREN, NOVEMBER 18, 1862.

HON. JAMES BROOKS, New York.

DEAR SIR:—I yesterday deposited in the mail box a letter to your address. It was returned by Lieut. Parry refusing to send it. Supposing that he and Col. Dimick might not be aware of your having been elected a member of Congress, I again deposited it with a note conveying that information, and that as a public man on your responsibility you were entitled to receive it and treat it as you should think it deserved at your hands. To-day I am informed

that Col. Dimick, without authority from me, has assumed the responsibility of sending my note and letter to you to the office of the Adjutant-General, to be sent to you or not as the Department may see fit. This is the second letter to you they have refused to send.

I deemed it proper to give these facts for your government.— Will you be good enough to acknowledge receipt of this, that I may know you have got it. It seems our very utterance is to be suffocated.

Respectfully, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

The Department did *not* send the letter to Mr. Brooks.

To cap the climax, only a few short days after the soil of Massachusetts had been made the theatre for this shameful outrage upon the laws of the land, every prisoner was released unconditionally, without even the stain of a charge! We owed this release mainly, no doubt, to the "battering-ram" of the ballot-box. We gladly left Fort Warren, and would that we could leave behind the recollections of the injustice endured within its walls, and forget that, among other repulsive exhibitions, we saw the entire garrison marching around, with the officers at its head, singing "Old John Brown!" Col. Dimick, it is due to him to state, was in Boston at the time.

The Administration will find that, from the seeds of despotism it has so liberally sown, it will, in the not distant future, reap a heavy harvest of unavailing repentance.

The State and War prisoners were mixed up promiscuously. The writer had eight war prisoners in the room with him, who were the more favored, for they had the liberty of the whole island, while the State prisoners were restricted to the square within the walls of the Fort, until after the visit of Messrs. Dix and Pierpont.

The whole intercourse of the writer with the war prisoners confirmed his deepest conviction that the sin and responsibility of the alienation of the sections and the consequent war, rests upon the "Massachusetts school," and that is so set down by the

Recording Angel. It is but justice, perhaps, to this "Massachusetts school," to admit that some allowance should be made for its negro-mania, when we recollect that both sprang from the womb of the "May Flower," which spawned upon our shores, alternately, a batch of puritans and a batch of negroes. This consideration, by the puritan, for his ebony foster-brother is natural, if not commendable; for it is not strange that, having a common parentage, the puritan should claim for both a common destiny; and to secure this identity is the labor of love of the "Massachusetts school," which repudiates, in the common territory, association with the *white* of the *South*, but invites, by law, intermarriage of the puritan with the *negro* of the *South*, in accordance with that truthful maxim enunciated by John Quincy Adams, that "the natural gravitation of affinity will bring about the only Union that can be enduring;" and where is there more perfect knowledge of Puritan affinity than with the "Massachusetts school," which, in removing the obstacles to a loving union between Dinah and Barebones, well entitled itself to the honor of the negro toast to Greeley—"he got white skin, but he got black heart." All due honor to the "Massachusetts school."

If Massachusetts, which *now* claims to be foremost with the sword to defend the Constitution and to re-establish Union, were to strike first, the criminal most responsible for the violation of the one and the disruption of the other, can any one doubt that such a blow would be the suicide of Massachusetts?

• Might not the inquiry be safely extended, and ask, if the promoters and abettors of the war for Abolition were to follow this example, which Massachusetts ought to give, would it not clear the land of disunionists, and thus restore both the Union and the Constitution? Our life upon it, only let them try it. If they be actuated by the devotion of Curtius, now is their chance; let them plunge into the dividing gulf, which, closing over them, may once more unite the North and South.

The assumptions and doctrines of the Republican party are

simply these : That any party, avowing principles and purposes violative or subversive of the Constitution, by the establishment of a monarchy, despotism, Abolitionism, or any similar outrage, nominating a candidate for the Presidency, and its nominee being elected, even by a plurality of barely one-third of the popular vote, that nevertheless such election is a sufficient sanction and confirmation of its avowed policy and purpose, as to authorize it to carry them into execution ; and that any State or parties resisting or withdrawing shall be forcibly coerced into submission ; for which purpose, the Executive may command the purse and the sword with unlimited power, and set aside the Constitution and the laws of the Federal and State Governments, and all that interferes with any action which he may see fit to adopt. In view of the conduct and avowals of the party, through its recognized leaders, this statement is not too strong nor too broad. And yet we are told there is no remedy but to permit the Executive and Congress to have full and undisturbed sway until the end of their terms, as if the end of the Executive term ever would come under this license. Freemen ! the price of liberty is eternal vigilance,
 AND RESOLUTE ACTION !



THE

BASTILES OF THE NORTH.

BY A MEMBER

OF THE

MARYLAND LEGISLATURE.

“UNDER NO POSSIBLE EMERGENCY, NOT EVEN IN INSURRECTION, OR AMID THE THROES OF CIVIL WAR, can this Government justify official interference with the Freedom of Speech or of the Press, ANY MORE THAN IT CAN WITH THE FREEDOM OF THE BALLOT. The licentiousness of the tongue and of the pen is a MINOR EVIL COMPARED WITH THE LICENTIOUSNESS OF ARBITRARY POWER.”—*Francis P. Blair.*

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Preface.

Partly to while away the tedious hours of imprisonment, and partly to give my wife and children, on my return, some idea of the daily domestic routine of military prison life, but with no expectation or intention of publication, this Journal was written.

The reader will doubtless say it should have been re-written for publication. Such was the writer's opinion, but friends who read the original, seemed to think it preferable, as it was written day by day, without alteration or embellishment.

The writer was early taught to adapt himself to whatever circumstances he might be placed in, and not to complain unnecessarily of what he could neither foresee nor prevent; hence his experience cannot be taken as a specimen of the sufferings of others differently constituted, or who had not the means available to mitigate the rigor, often amounting to brutality, which the authorities at Washington thought proper to exercise towards their "State Prisoners"—a term hitherto happily unknown in this country, the very sound of which instinctively carries us to Italy and Austria, or the blackest period in the history of France.

When Mr. Seward determined by a *coup d'etat* to extinguish the sovereignty of the State of Maryland, and establish a military government in its stead, it became necessary to manufacture some plausible excuse or reason for the outrage, this was that the Government had positive infor-

mation that the Legislature had determined to pass an act of secession, when it should next meet in Frederick, and it even pretended it had secured a copy of the aforesaid intended act, in the hand-writing of one of the members. This was duly heralded in all the "Loyal" newspapers, and no doubt, to some extent, believed in the Northern States; the writer will not suppose for a moment that any Marylander of ordinary common sense did not know, from the geographical situation of the State, that successful secession was an impossibility, except by future peaceable measures, whatever might be the wishes of the Legislature, and this view was as well understood in the South as here.

To those who may have attached credence to such a story, the writer will say, that at no time, and under no circumstances, was it the desire or intention of the Legislature of Maryland (with the exception of one solitary member,) to pass an Act of Secession, or any Act looking to it; while a large majority of the members, from birth, from the ties of blood, of habits and associations, and of material interests, sympathized with the South in her efforts to resist the aggressions of the North against her domestic Institutions, at the same time they recognized the fact that Maryland was a State in the Union, and while such, bound by all her Constitutional obligations to the Union—they were opposed to coercion and to war, because they believed Disunion would be the inevitable result, and were not disposed to take an active part in measures that, in their judgment, would certainly destroy the Union, and with it all hopes of a re-construction.

The real cause, however, of the arrest of the Legislature, will probably be found in the letter of Lord Lyons to Lord Russell, under date of November 4, 1861—and submitted, with other official correspondence, to Parliament on its meeting in February, 1862. Lord Lyons wrote that he had had a personal interview with Mr. Seward in relation to arbitrary arrests, and told him that it was creating a bad feeling in England, (there were, at that time, a large

number of English subjects in the different Forts, most of them in irons, sailors who had been captured in running the blockade.)

Mr. Seward replied that "*most of the recent arrests were made in view of the Maryland elections, which would be over in about a week, when he expected to release them.*"

Of this fact, the Maryland prisoners were well aware, without the confession of Mr. Seward, and confidently expected a release as soon as the military authorities had gone through the form, or rather the farce of holding an election; in this they were doomed to disappointment.—The Northern "Loyal" papers insisted on our continued incarceration as a means of "*striking terror into the hearts of the people of Maryland,*" while a class of people in Baltimore, generically known as "PLUG UGLIES," who had for years, by violence and fraud ruled the city of Baltimore, and had been finally put down, after a long struggle by the reform party, suddenly became "loyal" men, devoted to the Union, protested against the return of the Baltimore prisoners, as likely to disturb the peace and loyalty of the city, and embarrass the local government, of which, in the meantime, they had taken possession.

This class of people, having for its "standing army" the rowdy clubs of Baltimore, and for its leaders, a few men who publicly make some pretensions to decency, and privately use the party for the furtherance of their pecuniary or political interest, are the same people, who, two years ago, when Black Republicanism was not as prevalent in Baltimore as at present, cut off the coat tails of the present "Loyal" collector of Baltimore, and compelled him to escape by jumping out the window of the room where he was attempting to preside over a republican meeting; who brick-batted the present "Loyal" assessor of the city for heading a small "wide awake" procession on the eve of the election, and were the most active in arming themselves on the 19th and 20th of April, 1861, to drive back the "*Abolitionists.*"

When, a few days afterwards, it became evident that the Government had the power to hold Baltimore and the determination to do it, true to their instincts, these people immediately became converts to the controlling power and were accepted by the Government as the representatives and exponents of the "Loyal" people of Baltimore, and found their reward in the distribution of the public offices of the General, State and Municipal Governments, and in the filling of all sorts of contracts at all sorts of prices.

The writer would not be understood as including in this class, all the professed "Loyalists" of Baltimore; on the contrary there are many who conscientiously believe that the path to peace lies through blood and carnage; that the South has no rights the North is bound to respect; that the acts of the Government are not only Constitutional, but right in themselves, and that the Editor of the "*American*," the great exponent of Loyalty in this city, is the embodiment of honesty and veracity.

To the influence of both these classes, but particularly the former, the writer attributes the long continuance of the imprisonment of the Maryland political prisoners; to the voice of the North, as reason began to resume its sway, spoken in thunder tones through the ballot-box, he attributes their final release.

LAWRENCE SANGSTON.

Baltimore, February, 1863.

Personal Journal

OF A

“PRISONER OF STATE,”

IN FORTS McHENRY, MONROE, LA FAYETTE AND WARREN.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1861. Aroused from sleep at mid-night by some one ringing and violently knocking at the door; looked out of the window and saw a man who stated he had some important business with me, and desired me to come down immediately; dressed and went down stairs, asked his name and business, and refused to open the door at that hour of the night to a stranger until he told me who he was and what he wanted. He then stated that he was a Police officer, named Bishop, that he had an order for my arrest in the name of the United States, and was directed to take me to Fort McHenry. I asked him if he had a written order, he said he had not; that the order for my arrest came by Telegraph from Washington, and the Deputy Provost Marshal had sent him to execute it. I opened the door, and found four other policemen concealed under the balcony; and others

with a carriage at the corner above ; invited them into the Library while I made some preparation ; officers very polite and suggested I had better take an overcoat with me as the night was chilly, and they would, if I desired it, attend to having my baggage sent to the Fort in the morning ; regretted very much the painful duty they had to perform, &c., &c. Carriage came to the door, got in with two of the officers, drove to the Western Station House, wondering and speculating as to the cause of my arrest ; could not comprehend it ; stopped at the door of the Station House, officers asked whether I would remain in the carriage or take a seat in the Station House. I asked why we stopped there, answered, it was to wait for Mr. Winans and others ; then saw the object was to prevent the meeting of the Legislature by the arrest of its members ; preferred to remain in the carriage as I had never been an inmate of a Watch House and did not desire to become acquainted with it ; half an hour afterwards the hack with Mr. Ross Winans arrived and we proceeded to the Fort ; met numerous carriages on the road and at the gates of the Fort, showing the arrests were extensive.

On entering the Fort, was received by Col. Morris, and ushered into an unfurnished room, where I found Messrs. Scott, Wallis, Harrison and Warfield, of the Legislature, Mr. May, of Congress, Mr. Howard, Editor of the "Exchange," and Mr. Hall, Editor of the "South ;" during the night, two other prisoners were brought in, Dr. Thomas of the Legislature and Mr. Brown, Mayor of the City. The Colonel had some chairs sent into the room, not sufficient, however, for all of us, and the Lieutenant was kind enough to send us a bottle of whiskey, very common, but no doubt the best he had : the Colonel came in, took "three fingers" of the whiskey, thought we were rather crowded, placed four of us in an adjoining room, bid us good night and departed. I paced the floor until morning, suffering much from Lumbago and loss of sleep.

SEPTEMBER 13. Wrote to my wife to send me some clothing, to my brother for money, and to Deputy Marshal Woods to make a few purchases for me, cigars, tobacco, &c.; after breakfast, four other prisoners arrived, Messrs. Pitts, Dennison, Quinlan, and Lynch, members of the Legislature, increasing our party to fifteen; spent the forenoon in pacing the portico, reading and conversation. Wife and children at the gate, but not permitted to see me; wife brought with her my best clothing, and some bedding, pillows, sheets, blankets, &c., which were received by the soldiers at the gate, but *confiscated* before they reached me, never saw nor heard of them afterwards. Woods came in the afternoon with the articles he purchased for me and some money for me from my brother; received notice at 4.45 to prepare for departure to Fortress Monroe at 5 o'clock; notice ample, as I had nothing to prepare; marched under guard to the Fort wharf, and on board the steamer *Adelaide*; met General Dix at the wharf, who told me he had a letter for me at his office, and would detain the boat until he could send for it; said that wherever we went we would be treated as gentlemen, and with the consideration due to our position; saw my brother on the wharf, told me he had just put a bundle on board the boat for me; could not find it, never heard of it afterwards; doubtless captured by the guard and confiscated as contraband; pleasant passage down the bay, treated very kindly by the officers of the boat, particularly by Mr. Klasson the clerk, who in the evening, sent us a dozen bottles of various kinds of liquors and wines and a box of cigars; in the morning found them all empty and the guard disposed to be very sociable with us, except two or three who were too far gone; had five or six hours of restless and uncomfortable sleep.

It may be noticed as a singular incident that this is the anniversary of the day on which the "*Star Spangled Banner*" was written by the grandfather of one of the prisoners.

SEPTEMBER 14. Arrived at Fortress Monroe at 8 A. M., after breakfast the clerk of the boat went on shore and

shortly returned with information that we would not be removed from the boat until after dinner, the boat then left the wharf and anchored in the roads opposite Mill Creek. The view here is an extensive and beautiful one, embracing the mouths of James and Elizabeth rivers, and the entire space of water known as Hampton Roads; on the north, the fortress at Old Point, the camps between the Fort and Hampton Creek and the ruins of Hampton in the distance, on the east and south, the Rip Raps, Willoughby's Point, Sewell's Point and the south side of James river as far as the mouth of the Nansemond. While here and there, by the aid of an opera glass could be seen the tented camps and flags of the Confederates. The day was delicious, and under other circumstances I should have enjoyed it much, notwithstanding my familiarity with the scene. At two o'clock, P. M., General Wool sent for Mr. Brown and Mr. May; they returned in about an hour and stated the result of their interview: General Wool informed them that his orders were to keep us in "close custody," and not permit any communication with any one; that under these instructions we would be confined in the casemates, that we would be supplied with food from the hotel by Mr. Willard, and furnished with facilities for writing to our friends, all letters passing through his hands.

Messrs. Brown and May remonstrated with General Wool at this severe interpretation of his orders, that the casemates were contracted and necessarily damp, and that, with the total deprivation of exercise in the fresh air, would seriously jeopardize the health of our party, some of whom were very old men, and others of delicate frame and constitution, not prepared, from their previous habits and position in life, to meet such a deprivation with safety. General Wool replied that the difficulty about the casemates might be obviated by assigning to our use a building within the walls of the Fort known as "Carroll Hall," which would be sufficiently spacious to give each of us a separate room, and that he would have the building prepared for us by to-morrow, in the meantime we would

occupy the casemates, but that the privilege of taking exercise in the open air was not, according to his view, allowable under his construction of his orders. At 4 o'clock, P. M., the boat returned to the wharf and we were marched into the Fort, under a guard, to our quarters.

Those quarters consisted of two casemates, each containing two rooms, the one facing the interior of the Fort, 15 by 22 feet; the other facing the canal and sea, 15 by 17 feet, arched and covered with earth perhaps 10 or 15 feet, supplied with closets in alcoves between the dividing walls; the front room with fire-place and lighted by a sash-door and two windows of the usual size, the back room lighted by the port hole, 22 by 24 inches. .

No preparation had been made to receive us, but soon the quartermaster and provost marshal made their appearance, and stated that arrangements would be promptly made for our comfort and convenience. A sufficient quantity of iron bedsteads, mattresses, and bed clothing, soon came from the hotel and were arranged. The beds were very good for those who could sleep on beds as hard as the floor. I cannot, being afflicted with Lumbago, and consequently passed a sleepless and painful night.

We made our domestic arrangements by taking one of the larger rooms for a mess room, and placing five beds in each of the other rooms. We were then informed that under no circumstances would we be permitted to leave our quarters or even to sit at the door; this involved other domestic arrangements of an unpleasant character, particularly in crowded, damp and ill-ventilated apartments; in making this and other arrangements for our comfort, the provost marshal, Capt. Davis, professed a disposition to do for us whatever he could.*

* Two or three days afterwards, when the sergeant closed our doors and windows, by the order, as he said, of General Wool, who, in riding past, had noticed the shutters open, and had reprimanded him for permitting it; we wrote to Capt. Davis, through Mr. Wallis, complaining of the almost total deprivation of light and air: no notice was taken of the letter, unless the placing of iron bars and padlocks on the doors and windows next morning, might be considered an answer.

Supper was served at eight o'clock and shortly afterwards we retired, or rather we went to bed; about ten o'clock an officer entered our apartment and commenced a thorough search of the baggage and clothes in a style that would have been creditable to an Austrian Custom House Officer, notwithstanding it had been previously searched at Fort McHenry, still it was quietly and respectfully done, only awakening the sleepers as he wanted the key of some particular trunk; having no baggage myself, he was forced to content himself with searching the pockets of my coat, vest and pantaloons, which were laying across a chair at my bedside, but found nothing suspicious nor contraband; having finished by taking an unusually large drink out of a bottle of whiskey in Dr. Lynch's trunk, under the delusion that no one was looking at him, he quietly departed, and save the tread of the sentinel, all was still.

SEPTEMBER 15.—*Sunday.* Very sore in the back and breast from an attempt to sleep last night, got up two or three times during the night and paced the floor, wrote home for a soft mattress, and soft rocking chair, such as I am accustomed to sit on; very quiet in our quarters, some reading the Bible, some writing letters; heard the singing of some religious service in the neighborhood, but was not invited to participate. There are Sundays in revolutionary times; but, perhaps, they think prisoners have no souls! Read as much as my broken spectacles would permit, and went to bed early, slept four or five hours, received baggage from home, and a variety of little comforts such as women alone know how to provide; trunk and provision can well searched by a Baltimore detective who came down in the boat, the Deputy Provost Marshal standing by to see it well done; small bundle which the detective declined to open, asked him why? said he saw it in the Provost Marshal's office in Baltimore the day previous, and knew the contents; wife sent the keys of trunk and provision can, lost on the way and both had to be broken open,

detective's style of breaking locks may be characterized as "strong but not neat."

SEPTEMBER 16. Close, murky morning, rooms smelling badly, applied to officer in charge for some disinfecting agent, promised, but did not come; no change of quarters as promised and expected; soldiers engaged all the morning in building a fence in front of our rooms, making an enclosure of about forty by twenty-five feet; supposed it was intended to extend the area of freedom by giving us a place for exercise—all a mistake—intended for the convenience of the guard, and to keep off curious idlers who come to "look at the menagerie;" fare getting worse, can't tell tea from coffee or coffee from tea; sent protest verbally, by waiters, to Mr. Willard, against furnishing such questionable liquids, most of us have been at his house in Washington, and know he can do better if he will; spent the day in reading and playing cards. I read aloud Burke's address to the King in 1777, and Wallis read the "Captive Starling," from Sterne, the one as singularly applicable to the present condition of the country, and the other to our own condition as prisoners.

Had a visit this morning from Major Hamilton, who it seems is an acquaintance of Mayor Brown, he is aid to General Wool, and called to read to us the orders of the General for our information—they were exceedingly minute, even to directing the servants who brought our meals from the hotel, to count the knives, forks and spoons after each meal and take them back to the hotel!!!

Rained very hard all the afternoon and night with a gale from the East, rooms very damp and oppressive from various causes, Mr. Quinlan sick with dysentery; slept better than heretofore.

SEPTEMBER 17. Rooms very damp from storm last night, floor of mess room wet with exhalations from the ground, had a fire built to dry the room and air, applied again for disinfectants, but without success; fare somewhat improved,

especially liquids, coffee decidedly better; Provost Marshal sick, and as he is the only one we can apply to, for any thing we want, must remain satisfied until he gets well.

Kept fire up all day to dry the rooms; soldiers at work putting bars to the front windows; Corporal says he has orders to *close* the front windows and doors, shutting out to a great extent the light and air, already very scant; hear nothing further of promised change of quarters to Carroll Hall; went to bed at 10 o'clock, got but little sleep.

SEPTEMBER 18. Clear and pleasant weather; built fire to dry the rooms, read the Baltimore and New York papers, which are purchased by one of the sergeants for us; received letters from home of a pleasant character; during the morning the sergeant *closed* and *fastened front doors by order of the General*, the instructions from Washington to keep us in "close custody" now literally carried out, the only light and air we now receive in each casemate is from an opening of less than a square yard. Wrote to Capt. Cannon to hunt up my lost baggage; after dinner played cards for a couple of hours; about five o'clock, an officer with blacksmiths came to put *iron bars* and *padlocks* on the front doors and windows; the sound of the blacksmith's hammer under such circumstances produces a singularly grating sensation, and is in painful contrast to a visit made us the day before yesterday by the aid-de-camp of General Wool, who called to assure us of the desire of the General to do whatever he could to *promote our comfort*, and gratuitously suggested that he would have a neighboring room prepared to use as a water closet, and relieve us from the necessity of using our eating and sleeping apartments for that purpose, which, however, has not been done. A pleasing contrast to this may be recorded of the kindness of one of the officers who sent us a box of cigars, half dozen bottles of cologne and a few volumes of light reading; played cards for an hour after supper; received my mattress and chair from Baltimore, and had the first comfortable and refreshing sleep since my arrest.

SEPTEMBER 19. Awoke very much refreshed—pains in back and chest very much lessened; passed the morning in reading, writing, and taking as much exercise as our contracted quarters will admit of—these quarters consist of four rooms, having in the aggregate, a superficial area of twelve yards square. When it is considered that in addition to the fifteen occupants of this space, there are fifteen bedsteads, fifteen washstands, eighteen chairs, twenty-five trunks, four closets, three wardrobes, (extremely primitive in their construction,) three sets of shelving of similar character, a pine table, three by four and a half feet, a dining table, twelve by three feet, two fire places, two portable water closets, (all but the water,) and numerous small items encumbering the floors in the way of slop buckets, spittoons, baskets, bundles, &c., &c.; it may be readily understood that the space for exercise is exceedingly small. The table has been better supplied during the past two or three days, particularly in liquids, the coffee is now really good; after dinner played cards for an hour or two. We are gradually being placed under more stringent discipline; are no longer permitted to communicate our wants to the Corporal of the Guard, or permitted to speak to the sentinels. When we wish anything done our only mode of communicating our wants is through the Deputy Provost Marshal, who has other duties to perform, and of course is only occasionally within call; two instances of this inconvenience may be noticed during this day: about one o'clock a lieutenant came from head-quarters with our letters; the deputy marshal not being present, the Corporal of the Guard declined receiving them, and the lieutenant had to take them back, not being allowed to deliver them himself, and we did not get them until late in the day, too late to answer them by that night's mail. Again, in the afternoon, we were without water, and although a bucket of ice-water (which *we had paid for*) was standing outside the door, and we could see it through the slats, we had to wait two hours until the only person who could deliver it to us made his appearance, by which

time the sun had melted the ice and spoiled the water. After supper, played cards for a couple of hours and went to bed.

SEPTEMBER 20. Awakened earlier than usual by the noise of unlocking and unbarring the outer doors. Addison, in describing the City of Cologne, famed, the world over, for its sweet scented perfumes, and the nastiness (I don't like that word) of its streets, says that in walking around the city he counted some fifty stenches, each of them separate and well defined stinks;—the entire fifty, consolidated into one grand stink, could not have exceeded that found in our rooms this morning—got up, made a cup of strong coffee and smoked a couple of cigars to mollify the stench, but with little success; ate breakfast—excellent coffee and beefsteak, but bread not fit to eat; supplied that deficiency out of tin can which wife was thoughtful enough to send, filled with bread, biscuit and crackers; after breakfast read the Baltimore and New York papers, full of lies about the Maryland Legislature; received letters from home, all well.*

Deputy Provost Marshal made his appearance slightly tight, (*our* liquor passes through *his* hands,) and was unusually civil and obliging; expressed great anxiety to do what he could to promote our comfort, and superintended the cleaning of our rooms by two contraband negroes

*The "*Baltimore American*," received to-day, boldly asserts, in its editorial, that letters had been intercepted between the Members of the Legislature and the Confederates in Virginia, which revealed the whole plan of action. General Johnston was to cross the Potomac with a large army and occupy the City of Frederick, and the Legislature were simultaneously to pass an Act of Secession under the protection of Confederate bayonets, all of which the Editor knew to be false when he penned it.

We wrote an article, denouncing the falsehood, for publication in the Baltimore papers, but General Wool declined sending it, except via Washington, where of course it was suppressed.

The same paper speaks, with great apparent pleasure, of the action of a Wisconsin Regiment in sacking the Legislature Halls, and making a "*grand conflagration*" of the public documents after they had arrested and dispersed the Legislature.

detailed for that purpose, both exceedingly dirty and stupid, especially one named James Munroe, who, from the exuberance of his wool, we have named the General. The Deputy Provost having ascertained that some bottles of whiskey and a bucket of ice water were in the closet in the back room, undertook the cleaning of that room himself, and several times went back to see if any thing was left undone.

Dinner remained on the wheelbarrow outside the door to-day until it got cold, because the Duputy was absent, and no one else could authorize its delivery; when he came, he apologized, had been to his own dinner, and forgot ours, and had fallen asleep after dinner, no doubt from the fatigue of his morning's work. Tried to read and sleep in the afternoon, but failed in both. A decided improvement to-day in our accommodations; the rear room of the adjoining case-mate appropriated to our use as a water closet, thus ridding us of one of the most offensive nuisances that can be imagined in close and badly ventilated rooms.

Supper, reading an hour, cards a couple of hours—and to bed.

SEPTEMBER 21. Awoke very much refreshed and free from pain, and rooms comparatively free from stench; made a cup of coffee, smoked and read the newspapers; very good breakfast, fish particularly good and well cooked; no letters from home to-day. The usual routine for the morning, reading, writing and conversation until dinner; after dinner reading and cards until supper,—very poor supper and very little of it,—so much so that Deputy Provost swore vengeance against hotel keepers, cooks and waiters: Deputy, however, was “tightly slight,” and has become our fast friend ever since he found where our liquor closet was, and is beginning to entertain a very high opinion of us, particularly as we do not go into the back room when he is there,—an open box of cigars and some fine old bologna sausage with a box of crackers in the

closet has tended very much to increase his appreciation of us.

Spent a very pleasant evening listening to Wallis reading the "Prisoner of Chillon" and other pieces from Byron; went to bed at eleven and slept soundly.

SEPTEMBER 22.—*Sunday*. Usual routine—received letters from home and answered them; provisions and liquors arriving from kind friends in Baltimore in sufficient quantities to set up a hotel, with an upper and lower bar; the latter was established some days since by Quarter-master W., and is well patronised, our legal friends having no other bar to practice at, are faithfully doing duty at this one, and the medical and mercantile members of our party are following the example—spent the morning in reading; dinner again remained on the wheelbarrow, outside, until it got cold; slept most of the afternoon—after supper read aloud from the "Ingoldsby Legends," paced the floor for exercise for an hour, smoked a pipe, and went to bed.

SEPTEMBER 23. Rose at six, very good night's sleep, cup of coffee and cigar and half an hour's exercise pacing the floor. Deputy Provost came in with a message from General Wool to Mr. Winans, requesting the pleasure of his company to breakfast—which we regarded, to use one of Ben Deford's expressions, as "Catamount" to a release; take it for granted that Revenue Johnson has received another fee of five hundred dollars; see him d——d before he gets a fee out of me for such service; glad to see Winans released, he bore his confinement like a man; after breakfast, Winans returned in company with Major Hamilton, an aid of General Wool, to get his baggage, and take leave of us; spent the morning in reading and writing,—no newspapers to-day.

This being the anniversary of Dr. Thomas' birth day, we spent an extra half hour at the dinner table in honor of it; I made coffee for the party, and with some fine old sherry wine, that Winans left us, and some wild cherry

bounce, contributed by Frank Howard, we had a good time; toast by Pitts to Thomas "May your next birthday be spent with your own mate and not in a case-mate;" did not forget to drink Winans' health in the sherry he left us.

Our quarters are getting gradually more comfortable, perhaps because we are getting more accustomed to them; we have now a fire daily in the dining room which serves to dry the air in all the rooms, and the officer who has charge of us (Deputy Provost Hunt) shows every disposition to attend to us, our greatest deprivation is, of exercise in the open air; we suffer to some extent also for want of light and ventilation. Major Hamilton stated to-day that the General had every disposition to alleviate our condition, but that his orders were rigid to keep us in close confinement; why it is necessary in carrying out those orders to deprive us of light and air by closing and barring the doors and windows, we cannot conceive.

After dinner played cards for a couple of hours; in the evening, Wallis read aloud from Byron. Went to bed at eleven and slept soundly.

SEPTEMBER 24. Rose at seven and made coffee; feel very well, entirely free from Lumbago; enjoyed breakfast very much, picking broiled crabs, for which Warfield sent to Baltimore; none to be had at the hotel here, although the shores swarm with them; Yankces have not discovered they are fit to eat; and although this is the heart of Gov. Wise's "fundum" we have not seen an oyster, and have not been able to get one from the hotel; the fish, however, are very good, and nicely cooked. No newspapers to-day; Deputy says the entire newspaper mail missed this morning; received letter mail at twelve, but nothing for me; wrote to wife, also to Dr. Chapman requesting him to write to William H. Seward, and tell him how we are treated here, with regard to light, air and exercise;*

*Seward expressed great astonishment when informed of our treatment, insisted that Gen. Wool had mis-interpreted his orders, which were to

dinner to-day remained on the wheelbarrow outside the door for *one hour*, waiting for Deputy Provost to come and authorize its delivery; vegetables of course cold, and not fit to eat; another great annoyance arising from same cause, is that we cannot pass into the water closet unless the same personage is present to authorize it, although water closet is in an adjoining casemate, and the door guarded by a special sentinel; suffered much inconvenience to-day from having to wait more than an hour before the officer could be found. After dinner, reading and conversation, evening passed in same way, to bed at ten and slept soundly.

SEPTEMBER 25. Arose at six o'clock; very good night's sleep; made coffee for myself and the others as far as the machine would go. At eight o'clock, Major Hamilton made his appearance with orders from General Scott to ship us to Fort LaFayette, New York harbor; the boat to start at two o'clock, P. M.; consumed the morning in writing home and packing up, in which we were aided by the Deputy Provost, who managed to steal nearly all our stock of candles; caught him at it, he excused himself on the ground that he wanted them, and we could get plenty more where we were going; besides he said it was a stealing business all round, and that it was through his management that they were obtained from the quartermaster; had an early dinner, and at the appointed hour left our quarters with great ceremony, escorted by several hundred soldiers under the command of a Dutch colonel, who, when all was ready for a start, gave the order to "*advance forward;*" the rear guard being composed of all the idlers, children and contraband negroes about the Fort; reaching the wharf, we were carefully counted and delivered over

keep us securely, but treat us kindly, and said he would immediately write to General Wool on the subject.

General Wool, on the other hand, insisted that his orders were positive to treat us with great rigor, feed us on soldier's rations, (which, however, he did not do,) and permit no one to see us.

to a Capt. Coster, who having properly receipted for us, marched us with a guard of thirty men on board the steamer *George Peabody*, Capt. Travers; our Deputy Provost accompanied us to the boat, and actually shed tears at parting with us, shaking hands several times with each of us, (he had helped to pack our liquors,) no doubt he considered our departure as a calamity, as his only chance for an occasional drink and a good dinner departed with us.

The officer in charge gave orders that we should have the liberty of the entire ship and the best of every thing on board during the voyage: the latter order was entirely unnecessary, as every one of the ship's crew, from the captain down to the kitchen negroes, were *Marylanders*; weather delightful at starting, but outside the Capes encountered heavy ground swell from the east, the effect of the late storm, which made the ship roll heavily, and most of the party sea-sick. The Captain of the Guard and most of his men very sick; the perfect ease with which the ship's course could be turned to the south was freely discussed, and nothing but the belief that our imprisonment would be of short duration, prevented it from being done; when such of the guard as were not too sick to go, went in the cabin to supper, they stacked their guns in an adjoining cabin, and about ten o'clock one of the negro waiters came to me and whispered very confidentially that "none of them wanted to go to New York;" went to bed at eleven—slept but little from the motion of the ship and the hardness of the bed.

SEPTEMBER 26. Arose at six o'clock; ship rolling so badly that I could scarcely dress; very unwell; could not eat any breakfast until ten o'clock, and very little then; locomotion very difficult; weather delightful, and would have enjoyed it very much, but for the rolling of the vessel; Capt. Travers, his officers and crew, all very kind and attentive to us; the Captain placed his ship's stores at our disposal, and would take no compensation; arrived at Fort LaFayette at four o'clock in the afternoon, and anchor-

ed until the Captain of the Guard could communicate with the commander of the Fort ; at five he returned with orders for our debarkation ; went ashore in small boat ; were received and required to answer to our names at the wharf stairs by Lieut. Wood, the commander of the Fort, and ushered into one of the battery rooms, already occupied by twenty-four others—mostly Marylanders ; rather shocked at the appearance of things as compared with our quarters at Fortress Monroe ; luckily I brought my mattress with me, as the Government furnishes nothing but an iron bedstead, a pallet of straw, and a shoddy blanket ; and as our arrival was unexpected, but *five* bags of straw could be found for our whole party of fourteen ; and but for the exertion of Mr. Davis, Police Commissioner, who immediately set to work to borrow mattresses and blankets from those who could spare them, most of us would have been without a bed of any kind. Baggage not coming in to get sheets and blankets out, had to sleep in my clothes ; finally got fixed and went to sleep, but awakened by the restlessness of my fellow lodgers half a dozen times during the night.

SEPTEMBER 27. Aroused at six by beating of drums ; got up and went out to view the premises ; not very inviting, Fort built on a small island about half a mile from main shore, island covering perhaps an acre, area of interior about thirty-five yards square, surrounded by buildings three stories high, the upper story of wood ; Maryland Penitentiary decidedly more prepossessing in appearance ; fell in with a prisoner of war from Virginia, named Drane, (whom I had met at Fort McHenry in my visits thither, with clothing and food for the prisoners.) Was very glad to see me and insisted on my going to his room to take a wash, furnished me with fresh water and a clean towel, did not know at the time how great a compliment it was, as otherwise I would have been compelled to wash in salt water. Made arrangements through Mr. Davis to have our meals furnished by Mrs. Graves, the wife of one of the

sergeants, at fifty cents per meal, so I shall not suffer on that score; those who have not the means or inclination to make this arrangement, live on the rations furnished by the Government, consisting of salt pork or rather pork fat, hard and soft bread on alternate days, bean soup and a liquid called coffee, sweetened with molasses, served up on tin plates and cups.

Made a survey of our room—sixty-six by twenty-two feet—brick floor, occupied by thirty-eight people, (twenty-three of them members of the Maryland Legislature, the balance from Kentucky) containing five thirty-two pound cannon with their cumbersome carriages, occupying fully half the space in the room, thirty-eight iron bedsteads, the baggage of all the occupants, half a dozen chairs and three wooden benches five feet long; the Government with great liberality has supplied for the accommodation of this number of people, one small writing table, three wash stands with bowls and pitchers, two water buckets, one slop tub and one tin cup to drink out of, and furnishes two candles at night, for the whole party, which are cut up in small pieces, and distributed around, (did not anticipate this or would have stopped Deputy Provost at Fortress Monroe when I caught him stealing our candles; he is and is *not*, a man of foresight.)

This room is ventilated by five port holes eighteen by twenty-four inches, and during the day, by two of the doors facing the interior of the Fort; the latter are closed and locked at sun-set, and at 9.15 all lights must be put out and we are left in utter darkness; should any of the inmates have to attend to calls of nature during the night, he has to find his way to the door, and knock until the sentinel chooses to hear him, which generally takes ten or fifteen minutes; the sentinel then goes after the Sergeant of the Guard, which consumes about as much more time; who conducts the applicant outside the Fort walls and back again, when the door is closed and he is left to find his bed as best he can, in the dark; a very difficult operation, as the room is too much crowded to admit of passages

between the bedsteads, and the unfortunate generally stumbles over and wakes up a dozen others, and leaves the marks of the sharp iron legs of the bedsteads on his shins before he finds his own place ; much confusion arose last night from this cause, several of our party being quite sick.

I foresaw this difficulty and obviated it by placing my bed alongside the door ; I did not gain much however by it, as I was awakened about once an hour by the thumping at the door.

Occupied most of the morning in writing letters home : weather cold and raw, had to write with a blanket wrapped round my legs.

Very good dinner at three o'clock ; our mess consists of forty persons, for which the sergeant receives our rations and forty dollars per day, furnishing us with two meals. From various little circumstances we assume that the Commander of the Fort receives a larger share of the profits than the sergeant and his wife do. After dinner we lost two of our room-mates, Messrs. Brown and Warfield, who have been removed to what is supposed better quarters in one of the casemates, although I doubt it very much ; they will have a more select set of companions, but only one-third the amount of oxygen, which I esteem as the most valuable commodity, under existing circumstances ; the floor room will be the same, but the ceiling only one-third the height ; gained an accession to-day to our furniture of three washstands, bowls and pitchers,—quite an acquisition as it will give a wash basin to each *six* men instead of each *twelve*, about dusk, one of the prisoners, Mr. Sturdevant, was released and bade us adieu ; locked up at sun-set ; no supper : being provided with but two meals per day,—enough however.

Terrific storm all the afternoon and night ; waves breaking over the sea walls ; and throwing spray to the top of the Fort walls, tried to get to the rear early in the evening but found it impossible to face the wind and spray ; was aroused during the night by the sergeant coming in to

count the prisoners ;—the Fort barge had disappeared and it was feared some of us had escaped.

SEPTEMBER 28. Arose at six and attended to domestic duties—making bed, &c.,—learned that the barge was stolen last night by two sentinels, who succeeded in making their escape during the noise of the storm ;—the empty boat was found this morning on the Staten Island shore. Excellent breakfast at eight—wrote to William Jones, New York, to send me another bed, some blankets, bed linen, towels, &c., &c.,—and gave an order to Sergeant Graves to purchase for me a writing table, some candlesticks, (bottles are very inconvenient as they *will* topple over,) pitchers, tumblers, tin cups, water buckets, &c.; as there is every prospect of our remaining here for some time, I shall go regularly to house-keeping ; after breakfast, lost another of our room-mates, Mr. Wallis, who was removed through the kind intervention of Mr. Davis to better quarters ; sorry to part with him, but glad for his own sake ; received in his place a new prisoner, an Englishman named Brayne, hailing from Tennessee, making the number now in our room thirty-six. Passed the morning in reading, writing, with some exercise, and in learning the rules and regulations posted in our rooms for our information ;—they were very numerous and got up in the most pompous style ;—the commander, in signing his name, imitated the famous signature of “ JOHN HANCOCK.” We were ordered to be respectful and obedient to the soldiers, who in turn were ordered to speak to us *always* in a “ *peremptory* ” manner ; we were directed to have our rooms cleaned up before nine o’clock, when they would be inspected ; we were to visit the water closet not over four times during the day and twice during the night, and the sentinels were expressly charged not to permit us to “ loiter there ; ” we were to put out the lights at quarter past nine, (the garrison clock from some cause or other was kept three-quarters of an hour too fast ;) we were informed that “ conversation ” after that hour was “ strict-

ly prohibited;" we were told that our letters must be short, plainly written, respectful to the officers, and that each letter, no matter what might be its object or contents, should have the following postscript added to it, signed by the writer: "*It is my desire that this letter, or any part thereof, shall not be published in any newspaper;*"* and we were notified if we had any complaint to make, we could address the Commander in writing, provided it was done in "respectful language."

Spent the afternoon in visiting the neighbors and getting acquainted with them. There are now in the Fort one hundred and seventeen prisoners confined in six rooms. Numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4 are small casemates fourteen by twenty-two feet, arched, five feet high at the spring of the arch, and eight feet in the centre, with two very small slits in the wall for windows and no ventilation when the door is closed, and have respectively, nine, fifteen, ten and nine occupants. The inmates of No. 2 are captured privateersmen and sailors, taken in attempting to run the blockade, and are all kept *in chains*, not allowed to have beds, or permitted to take any exercise; they sleep on the naked floor with their chains on. Some charitable people offered to furnish them with beds, but the commander refused permission. The sailors (not privateersmen) are with one exception British subjects, and were captured on British vessels bound from Nova Scotia to North Carolina. The week before we arrived there were twenty-eight confined in that room; part were released on taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, and part sent to the Tombs in New York.

* This regulation was, for a while, a source of amusement, letters were daily sent to New York for such little articles as the prisoners required, one would want a hat, a shirt or a pair of boots half-soled, another a tin cup, a pack of cards, a pound of tobacco, a wash bowl or some other article of crockery, and at the foot of each letter would be the required postscript—" *It is my desire that this letter, or any part thereof, shall not be published in any newspaper.*"

Finally the thing became so ridiculous that it was dropped on both sides by common consent.

No. 5 is a battery room with four cannon and thirty-six occupants, fifty by twenty-two feet.

No. 6 is also a battery room, sixty-six by twenty-two feet, with thirty-eight occupants.

Among the prisoners may be found representatives of every grade of society or condition of life, of the highest development of intellect, and of its lowest grade, even to the idiot—one of the latter having been sent hither from Kentucky as a “prisoner of State”!!! instead of being sent to a lunatic asylum.

Among the prisoners are those who have been, or are, Governors of States, Foreign Ministers, members of Congress and of different State Legislatures, Mayor and Police Commissioners, officers of the Army from Colonels to Lieutenants; of the Navy of all grades, doctors, civil, naval and military; lawyers, merchants, farmers, mechanics, (especially machinists and inventors, whom the Government regards as a dangerous class); editors of newspapers, religious and political, (Government don't like them); soldiers, sailors and privateersmen, (called by courtesy “pirates.”) As much of what the world calls “good society,” and perhaps more of intelligence and cultivated intellect, may be found within the walls of this prison than could be found outside of it, even in a party of the same number selected for the purpose, and in the average of the aggregate, far more than would be met with in our fashionable places of resort.

Twenty-seven of them are prisoners of war, and of course subject to all the chances of war; they know why they are here. The other ninety are called “Prisoners of State,” a term happily hitherto unknown on this side of the Atlantic, were nearly all taken from their beds at night by gangs of armed men, by the orders of Wm. H. Seward, the Secretary of State, not permitted to pack their clothing, or even see their families; many of them confined in loathsome jails (in chains or not, according to the whims of their guards) before reaching here; none of them arrested by any warrant or process of law, but hurried off by night to

prevent the possibility of any rescue by means of the law, and *not one* of them knowing *why* he was arrested, or the existence of any charge against him. Who could have believed, a year since, that in that short space of time a state of affairs would exist here that could only find a parallel in the worst days of Italy or Austria! Who does not remember how our sympathies were excited, and our indignation aroused, but a few years since, in reading the accounts of midnight domiciliary arrests in Vienna, Venice or Naples, and how we wondered that a people could be so debased and degraded as to submit to it; and yet we now see the same despotic tyranny exercised in our boasted land of freedom, only by a mechanism a thousand times coarser and more brutal, and a large portion of the people absolutely applauding it, glorying in the shame, and boasting of the degradation and destruction of the liberties of their country.

“CASTE AT FORT LAFAYETTE.

“Treason is frequently regarded as a gentlemanly crime, and the person guilty of it often pretends to a daintiness to which common felons are forbidden to aspire. Hence the traitors in the present rebellion claim and receive British sympathy, not because they do not richly deserve the halter, but because they are “gentlemen.” The Tories of the Revolution made similar pretensions. Rev. Dr. Duche once wrote a letter to General Washington, urging him to abandon the patriot cause on the ground that he was a gentleman, whereas the members of Congress from New England and other Revolutionary leaders were not.

“A gentleman of this city, a native of a Southern State, having occasion to visit Fort LaFayette, was addressed upon this subject. He found there ninety-seven prisoners, divided, like Hindoo society, into four castes, each possessing a social status of its own.

“‘When we first came here,’ said his informant, ‘we suffered much inconvenience, and our residence was made disagreeable. We were associated promiscuously together, not classified, and were confounded with the vulgar characters whom the Government had seen fit to incarcerate with us. Gentlemen of refined tastes were compelled to associate with traders, common sailors, and the like; to sit at the same table and eat similar food. It is now improved. There are ninety-seven of us here, and we have been divided into groups and companies, more in accordance with our tastes, making it much pleasanter.

“‘Thus we have here a number of sailors. They constitute two classes. One class is made up of pirates outright, who enlist without regard to

principles or consequences. The other is composed of seamen who have been employed on vessels which were attempting to run the blockade. They were generally engaged upon the pretext of being employed in the West India trade, and had no idea or knowledge of being concerned in acts of this character.

“Then there is a third class—the traders. These are purely mercenary. They have been arrested and placed here for such offences as supplying arms and munitions of war to the Rebels, and would seldom omit an opportunity for traffic if money was to be made, no matter what was the character of the business. Gentlemen do not like to associate with such men on terms of familiarity.

“Among the gentlemen present are ex-Governor Morehead, Mr. Faulkner, Mr. Smith, Marshal Kane, the Police Commissioners of Baltimore, &c. These are State prisoners, and should be confined in a separate place. With them are others who belong to a sub-class—respectable men, but not moving in higher circles. The members of the Legislature of Maryland are of this character.’

“As he was expatiating upon this subject, Marshal Kane came along and invited our informant to come and see the Legislature of Maryland at dinner. They were seated in an apartment at a plain pine table. The food was bread without butter, and coffee without milk. Each man had a tin cup, but no other table service.

“The lack of these elegances greatly annoys the ‘gentlemen’ at Fort LaFayette, and they are of the opinion that they ought to be immured in some ‘respectable’ place of confinement. They would tolerate their condition of durance if their instincts were better regarded.”—*N. Y. Post.*

This is a specimen of the bogus letters that almost daily appeared in the New York papers. No such visitor was at the Fort; no such conversation occurred. The sailors and privateersmen whom the writer separates into two classes were all kept in one room, and all in irons; the other prisoners were herded together without any attempt at classification, save that about forty who had the means to incur the expense formed a mess, conducted by the Sergeant’s wife, who drew our rations and charged us in addition fifty cents per meal and gave us her room to eat in.

Another letter, published the same day in another New York paper, described our fare as fully equal to any of the New York hotels, and that we were given the roof of the Fort for a promenade, where we could be seen any evening enjoying the beautiful scenery and sunsets. Said roof was of shingles, covered with moss, and pitched at an angle of forty-five degrees.

Among the "prisoners of State" was one who received his discharge a few days since; he was a poor deformed man, who made his bread by selling newspapers on the street; and having been found with some contraband newspapers under his arm, (the *New York Daily News*,) was sent to Fort LaFayette; his captors, perhaps getting ashamed of it, sent orders for his release on taking that universal panacea, the "oath of allegiance" to the United States "Government;" he was sent for, and taken to the commander's office, who asked him if he were willing to take the oath; he replied, certainly he was willing to take any oath to obtain his release, and would, with pleasure, if desired, swear that he never was in Fort LaFayette, and never heard of such a place; the commander then commenced reading the oath, but the news-man stopped him, saying he would sign it and swear to it, but would not read or listen to it, as he did not care what it contained; he accordingly took the oath in his own way, underwent the usual search, and departed with as little weight on his conscience as if he had not gone through the necessary form. After "lock-up" played cards on the gun carriage with Mr. Harrison, Frank Howard, and Dr. Thomas, until nine and went to bed; much annoyed during the night by several of the prisoners being sick and having to call the guard to take them to the rear, my bed being alongside the door, I was awakened frequently during the night, had to go out myself, and in the dark fell over a broken flag staff in the yard and hurt myself badly—slept cold and restless.

SEPTEMBER 29.—*Sunday*. Up early, made a cup of coffee and smoked a cigar, the last one I had; made bed and got ready for breakfast; after breakfast, had a visit of inspection from Commander Wood, the *first* time he has honored us with his presence; then an official visit from the doctor of the garrison, first time we have seen him, although we tried very hard to get a sight of him two or three days ago, when one of the prisoners was sick; pointed out to him the unhealthy condition of our quarters, and the

impossibility of preserving our health, if continued in them for any length of time. The doctor fully acknowledged the case, and promised to make a report setting forth the facts: said report, when he finds time to make it, will go to Commander Wood, then to Col. Burke at Fort Hamilton, then to General Scott, then to the War Department, and the answer will come back through the same channels, so we may expect in a few weeks some answer to our appeal for a modification of our discomforts. On our arrival here, our pockets were emptied by the commandant, who kindly took charge of our finances, and informed us he would accept our orders on him for necessary expenses, and promised to send us a receipt for the money he had taken next morning; as the receipt did not come, I sent a special message for it, and obtained it.

Letters distributed to-day; nothing for me; no religious services; so occupied the morning in promenading the court, in reading the newspapers and writing; much difficulty to-day about water; we were put on short allowance the day after we reached here, and to-day only permitted to draw a cup-full at a time, but so far have managed to secure a little to wash my face with; what little we get is the dregs of the cistern;* very offensive to the sight and smell; I have counted in a single glass twenty fully developed tadpoles, varying in length from a quarter to five-eighths of an inch—the barbarity of this treatment may be better understood when it is stated that fresh water is very abundant within half a mile, and there are empty cisterns in the Fort with a capacity of forty thousand gallons that could be filled by the water boats in the same manner as ships are supplied, at very little expense. I suggested this to the commander, who replied it could not be done without permission from Washington.

*I have since been informed by army officers that the Fort had not been garrisoned for more than twenty years, and the cisterns had not been cleaned for that length of time, which accounts for their filthy condition; it was not deemed necessary to clean them for the occupants of a "State Prison."

Dinner at four; exercise and conversation until six, when the doors are locked, and our allowance of *two* candles cut up and distributed; Mr. Harrison read a sermon for us; went to bed at nine, and had a good night's sleep.

SEPTEMBER 30. Delightful morning; feel very well, and nearly over the soreness arising from my fall; succeeded in getting permission from the commander to employ one of the soldiers to clean up our room.

Heretofore we have had our washing done on the main land, through one of the sergeants, and very nicely done, at seventy-five cents per dozen; orders were issued to-day that in future no clothes should be sent out of the Fort to be washed, and gentlemen who desired to have their clothes washed could have it done by sending them to the commandant's quarters, whose wife would superintend it; don't exactly understand how the clothes of over a hundred persons can be washed inside the Fort when we can't get fresh water to wash our faces, and barely enough to quench our thirst; rather think it is a financial scheme of the Governor to increase his own or his wife's revenue; passed the morning as usual, reading, walking, &c.; after dinner Mr. Guthrie, of Virginia, was sent for, and release tendered him on condition of taking the oath, which he declined, and returned to his quarters.

Played cards in the evening with Governor Morehead and Mr. Barr on the top of the washstand, find it better for that purpose than the gun carriage, but expect a table soon, having sent to New York for one. With our limited light it is impossible to read at night, and cards are our only means of beguiling the time.

OCTOBER 1. Rest very much broken by the noise of the sick calling the Sergeant of the Guard to take them to the rear, the door is out of gear and opens with much difficulty and noise, and as my bed is but three feet from it, I get the full benefit; did not get over two hours' sleep during the whole night.

Mail this morning, brings nothing for me, five days here, and not a line from home; occupied the morning in reading the papers, writing and visiting the neighbors; find many agreeable gentlemen among them. Mr. Henry May had a visit from one of his friends, a Major in the Federal army, and a long conversation with him. May freely stated the inhuman manner in which we were treated; officer admitted it and plead stringency of orders from Washington, and want of accommodations at Fort LaFayette for so many prisoners, said the Government was preparing two Forts in Boston harbor for the reception of political prisoners, when they would be more comfortable; this looks like a winter's confinement in the worst climate in the United States;—if the arrangements are no better than here, we shall lose half our number before spring; many of them being old men, and others very delicate and frail in their persons.

After dinner, smoked and promenaded until sun-set, played euchre till nine and went to bed.

OCTOBER 2. Up at day-break, noisy and sleepless night among the sick; after breakfast visited the privateers' room; found seventeen in the room,—found thirteen in chains, three cooking for the other prisoners, and one *very ill*, lying on the floor on a blanket, receiving *no medical attention, whatever*; no beds, and some without blankets; (some discharged last week being British subjects, nevertheless required to take the oath of allegiance to the United States;) took them some bologna sausage and my stock of soft bread, which I no longer require, and made a pitcher of lemonade for the sick man;—two of the political prisoners released this morning; Mr. Fisk of New Orleans, who *bought* his way out,* and a Mr. Bate-

* The only person who appeared to have free access to the Fort and the prisoners, was a lawyer from New York, William H. Ludlow, Esq.

This gentleman, according to Fort gossip, had been at one time the law partner of Mr. Seward, and was ready, at any moment, for a proper consideration, to take up the case of any prisoner who was wearied of

man, an English subject, who was released through the intervention of Lord Lyons. Capital thing, now a days, to be a subject of Queen Victoria, wish my great-great grandfather had staid on to'ther side the water ; lost one of our room-mates, Mr. Pitts, who takes Mr. Fisk's vacant place in another room, but gained three others, who were brought in to-day, Mr. Loyall of Norfolk, Va., Mr. Stevens of Charleston, S. C., and Mr. Butt of Portsmouth, Va.; all lieutenants in the Navy, just arrived from long voyages, knowing nothing of the state of affairs here, but being natives of the South, and refusing to engage in a war with their own people, taken out of their ships and sent here ; they were fortunate in bringing their mattresses and bedding with them, as nothing is supplied now to the new comers but an iron gridiron bedstead.

Passed the balance of the morning in reading and visiting the other prisoners, sent very polite note to Sergeant of the Guard for a bottle of my whiskey ; (which was taken from me for safe keeping at the gate on my arrival) received it, took one drink and passed it round, bottle came back—empty. After dinner promenaded for an hour and retired to my den, received a few articles I ordered from New York, as did most of the others, small pine table, bucket, tin cup, wash bowl, &c., &c., and half a dozen candlesticks, and last, but not least, a box of good sperm

Fort life ; he received a number of fees, but on the whole was not as successful, nor found it as profitable, as did an eminent lawyer of Baltimore, who was employed for the same purpose. Some of the prisoners were disposed to give Ludlow the preference, supposing his former connexion with Seward would give him the inside track—but, in November, an order came to Fort Warren, from Mr. Seward, repudiating lawyers in general and Ludlow in particular, and forbidding the prisoners to employ any of them, nevertheless, the Baltimore lawyer was subsequently and successfully employed.

Ludlow, finding himself thus shut out, turned his attention to military matters and was made a Major and soon after a Colonel ; he was the Military Secretary of General Dix, in Baltimore, and is now the Commissioner for the Exchange of Prisoners, in both positions I have always heard him kindly spoken of.

candles, so am now independent of the United States as far as artificial light is concerned; threw away the candlestick bottles, lighted four candles, and in honor of the event, got up a game of euchre on my new pine table. Such a flood of light had never before been witnessed in Battery Room No. 6, Fort LaFayette, and as merit always meets its reward (poetically) I won enough to pay for the light,—however, it won't amount to much, as none of the losers have a cent in their pockets, but to make the game more interesting, we imagined the money on the table. Went to bed at nine, and for the first time had an uninterrupted sleep till morning.

OCTOBER 3. Up at daylight and made a thorough ablution, having contrived to get fresh water enough for the purpose; spent a couple of hours in cleaning up my household furniture, and finding places for it; find a gun carriage almost equal to a closet for stowing things away.

Visited sick privateer; Fort Doctor does not pay the slightest attention to him, Drs. Mills and Lynch of our party got permission to visit and attend to him—sent him some lemons and loaf sugar.

Still no letter from home or from New York whither I wrote a week ago for bedding, &c., my letters have certainly been suppressed; wrote home again; seven of the privateers removed this morning to the jail in New York, leaving but ten in their room.

Unexpected liberality to-day on the part of the Government; each one in our room who was without bedding, furnished with a very good moss mattress, very scant in size, that is, in length, breadth and thickness; a pillow and pillow slip and two cotton sheets, great rejoicing thereat; more trouble about drinking water, not allowed to draw a pitcher full, may take a glass to the pump—nothing more—great disgust of Dr. Thomas on viewing the small tadpoles in his glass of water as he held it up to the light to examine it, before putting it to his lips; would have given a five dollar bill for his photograph at

that moment, with the expression of mingled horror, loathing and disgust depicted on his countenance; told him if the tadpoles could stand it, he certainly could, and down it went, with an awfully wry face. Lost another prisoner to-day, Mr. Guthrie of Petersburg, Virginia; released on parole of honor not to visit or correspond with the South.

Had a talk to-day with one of the sergeants about the insolent manner in which the sentries speak to the prisoners. The garrison consists of eighty-four men, all of them Irish except two sergeants, and one private, who is German; the privates are, as a body, the most villainous looking set of miscreants I ever laid eyes on, and their behavior is in perfect consonance with their personal appearance; several of them are known to the naval officers among us as having been in the marine service, and been drummed out as incorrigible. The three sergeants are really decent men in their sphere, were old army soldiers, sent to the Fort as drill officers, and possess as much intelligence and more good manners than would be found in the average of the volunteer colonels and majors in the Federal service.

The Lieutenant Commanding was a Baggage Master or Conductor on the Springfield Rail Road in Illinois, and was detailed by his employers to take charge of Mrs. Lincoln's baggage when she removed to Washington, which duty he performed so well, that he was rewarded with a commission in the United States regular army; a coarse, vulgar fellow without the remotest idea of what belonged to his position as an officer in the army, or even the jailor of a political prison,—but with all the pomposity common to his class and calibre, when placed in a position above their capacity.

The sergeant promised to do his best to stop the insolence of the soldiers.

Usual game of cards in the evening; a nice cup of tea made by Mr. Harrison, with some Maryland biscuit; some fine music from Lieutenant Butt's violin, and to bed.

OCTOBER 4. Anniversary of my birth day, awoke with a severe headache, slept badly; headache no doubt caused from breathing impure air, went to the privateers' room to see how the sick man was, found him no better. "Our keepers grow compassionate," guard came in to take the chains off the privateers' legs; the chains give but a step of twelve inches, and noticed that the poor fellows, after they were off, from the force of long habit, still took the twelve inch step; received letters from home, all well, spent the morning in writing and visiting neighbors, champagne at dinner to-day, present to our mess through Frank Howard, from Hiram Cranston, of the New York Hotel, enjoyed it very much. My talk with the sergeant about the insolence of the soldiers has had some effect, for this morning one of them came into our room, and said very politely, "Gentlemen, the hour for walking has arrived," and at eight o'clock another came in and said, "Gentlemen, breakfast is ready," being the first time we have been recognized as Gentlemen! in this den.

Sick privateer removed to-day to hospital on Staten Island, through the representations of Mr. Henry May, who wrote to his brother, Colonel May, to use his influence to have him removed from here, where death was certain.

Spent the afternoon as usual, smoking, walking and gossiping until lock-up, played cards for an hour with Harrison, Howard and Gordon, listened to some fine music from Lieutenant Butt's violin, and at the last tap of the drum went to bed. The drum tells us when to get up, when to go to our rooms, when to commence undressing, and when to put out the lights;—I am getting quite accustomed to it.

OCTOBER 5. Awoke with severe pains in back and chest, and return of Lumbago; made coffee and drank an excellent anti-fogmatic concocted by Colonel Kane; after breakfast headache left me, and in all probability would not have returned had I not visited No. 3, where my friends had some good whiskey, and I took just one drink

too much; passed the morning as usual, reading the papers, writing and gossip. Dinner at four, champagne again, the last of Mr. Cranston's kind remembrance. At five o'clock ordered to our quarters and locked up for half an hour; great commotion in the garrison, drums beat to arms, sally-port closed, and cannon fired immediately over us in the second story—supposed it was to drill the men for a sudden attack, but subsequently discovered it was to bring to a suspicious looking vessel that was passing out the harbor without answering the signal of the revenue cutter; the firing of the cannon shook the old Fort to its foundation, and knocked the plaster in large quantities from the walls in our room; locked up again at six, and went to bed to the sound of Butt's violin.

OCTOBER 6.—*Sunday*. Good night's rest, although very warm and close, was aroused about ten o'clock last night by fresh arrival of prisoners—fourteen in number, all from Kentucky, two of them put in our room, making our number now thirty-six.

Most of them appear to be farmers, arrested doubtless to intimidate their respective neighborhoods;* all of them

* How far this supposition was true may be judged from the following, taken from the printed proceedings of the United States Senate—the subject of arbitrary arrests being under discussion.

Mr. Powell said he desired to show the particular nature of some of these cases of arrest, and the personal action of the Secretary of State. He read a letter from a citizen of Kentucky, who he said was highly respectable and an undoubted Union man, dated Maysville, May 5th, 1862, which says:

“While Colonel Stanton of this city, was still a prisoner at Fort LaFayette, his brother-in-law, Colonel Throop, employed (through an agency) Mr. Charles T. Mitchell, of Flemingsburg, formerly a member of Congress from New York, and as I knew an intimate friend and correspondent of Seward's, to accompany him (Throop) to Washington, to promote Colonel Stanton's release. They were joined at Washington by Frederick Stanton, a brother of Colonel S. The three called on Seward, T. being introduced by M. They opened their mission by remarking that they had called to see him in reference to the Maysville prisoners. He abruptly replied that those prisoners would not be released. Fred. asked: ‘What are the charges against my brother?’ Seward replied: ‘There are

without a particle of clothing, except what they had on, and no money, and most of them ragged and dirty; Governor Morehead immediately set to work to procure clothes for them, which he did at his own expense.

At ten o'clock, Lieutenant Stevens of the Navy read the Episcopal Church Service, and a sermon from Spurgeon, to a large audience, in our room, and in a very effective manner; after service, visited a neighboring room where I found a handsome lunch set out, received partly from kind friends in Baltimore, and partly from New York; cold ducks, pickles, brandy peaches, cheese, biscuits, &c., with some excellent whiskey, enjoyed it very much, regretted it was not in my power to reciprocate, wrote for an hour until dinner; champagne again on the table, the kind gift of Pierce Butler, of Philadelphia, to our mess—water to-day undrinkable, each glass would average a dozen tadpoles from one-quarter to one-half inch long without counting the smaller fish; can't use it without straining, made a private arrangement with sergeant Graves to furnish me with two pitchers of iced spring water, which he can get from the main land, to be delivered at sun-set, daily; this enabled me to give a

no charges against him on file,' and added that the business of his office pressed him too much to entertain inquiries or give explanations. One inquired if it was his purpose to keep citizens imprisoned against whom no charge was made? He answered hastily: 'I don't care a d—n whether they are guilty or innocent. I saved Maryland by similar arrests, and so I mean to hold Kentucky.' To this it was remarked that the Legislature and public sentiment of Kentucky were averse to such arrests. 'I don't care a d—n for the opinion of Kentucky,' he insultingly responded, adding that what he required was to hold her in the Union, and make her fight for it; and then turning fiercely on Mitchell, demanded of him, 'Why the hell are you not at home fighting traitors, instead of seeking their release here?' This is the substance of the interview, as related to me by Col. Throop.'

"Mr. Powell also referred to a letter he had received from A. B. Eshelman, a person whom he did not know, who stated that he is a citizen of Bourbon county, Ky., and has been seven months a prisoner, without charge, &c. This letter is endorsed by L. C. Brown, Post Surgeon at Camp Chase, Ohio, saying he believed the statements therein to be true, and that Eshelman is a good Union man."

glass of water to each of room-mates during the evening, read Tennyson and Macauley until nine and went to bed.

OCTOBER 7. Usual morning routine, prison life becoming very monotonous, one day marvellously like another; large arrival of prisoners to-day—three North Carolina gentlemen, passengers on board an English vessel from Halifax to Hatteras Inlet;—not being aware of the capture of the Forts, and seeing the Confederate flag still flying at Fort Hatteras, ran in and anchored under the guns of the Fort, and did not know any better until the Federal officers came on board and took possession of them, Captain Berry of Brooklyn, Commander of one of the New York and Charleston steamers, and eighteen sailors taken from various vessels, which were captured while endeavoring to run the blockade; most of them from English vessels; they were all immediately put in irons and quartered in the privateers' room, making *thirty* in that room fourteen by twenty-two feet—and equalising the arch, but six and a half feet in height—almost, if not quite equal to the Black Hole of Calcutta—Captain Berry * placed in

* Captain Berry was very much alarmed until he reached our room, he was kept in the Guard House until all the prisoners who came with him were ironed, and took it for granted he was to share their fate, until he was brought to other quarters, although naturally red in the face, he came in very pale; we found him an agreeable companion, intelligent, and liberal with his means, he slept along side of me when Mr. Harrison left our room. He was released in the early part of May and died shortly after his arrival home in Brooklyn, from a fit of apoplexy, with which he had several times been threatened while in Fort Warren. He was the pioneer of steam navigation between New York and Charleston, and commanded the Steamer Columbia at the commencement of the War, his offence was hoisting the Palmetto flag while going into Charleston; he made several trips after the secession of South Carolina, and was in the habit of displaying the State flag of South Carolina when entering Charleston harbor, and the United States flag when entering New York harbor. He was a large property holder in both cities. The telegram on which he was arrested described him as "*a dangerous man going at large.*"—The Palmetto flag had been used by him as above stated for fifteen years, as the private signal of his ship, a finer specimen of the frank, manly, and open hearted sailor, or a less "*dangerous*" man to the Government could not be found.

our room, made a bed for him with my rocking chair and some benches, and a pallet of straw,—drinking water entirely out, received my two pitchers of ice water from sergeant Graves and served it round in our room, a small glass full to each, played cards for a couple of hours and went to bed ; awful stench in room from some undiscovered cause.

OCTOBER 8. Awoke at day break after a good night's sleep, which surprised everybody in the room except the Governor, as all of them were awake most of the night from the stench and closeness of the room ; did not make coffee this morning as the tadpoles predominated over the water ; at nine, a north-east rain storm set in, which confined us to our rooms and compelled us to put on overcoats ; but we will be compensated by the cisterns being partially filled, which will give us water to drink. Mail came in, no letters for me, but received the Baltimore papers, the "*American*" full of lies in regard to us, and known to be so by the Editors,—had to remain in doors all the morning in consequence of the storm, very cold and raw, moderated in the afternoon sufficient to promenade for an hour ; usual game of cards in the evening, and to bed at nine.

OCTOBER 9. Very cold and raw morning ; how we are to remain here during the winter can't imagine, our room is very much exposed to the weather, with a brick floor and no fireplace ; and when the doors are shut, no light. The arrangements here for prisoners would disgrace any half civilized nation. Had to read and write to-day with an overcoat on and a blanket wrapped round me ;—heard from home, wife very much distressed at my absence, and the prospect of its continuance ; at noon Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Warfield, Mr. Daniel Warfield, and the sister and neice of Mr. Harrison, visited the Fort by special permit of General Scott, and were permitted to converse with their friends for an hour in the presence and

hearing of the Commandant; saw them at a distance and thought it an unpleasant interview for all the parties; they all seemed to think our detention would not be very long.

Fourteen of the sailor prisoners discharged to-day—mostly subjects of foreign powers, all of them required to take the oath of allegiance,—one of them, Captain Barklie of Nassau, Captain of an English vessel from Nassau to Charleston, prevented two or three of his own crew from taking the oath, by telling them they would lose the protection of their own government, for which interference he is promised punishment, and will doubtless receive it.*

Had a visit from Major Clitz, an officer from Fort Hamilton, who went through our room, and agreed with us that the accommodations were disgraceful to the Government, but could do nothing for us,—was a soldier and had to obey orders,—said the scarcity of water should be obviated by sending water from New York twice a week,—advised us to draw up a statement of the facts and forward it to the President,—did so, which was signed by most of the prisoners; wrote home giving some description of our prison life; received a small lot of stationery, my portion of a present from Miss Lucas of Baltimore, to the Baltimore delegation, very opportune, for most of mine had been used by my fellow prisoners.

After dinner, usual exercise, and cards at night with Messrs. May, Howard, and Thomas; the drum sent us to bed at half past eight, the rules give us to 9.15, but to suit the convenience of somebody, the Fort clock is made too fast by three-quarters of an hour.

* He did receive it, for a day or two afterwards he was removed to the common Jail in New York, and a couple of weeks afterwards sent to Bedloe's Island, where he was kept in close confinement;—on the general transfer of prisoners to Fort Warren, he was sent thither and quartered in No. 45,—he was there, however, subject to no personal indignity, and in January was sent to New York, where they wanted him as a witness in some trial for the condemnation of a ship; being an English subject, I suppose he has been released.

OCTOBER 10. Bad night's sleep; much interruption from the sick calling the sentinel to take them to the rear; morning very cold and unpleasant; walked continually as the only means of keeping warm; wrote to General Dix, asking him to have my lost baggage hunted up; and home to say I was well, rather a story, for I am quite unwell to-day; received a long letter from home; wife very gloomy; gloomy myself; can't help it; why am I dragged from my home and family and incarcerated in this filthy prison, without the slightest charge or accusation, and not even permitted to ask why this outrage has been perpetrated—can or will a just God permit these things to continue?*

This morning a boat arrived from New York with three thousand gallons of water, which was emptied into one of the cisterns; it was badly wanted, for what little water that remained in the cistern had become too offensive to drink, even with straining. Weather cold and raw all day, wrote with overcoat on and blanket wrapped round my legs; how we will get through the winter if kept in this place, God only knows; the Lumbago has returned, and it is with great difficulty and pain I can get up in the morning; several of our number are now sick, and, in addition, a cutaneous disease has made its appearance among us; six of my room-mates are now affected by it; it is not the itch, although it has every appearance of it; there is no hospital in the Fort, and the sick have to take their chance with the well.

It is not permitted to have a light in the room for any purpose after quarter past nine o'clock; Dr. McGill got permission to-day to use a light, temporarily, (but it must

*The wife of one of my fellow prisoners writes to-day, that in company with one or two other ladies, she visited the President to obtain, if possible, some modification of our treatment.

The President received them very politely, listened to all they had to say, and informed them that he had nothing to do with the Baltimore prisoners, they were Seward's prisoners, and declined interference.

From this we may infer that each head of the Government has his own set of captives, over whom he exercises exclusive jurisdiction and control.

be put out immediately,) if he found it necessary to give medicine to the sick during the night, and it must be used for no other purpose. Took but little exercise to-day, being cold and rainy, and suffering much from my back; after dark tried to pass an hour at cards but had to give it up and go to bed. Another visit from the garrison doctor; he don't think the cutaneous disorder spreading among us of any consequence.

OCTOBER 11. Passed a very restless night, suffered much from Lumbago, and scarcely able to get about this morning; weather damp and murky; visited the "United States Hotel," as it is pleasantly termed by those who live at it, as do all but the forty who compose our mess; inspected the food and table furniture—each boarder furnished with a tin plate and cup, an iron spoon and knife, four ounces of fat pork, a slice of bread and a tin cup of coffee, so-called, sweetened with molasses—tasted the coffee, but could not detect the presence of the berry, perhaps a chemical analysis might detect *a trace* of it, perhaps not. This is the bill of fare for breakfast and supper; at dinner it is varied by the substitution of bean soup for coffee, and occasionally an Irish potato—an application for "more" would astonish the head cook as much as Oliver Twist's did the work-house beadle.

Several other messes are now in process of formation who propose to draw their rations and cook them themselves, with such additions as they can get from New York. Fifteen or twenty cents a day additional will enable them to live very well, but they will find cooking in their rooms a great nuisance.

A new prisoner came in to-day, Mr. De Costa, of Charleston, and one discharged, Mr. Anderson. Dr. McGill, of Hagerstown, was sent for to the office, and offered his release on taking the new oath, but declined and returned to his room.

Mr. Henry May received notice in the afternoon of the death of his brother. He asked permission of the Govern-

ment some days since to visit his brother, that he might have the melancholy pleasure of being with him in his last moments, which was refused, but at eight o'clock this evening a message came that he might go to the funeral, on his parole of honor to return as soon as it was over; he left immediately for New York; hope he will not return, as another month's confinement in this place will certainly kill him in his delicate state of health; took a parting glass with him and sent message to my family.

Marshal Kane was removed to-day to Fort Columbus, on Governor's Island, five or six miles from here. He has been very unwell for some time, and made such representations of his condition as induced the Government to remove him to Fort Columbus, where he will have much better quarters and larger space to exercise.

OCTOBER 12. Awoke much refreshed, slept better than for several nights; weather cold, but clear and bracing; put on overcoat and blanket to read the paper. Another arrival to-day, Mr. Carter, of Baltimore, an old friend; surprised to see him here; advised him to take Henry May's vacant place in our mess, which he did, and was very thankful when he found out how he would have fared had there not been a vacancy for him. Passed the day as usual, reading, writing, smoking and walking; locked up in our rooms this morning for an hour while the garrison were firing on a passing vessel to bring her to, which they did with a vengeance—one of the balls passing clean through her, as she did not come about as quick as the commander thought she might; we could see the operation through the embrasures in our room. On such occasions we are always locked up; perhaps they think we might take the Fort while they are busy up stairs with the guns. Took Mr. Carter around and introduced him to make him feel as much *at home* as possible; played cards after dark with Governor Morehead and Mr. Barr, and went to bed at nine, after drinking an excellent cup of tea of Mr. Harrison's concocting, and a brandy punch of my own.

OCTOBER 13.—*Sunday*. Delightful morning, cold and bracing; capital night's sleep and very much refreshed; spent an hour in putting things to rights at my end of the room and in making coffee for as many of my immediate neighbors as the machine would admit of. At eleven church service and reading a sermon by Lieutenant Stevens to a very attentive audience; special prayers offered for Mrs. George S. Gelston, a lady living opposite the Fort, who never lets a day pass without sending something to the prisoners, fruits, flowers, &c., and often more substantial articles, but for her the poor privateers and sailors would have been without clothing or shoes; nor is her kindness confined to the prisoners here, those who have been removed to the jail in New York are equally the recipients of her bounty. She was for a while prohibited by orders from Washington from sending anything to the prisoners, and wrote a letter to Seward in which she insisted on knowing whether, after having suspended the Habeas Corpus, the Constitution and the Laws of the country, it was a part of his policy to suspend the Laws of Humanity. The letter was published, and resulted in the restrictions on her charities being removed. After service read the newspapers from home and from New York, full, as usual, of lies in relation to Maryland; exercise after dinner, and the evening church service read at five o'clock by Lieutenant Stevens; after lock-up read the English papers—London Weekly Dispatch, Saturday Review and Dublin Times; they seem to understand matters in this country better than nine-tenths of our own people. It is really refreshing after reading the scurrilous political papers of this country to pick up a dignified English Magazine or Review; a cup of tea made by Mr. Harrison, a nice punch, and to bed.

OCTOBER 14. Very cold morning; had to wear overcoats and blankets to enable me to read the papers; if the devil don't get the people who have charge of us it would be as well to abolish the office of devil altogether

as useless ; received letters to day from C. W. Lentz, Baltimore, and Frank Inloes, New York, asking what they could do for me ; also from Wm. Jones, New York, sending me a very acceptable supply of bed clothing, of which I was much in need ; wrote to him for a feather bed and some other articles which I want. This morning Wm. L. Montague, of Baltimore, sent us a barrel of stores, everything good he could think of. May God bless him.

Several prisoners released to-day, Mr. Wilder, Mr. Stannard and Mr. Payne ; could not ascertain the conditions of their release ; and one new arrival, Colonel Tyler, of the Confederate Army, who was quartered in our room ; usual routine for the day and evening—cards at night, would have read in preference but had not sufficient light and quiet ; my end of the room is getting to be a favorite place for loafers.

OCTOBER 15. Much trouble among the sick last night, aggravated by the refusal of the Corporal of the Guard to permit a light in the room to give medicine by, notwithstanding the commandant had given permission to that effect ; told the corporal that one of the prisoners was very sick, he replied he did not care if there was, we should not have a light, so sick man had to go without his medicine.

Beautiful, bright and pleasant morning, more like May than October ; was locked up for an hour while they were firing at some passing vessel ; at twelve they commenced firing minute guns for the death of General Gibson, the first one of which knocked the glass out of the embrasure window next to me, and the succeeding ones demolished sashes of most of the other embrasures ; this may be regarded as a calamity, as it is not likely they will be replaced for weeks, and we shall have no protection whatever from the weather, unless we board them up, which will shut out what little of light we have.

Number of prisoners in the Fort to-day—room No. 1, ten ; No. 2, eleven ; No. 3, nine ; No. 4, nine ; No. 5, thirty-five ; No. 6, thirty-seven. Quite an amusing incident

occurred this morning: one of the Kentucky "prisoners of State," who is half an idiot, went on the Fort wharf (which was against the rules) and stood there for some time looking at a vessel that had brought a load of fire-wood for the Fort; one of the sentinels noticing him, and supposing him to be one of the crew of the vessel, went up and ordered him to go on board, and not dare to come on the wharf again without permission; this the fellow refused, insisting that he had as good a right in the Fort as the soldier had; quite an altercation ensued, when the sentinel attempted to drive him on board at the point of the bayonet, but "Kentucky" was too much for him; some of the guard came to the rescue, and one of them, recognising the prisoner, stopped the fray and took him inside the Fort. "Kentucky" had no idea of being driven from his home in such an unceremonious manner. Three of our room-mates this morning removed to an adjacent battery room, hitherto unoccupied, and seven taken from another crowded room, relieving both rooms very much; the ten propose forming a mess and cooking their own rations, and have sent to New York for a stove for the purpose.

Mayor Brown had a visit to day from his wife, son and daughter, by permission of General Scott, and remained with them several hours, but in the presence of an officer.

Wrote long letter to wife, she does not get half the letters I write her, getting very tired of my imprisonment as the excitement and novelty pass off, and begin to feel gloomy at the prospect of remaining here during the winter—new order posted in our rooms to-day, "Prisoners are forbidden to speak to, or recognize any visitors." Some of us had touched our hats to Mrs. Brown as she stood on the balcony opposite our quarters, and such a breach of discipline cannot be permitted.

OCTOBER 17. Quite unwell this morning, head-ache and severe pain in the back; weather cold and raw, with North-east wind. Mail came in, no letters for me, made half a dozen cups of coffee for some of the boarders at the

“United States Hotel,” which they relished very much; the stuff the Government calls coffee is warm water sweetened with molasses; the presence of coffee cannot be detected by the taste, although no doubt some is put into the liquid. Two of our number released to-day, Mr. Muir, of Charleston, on condition he would go to Europe, and remain there during the war, and Mr. Chapin, of Mississippi, on parole not to return to, nor correspond with the South. Received box from home filled with good things,—after dark had a nice set out for the whole room, the Government boarders enjoyed it very much; during the evening Dr. Thomas went to one of the embrasure windows to get a little fresh air, as the room was very close, sentinel on the outside ordered him away, and informed him that he would “blow out his brains if he did not leave the window immediately;” Doctor left.

OCTOBER 18. Awoke very much refreshed from a good night’s sleep, without disturbance; weather raw and rainy; occupied the morning in cleaning up my end of the room, including the gun carriage, which answers very well for shelving; the mail came in—received a very pleasant letter from wife; all well at home.

Another arrival in the morning, Mr. Isaac G. Mask, of Baltimore; Mr. Harrison left our room this morning to go into number three, where there is a vacancy; sorry to part with him—he was my next neighbor, and almost my bed-fellow, for there was but six inches between us; general regret expressed at parting with him, he was so kind and attentive to the sick, and generally useful, glad, however, that he will be more comfortable, as the room he removes to has a fire place in it. Governor Morehead also left us for the same room, and while consoling ourselves for their absence with the thought that we should have more room, three new prisoners were brought in, and quartered on us, Drs. Page and Lindsey, and Lieutenant Dalton of the Navy, just returned from sea, sent hither because they would not take the new oath of allegiance;

got them fixed for sleeping by contribution, as the Government has run out of bedsteads, straw and blankets; fortunately they have their own mattresses and blankets which will arrive in a day or two.

New regulations posted to-day in all the rooms; we are forbidden to write long letters, and must write to our correspondents that their letters to us must be very short, and very plainly written; our correspondence is read partly by Lieutenant Wood, and partly by Colonel Burke, at Fort Hamilton, and must consume a great deal of their time, as they do not mail our letters for three or four days after they are written, or deliver them for three or four days after their arrival, it takes eight days to get an answer from New York, and ten days from Baltimore; when our letters contain any objectionable matter, they are returned to us with the endorsement of Colonel Burke, stating the cause; the Colonel's early education has evidently been sadly neglected, as his chirography is almost undecipherable, and he spells "female" with a "phe."

I complained one day to the Commandant, of the delay in mailing our letters; he excused himself on the ground that he had so many other duties to perform, and that he had to take extracts from the letters, such as would give any information to the Government, particularly such as related to the financial affairs of the writers, adding, that "*he got a great deal of information from them.*"*

* As I avoided political matters as much as possible in my correspondence, it was rarely interfered with, that is, it was not returned to me, although many of my letters failed to reach my family, and I seldom wrote to others.

One specimen, however, of the paternal care exercised by the authorities at Washington may be cited.

My wife, in writing to me on purely domestic matters, proposed sending one of our daughters to school, to Streeter's, a teacher of some note in Baltimore, and asked my views about it; not being at the moment very amiably disposed towards Yankees or Abolitionists—I replied—

“Streeter is a Yankee Abolitionist and has contributed his full share in producing the causes which have disrupted the country and sent me to Fort LaFayette, and I do not desire any of our children placed under his

Another order posted to-day, forbidding the use of any liquor among the prisoners, except a limited quantity on the dinner table of our mess. The Commandant expressed himself, a day or two since, that we had entirely too many privileges and has commenced curtailing them; great consternation and indignation among those who are in the habit of taking an appetiser before dinner, and a settler after dinner,—in the evening read the English papers until nine.

OCTOBER 19. Slept but little last night; shortly after getting to sleep was awakened by the groans of Mr. Carter, who had the cramp colic very badly—got up and boiled some water with my spirit lamp for him to drink with mustard; Dr. McGill succeeded in relieving him in about an hour; the doctor made him drink as much mustard and hot water as I thought would have killed two men; told the doctor so, he laughed and said that in such cases a mustard plaster inside was more effective than one outside; had to get special permission from the Sergeant of the Guard to light the candle to give Carter his medicine, who granted it for only five minutes; no candles given out last night; Government run out of candles; fortunately, several of us have received some from New York.

Dull, foggy morning; every thing saturated with mist; matches all spoiled from damp; green mould appearing in spots on the gun carriage; horrible place this for well people, to say nothing of the sick; lost another prisoner to-day, Mr. Walker, of New York.

After dinner, a new order posted on the walls; no liquor allowed on our mess table; total prohibition; in the afternoon, the Doctor wanted some of his *own* whiskey to rub the chest of one of the sick, and it was refused, even for that purpose; played cards for a couple of hours and went to bed; room horribly close and damp.

guidance, send her to some other school." The Commander considered this of sufficient importance to send the letter to Washington; the authorities there, after carefully erasing that portion, mailed the letter to my wife.

OCTOBER 20. Arose with bad headache from closeness of the room ; dissipated by a cup of coffee, together with an hour's walk in the cool bracing air ; the storm having passed.

Church service at eleven o'clock by Lieutenant Stevens ; not so well attended as on last Sunday, only about fifty of the prisoners present ; weather so pleasant after several days of fog and mist, that many preferred walking in the yard ; was informed that his excellency Governor Morgan of New York, having our spiritual welfare at heart, would send us a preacher, if we desired it—declined it, as we did not want any religious adviser of his choosing.

No letters distributed since Friday, although they arrive regularly every morning ; fear our correspondence is to be stopped. This morning, James M. Haig, of Baltimore, whose mind has been giving way for several days, was taken to the guard house, and placed in close confinement ; no one permitted to see him ; he thinks his room mates intend to kill him ; the Commandant thinks he is shamming.

Dreadful long faces to-day, “water, water, every where, and not a drop to drink!” great outcry against the tyranny of depriving a man of his own liquor, sentinels growing more impudent, symptoms all round showing increased stringency in the discipline ; official notice given to-day, that in future the allowance of candles would be reduced to one candle per night for the battery rooms, and half a candle for the casemates ; fortunately our supply from New York has not given out, and I wrote to-day for more.

It was stated to-day that the order to stop all liquor came from Colonel Burke, on the representation of Lieutenant Wood, that the sentries had been made drunk on liquor given them by the prisoners, which was false ; the fact is, the sentries by some means got access to the room where our liquors were stored, and for some time past have been liberally stealing them, and as they got drunk, it was necessary to charge it on somebody, and the result is that our grog has been stopped, and Colonel Burke is very

“*indignant* ;” a bottle of blackberry brandy of mine, which I was keeping for medicinal purposes, was in the store-room on Friday night, and on Saturday morning I found the empty bottle with several others on the wood pile outside the Fort.

Two of the sentries who got drunk and refused to tell where they got the liquor, have been undergoing punishment for three days past ; as flogging has been humanely (?) abolished in the army, other punishments have to be resorted to, one is compelled to walk twelve hours a day with his hands ironed behind his back, and sixty pounds of bricks in his knapsack, strapped to his back, (he has not a particle of stoop in his shoulders,) the other has his hands ironed behind, with a bar of iron fastened to the cuffs to keep his arms in one position ; his legs chained together and mounted on the top of an empty barrel in the centre of the parade ground ; one of the Irish washwomen occasionally holds a cup of water to their lips, and from their woe-begone appearance to-day, one would suppose they might now safely be trusted with untold whiskey ; towards evening, a third one made his appearance on the parade ground, with his hands behind him and the bricks on his back ; he was detected in substituting blocks of wood for the bricks in the knapsack of number one, who was his particular friend ; a fourth one had offended, but the Commandant contented himself by kicking the culprit down stairs, using his foot with great effect.

Evening prayers read by Mr. Stevens at five, read Macauley until nine, and to bed.

OCTOBER 21. Excellent night's sleep, the cool weather has much improved the condition of our room ; made coffee for half a dozen, the best I ever made, having invented a new process for concocting it ; received a long and pleasant letter from my eldest daughter, all well at home, they had a visit from Henry May who gave them a satisfactory account of our mode of life ; received box from New York, with feather bed and some bedding I wrote for, for myself

and friends. New arrival to-day, Mr. Shaver, from Toronto, Canada; suppose as he is a "British subject" he will be released as soon as the British Consul hears of his imprisonment; lucky thing now-a-days to have been born in England, or any where outside of the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave!" Strong symptoms to-day of rebellion against the new liquor law; as I have a small private stock stowed away in the gun-carriage it don't affect me, but as it is generally known I have it, it does seriously affect my stock, which is rapidly diminishing.

Haig raving mad to-day; Commandant won't let any of his friends see him, or even the doctors among us; during the evening his shrieks could be heard all over the Fort; he was put in double irons and gagged; small chance for his life, as the Surgeon of the Garrison lives on the main land, and only occasionally visits the Fort. British Consul, from New York, came in the afternoon to look after British subjects; pity we had not an American Consul to look after American subjects. Shaver sent a note to the Consul by one of the sergeants, informing him of his arrest; sergeant handed the note to the Consul instead of giving it to Lieutenant Wood, and letting it reach its destination in that way, for which blunder, sergeant was put in the guard house. Consul demanded to see Mr. Shaver; was told he could not see him without a permit from Mr. Seward.*

After dark played cards for a couple of hours.

* Shaver accompanied us to Fort Warren, and early in November received a letter from Lord Lyons, stating that he had failed to obtain from Mr. Seward, either his discharge or the reasons for his arrest, and had referred the case to the Government at home. Shaver in the meantime was offered his release on condition of his taking the oath of allegiance to the United States; he was finally released about the first of January. His case was brought before the House of Lords in February, and elicited a long debate, several of the speakers insisting that the Government should sustain Mr. Shaver's claims for damages.

OCTOBER 22. Slept soundly last night in my new bed; fellow-prisoners say I am getting too luxurious and must be taken down; morning cold and bracing. Writing alongside a thirty-two pound cannon, on the gun carriage, on a brick floor, without fire, and the door wide open to give light to write by, is getting rather uncomfortable, still I stand it very well. Another arrival this morning, Mr. Pierce, of New Orleans, and three discharges yesterday, Messrs. Sullivan, Corrie and P., the latter has been here only a week, and is generally believed to be a Government spy, the former is a lawyer in New York, who volunteered his services as counsel to defend the privateers, and was immediately arrested and sent here. An hour after his release an order came revoking it, but he had gone and they let him alone.

Some ten days ago a petition was sent to the President, signed by all the Doctors in the Fort and the Surgeon of the Garrison, for the release of Mr. Quinlan, of Baltimore county, on the score of ill-health, all expressing their belief that he could not survive a protracted confinement; he has for a long time been afflicted with a chronic dysentery; yesterday he was sent for to go to the office, and offered his release if he would take the new oath of allegiance to the Government, and give his parole of honor, not to return to the State of Maryland; the former he was willing to do, in view of his physical condition, but declined the latter, as he had no place but his home to go to; this looks like an intention on the part of the Government to exile us; in fact they appear to be embarrassed to know what to do with us.

Played cards in the evening with Dr. Thomas and Mr. Barr, of Kentucky, until nine.

OCTOBER 23. Excellent night's sleep; new bed and clean linen sheets act like a charm: was aroused about daylight by the shrieks of Haig, who is now raving mad; could discover by the suppressed stifle, that the guards were again gagging him; no one permitted to see him; made coffee

for myself and immediate neighbors; two new prisoners to-day—Flanders brothers, from New York State, editors of newspapers, who preferred peace to war, and hence are here;* and one release, Mr. McMasters, of New York, editor of the "*Freeman's Journal*," which was suppressed by the Government some time since—its title not corresponding with the times; he took the oath annexed to a written protest against its legality, and the outrage to his person and property in arresting him and suppressing his paper; *query?* how much does Mr. Seward care for that? Took cold to-day—which settled in my head and eyes; nearly blinding me; could not see during the afternoon to read or write; and went to bed at six o'clock; laid awake until twelve with intense pain in my eyes—and had an uneasy sleep the balance of the night.

OCTOBER 24. Cold much better, and pain in the eyes nearly gone; weather very cold; read the papers and wrote, wrapped up in blankets; at eleven o'clock, steam tug came with our stoves and carpets, the latter, made of coarse plaited rope which will hold all the dirt that can be got into the interstices; carpet put down; two strips the length of the room, and one at the foot of each row of beds; stoves brought in, but not fixed up.

Two prisoners discharged to-day: Mr. Snable, of Pennsylvania, and Captain Hagelin, of Baltimore,—the former swearing vengeance against Simon Cameron, who, he insists, had him arrested for private reasons; the latter, the master of a bay schooner running between Baltimore and the Patuxent river, who says he was taken out of his ves-

* F. D. Flanders was the editor of the "*Franklin Gazette*," Malone, New York, at the time of his arrest—his paper was interdicted through the mails—his wife, a spunky woman, continued to publish it: writing the editorials herself, and having it distributed through the adjacent counties by special carriers; notwithstanding the prohibition, copies of the paper would occasionally reach the Fort, and the spicy editorials of the lady editor afforded us much amusement.

His brother, James R. Flanders, was a lawyer, and subsequently elected to the bench; Government made nothing out of the arrest of either.

sel in the river by one of the tug boats: does not know why; and has never heard of his vessel since; and don't know why he is released; he has been here nearly three months.

• Haig, the crazy man, worse to-day; tried to get out of the guard house—and although heavily ironed, it took five men to hold him; I witnessed it, and with the supernatural strength madmen have, he knocked the soldiers about as if they were so many children; finally they were compelled to use the butts of their guns before they could get him back.

Two more of the soldiers promenading the parade ground to-day with their knapsacks full of bricks and their arms ironed behind their backs; their offence is smuggling liquor into the Fort; the severest punishment I ever saw; No. 1, spoken of last week, continues his daily walk of twelve hours, and No. 2 still acts as overseer from the head of his barrel: No. 3, who substituted the blocks of wood for the bricks in the knapsack of his friend, was relieved after a couple of days punishment; it would be much better to tie them up and flog them, but the regulations of the army forbid it.

Played cards for a couple of hours after dark, and just as I was going to bed, the door was opened and a new prisoner thrust in, and the door closed and locked without any remark or explanation from the sergeant; the most bewildered man I ever saw; looking at him a moment I recognized him as one of my youthful acquaintances, Dr. Jeffrey, of the navy, a native of Virginia, who had just returned from the coast of Africa, and declining to take the oath, taken out of his ship and sent hither; they would not give him time to get his baggage, so he came among us entirely destitute, had to stir myself to get a bed fixed for him on some benches, before the drum told us to put out the lights.

To me, it appears one of the most barbarous and disgraceful features of this war, to take Southern gentlemen, who have made it a point of honor to bring their ships

into Northern ports, and resign their commissions, when they might have with perfect ease, taken them into Southern ports; and immediately on their arrival send them as prisoners to the Forts.* I am sometimes disposed to agree with one of the English reviews I received last week, in the assertion, that "whatever may be the result of the war, one result is certain, that of thoroughly brutalizing the Northern mind."

OCTOBER 25. Cold, clear morning, slept well last night, had to dress in the dark as it is too cold to open the doors; read for a couple of hours at one of the embrasures, wrapped up in blankets, and walked for an hour to get warm; stoves in the room, but stove pipes not yet arrived.

Grand distribution of furniture to-day, I got a chair, a pitcher that was stolen five minutes afterwards, a good writing table and a husk mattress, six inches too short and ten inches too narrow for my bedstead; increased the size of it with boards, and with my own bedding on top, and a pair of clean linen sheets and pillow slips, and my new blue and white marseilles quilt, made a bed that was the remark and envy of the whole party. Dr. Nathan R. Smith, of Baltimore, sent us a large box of his splendid grapes, which was received to-day; it was a present to the Baltimore delegation; I picked out a bunch for myself and put it carefully away under the gun carriage, intending

*The most of this class of prisoners were exchanged from time to time during the winter; their exchange was a matter of special negotiation in each case, for some particular prisoner in Richmond whose friends in the North were anxious to have released.

The difficulty arose from the refusal of the Southern Government to place on an equality, as subjects for exchange, officers who were fairly taken in battle against officers who were kidnapped in Northern ports on their return from service abroad. Many of those gentlemen had opportunities to leave their ships, while in the West Indies and elsewhere, and return to their homes in the South, but declined deserting their trust until they handed over their ships to the Government, and then resigned, immediately to be arrested, and in some instances confined in common jails until the officers were ready to take them to some of the Forts.

to eat it at night, and distributed the balance of my share among my room mates; when I went to get it after dark, found somebody had stolen it, so got none of the grapes; inquired, but nobody took it.

About nine o'clock, another prisoner was unceremoniously thrust into our room, who looked as bewildered as did Dr. Jeffrey, recognized him also as one of my early acquaintances, Captain Shields, formerly of the United States Army,* a native of Virginia, but a resident of Vermont; he too, was without baggage or bedding, put three benches together and made a bed for him; he was much astonished at the looks of things in general, had been informed by the Marshal that he would be provided with "furnished quarters."

OCTOBER. 26. Slept well, was not disturbed by the sick during the night; rainy morning, but not so cold as yesterday, remained in doors, reading and writing. Noticed a new face on the barrel in the parade ground, the old occupant had been taken down, and set to walking, the offence of the new one is said to be insolence to the commanding officer; if every soldier who had been insolent to us were punished in the same way, the parade ground would be full of barrels; some of the gentlemen think it a cruel and barbarous mode of punishment; perhaps it is, but my compassion for the miserable wretches is considerably lessened from the fact that those who are undergoing the punishment, are those who have been most prominent in their insolence to us; even S. says, that if the Lord

* Captain H. L. Shields was a native of Norfolk, Va., and of course an object of suspicion, although he had been for many years a resident of Vermont, the more so, as he had a brother in the Confederate service. He was on his farm, near Bennington, superintending his laborers, when a messenger arrived, stating that a friend of his was at the Railroad station, and desired to see him before the train started; on repairing to the station in company with the messenger, instead of his friend, he found two United States Marshals, who immediately seized him, put him on the train and took him to Fort LaFayette, without permitting him to see or inform his family of his arrest, or to obtain a change of clothing.

will forgive him for what he has done in behalf of the Irish in past years, he will promise to sin no more.

Usual routine for the day ; reading, writing and exercise until the drum beat for us to go to our rooms ; took tea with the new mess at the other end of our room, and helped the set out with some of my own stores ; their cooking apparatus will not improve the atmosphere of our room. Played euchre with Dr. Lindsey, Messrs. Pierce and Barr until tattoo.

OCTOBER 27.—*Sunday*. About ten o'clock last night, just as I was getting to sleep, the alarm was given that one of the prisoners had escaped, but was in a few minutes retaken,—it turned out to be Mr. Lowber, of New Orleans, who was arrested on his way home from Europe ;—he had by some means got the iron bars of the embrasure window open, and crawled through in nearly a nude state, having packed his clothes in a tub, and put a life preserver round him, expecting to be able to swim to the main land ; he is a tolerably old man, very deaf, and can't see without glasses, and is evidently crazy to think of such a thing with the tide running four or five miles an hour, and the almost certainty of being chilled to death, before he could reach the shore ; he was taken to the guard house, and put in double irons, where he will doubtless remain until the Commandant thinks him sufficiently punished ; he begged them to let him have his bed, but they refused ; all they would give him was a brick to put under his head.

He must have had some understanding with the sentinel whom he expected to be on guard at that particular part of the Fort on the outside, and made some miscalculation about the time ; after he got outside, and was discovered, the sentry commenced calling lustily for the Sergeant of the Guard ; those near the window who could hear what was going on, say that when Lowber found he had made a mistake in the sentinel, he offered him his watch and forty-five dollars in gold that he had with him to let him go ; the sentinel replied, “ it is too late, I have

called the Sergeant!" This morning the baggage and bedding of some of those in the same room were searched under the suspicion that they were preparing for a similar attempt, nothing however was found; I witnessed the search, which was done in a very offensive manner.*

Early this morning, before I was up, Lieutenant Wood entered the room with an officer in an undress uniform; supposing it to be another prisoner I remonstrated against his bringing any more prisoners into our already overcrowded room; he informed me it was Colonel Burke, his superior officer.

Burke is commander of the Forts Hamilton and LaFayette, the latter being a dependency of the former; he resides at Fort Hamilton, and this is the *first time* he has been at Fort LaFayette since the 5th of August, although it is only half a mile distant, leaving its government entirely to Lieutenant Wood, who styles himself "Lieutenant Commandant," and always writes it in full with a large flourish!

The object of Colonel Burke's visit to our room was not to inspect it, but to loan Captain Shields, who was an old comrade of his, and served with him in Mexico, a clean shirt; this done, he took his departure, without looking round or speaking to any other prisoner; this was the first and the last we ever saw of our commander-in-chief.

* The day before we left Fort Lafayette, Lowber's irons were taken off, and he was returned to his room; on the voyage to Fort Warren, he planned another escape, but was dissuaded by his friends, and again at Fort Warren, a letter of his to Boston was intercepted, where he wrote for two life preservers to be sent in a barrel of apples, but the officers took no notice of it.

He was a wealthy machinist from New Orleans, a man of great energy, and was returning home from Europe when he was arrested; we found him of great service in our mess, his specialities were omelettes and coffee, in the manufacture of which he excelled.

He was finally released in January, on condition that he would go to Europe; during the summer he attempted to reach his home by way of Nassau, but was captured in attempting to run the blockade, and is now a prisoner in Fort Jackson, below New Orleans.

Haig, the insane man, was removed yesterday; could not find out whither he was sent, none of his friends were permitted to see him when he was leaving; the garrison were all glad to get rid of him, as he gave them so much trouble and required constant watching.

Had church service at eleven by Mr. Stevens and a sermon read from Pusey; one of the prisoners sent to New York for a small instrument, so we now have music with the service. After dinner we had an official visit from the United States Marshal of New York, and Simeon Draper, one of the city officials, doubtless come to report officially that we were very comfortable under the kind and parental care of the Government; some complaints had reached the public ear through the press, notwithstanding the assertions of the Government organs that we were provided for as well as at any New York hotel, and were living luxuriously.

Draper was well known to many of the prisoners, and received some very plain talk from a number of them, myself included; Gatchell was particularly hard on him, very deservedly so; he had partaken of Gatchell's hospitality for twenty years past, and although he knew of his confinement here, had taken no notice of it: on the whole Draper did not feel any better for his visit, he promised very strongly to have some of our discomforts alleviated,* "*nous verrons.*"

After lock-up, the evening service was read by Mr. Stevens; I had a nice cup of chocolate and some home cakes, and read aloud from Poe, and the Ingoldsby Legends for an hour.

*Sure enough, as some of the prisoners had predicted, the New York papers a day or two afterwards contained an account of this visit, which described us as living in great comfort and abundance, and expressing much gratitude to the Government for its generous and humane treatment of us, even to giving us the roof of the Fort as a promenade, where we could enjoy the fresh air from the ocean, &c., &c.

If Draper, or whoever furnished the information, had looked upwards for a moment, he could have discovered said roof was too steep for a cat to promenade with safety.

OCTOBER 28. Cold, clear morning, our room now tolerably comfortable as the stoves were set agoing last evening; received box from home with my furs and some shirts. Mail came in, quite a lot of letters for me, and sat down to answer some of them, when word came in that we were to be removed to Fort Warren, Boston harbor, at nine o'clock to-morrow morning; surprised at this, as the Fort has been prepared within the last few days as a winter residence; wrote home informing my family of the change, spent the afternoon in packing up; a very troublesome job, particularly as we were locked up in the dark the moment the order came for our removal, and had to work the whole afternoon with candles;—finished packing at eight and went to bed.

OCTOBER 29. Slept but little last night, very much worried at the idea of going to Boston harbor; it looks like confinement for the winter; it is represented as a bleak and dreary place, several miles from land; got up early to pack up my bed and bedding; after it was done, and all the baggage removed to the wharf for shipment, orders came countermanding our departure, and our effects were all taken back to our rooms,—the supposition now is, that we will start to-morrow, the entire party very dull to-day at the prospect ahead of them; unpacked my bedding and got ready for another night, received my account from the Commandant, found out now why he issued the order some weeks since, that all washing should be done inside the Fort, and through his wife; we previously paid seventy-five cents a dozen; his charge is a dollar and a half; nice operation, this, for an officer in the United States army! Commander and laundry-conductor of Fort LaFayette.* Too dull to-day to read or write—tried cards in the evening, but had to give it up, and went early to bed.

* One of the sergeants who had been missing for two or three days past, turned up this morning; according to his own story, he had been in the Guard House, for complaining that Mrs. Wood charged him ten cents for washing his shirt, when six cents was the usual price.

OCTOBER 30. Received orders at daylight to prepare again to leave, and were again locked up in our rooms to get ready in the dark, or by the light of a few candles; at eleven o'clock a small steamboat came to the wharf to transport us to Fort Columbus, on Governor's Island, where we were to take a larger steamer;—marched to the wharf under the escort of part of our Irish company, who were to accompany us to Fort Warren, and on reaching the boat, into the cabin, where we were locked up; cabin on deck which gave us a good view of the shore; the ladies opposite saluted us with waving of handkerchiefs, particularly Mrs. Gelston, who has been so kind to us, scarcely a day passing that she did not send us something in the way of provisions, fruits and flowers; two young ladies ran along the shore for more than a mile waving their handkerchiefs at us.

Arrived at Fort Columbus at twelve o'clock, and found to my dismay that the boat which was to take us to Fort Warren was the same one on which I had narrowly escaped shipwreck ten years ago; and was still more dismayed on learning, that in addition to our own party, she was to take nearly seven hundred prisoners from Fort Columbus, chiefly those captured at Hatteras Inlet, making, with the guard of three hundred and the ship's crew, over eleven hundred persons in a vessel only built to carry four hundred, and in addition old and unseaworthy.

At one o'clock dinner was served—crackers in a barrel and pieces of fat pork on the head of a barrel; my allowance was three crackers and a piece of pork fat three inches square and one inch thick, not a particle of lean in it; it tasted, however, very sweet.

At two o'clock the prisoners were marched on board, the privates, six hundred in number crowded into the cabin under deck; the officers into the cabin with us above deck; left at four o'clock for our destination; hunted up the clerk of the boat and made an arrangement to have meals cooked for us and served in the cabin at fifty cents per meal; succeeded after much labor and manage-

ment in getting a state room for Mr. Carter and myself; dirty mattress and no bed clothing; berths six inches too short; paced the deck until eleven and went to bed; weather and sea very calm; captain of the boat said if the weather changed he would put into harbor, as he was unwilling to trust his boat with such a load at sea in bad weather.

OCTOBER 31. Managed to get three or four hours' sleep, but very much cramped in my short berth; got up early to give some one else a chance to get a nap, as more than half of those in the cabins had to sit or stand up all night; sea remarkably smooth for the season of the year, and every prospect of a good passage. The Hatteras prisoners describe their night as awful; most of them had to stand all night, not having sufficient room to sit or lie down, and sixty out of the six hundred having the typhoid fever—not a particle of ventilation for them, except through the cabin doors. Before going to bed I tried to see them, but the sentry would not let me pass: nor did I much regret the refusal, for the stench arising from their "Black Hole," was sickening. Pleasant weather and calm sea during the day; were all the time in sight of land, passing through Martha's Vineyard, and along the coast of Massachusetts to Cape Cod, and with the aid of a good glass, could see the country and the villages all along the coast; never saw a more miserable and God-forsaken looking country; for hours we would not see a tree—no wonder the Yankees yearn for the South!

After dinner, which was very scant, the clerk, or the "Purser," as he called himself, informed me that the steamer's provisions were exhausted; shortly after dusk, we reached Fort Warren; a more desolate place could not be imagined anywhere this side of the Arctic regions.

On reaching the wharf, Colonel Dimick, the commander of the Fort, came on board and informed us that he had not been notified by the Government of our intended removal, except that he had received orders, in general terms, to prepare quarters for one hundred political prison-

ers from Fort LaFayette, and had no accommodations for a larger number; that the Fort was a new one, just occupied; he only having come to it the day previous; that there was not a bed, nor an article of furniture of any description on the Island, and nothing to eat; but that he would send to Boston that night, and provide for us the best he could, and we should pass the night on board the boat. The North Carolina officers insisted that a portion of their men should be taken on shore, as they did not believe the men could survive another night in the hold, without serious loss of life; accordingly, about three hundred were marched into the Fort; I gave the leg of a chicken and a piece of bread I had saved for my supper, to the Rev. Mr. North, Chaplain of one of the Virginia regiments, who, I accidentally found out, had had nothing to eat all day: and went to bed, amid the curses of the whole party at the Government, for placing us in such a position.

NOVEMBER 1. Arose at daylight, and went out on deck to view the Fort and its surroundings; morning bright and clear, and things generally looking better than last night; no breakfast, and at eleven o'clock were marched ashore to our quarters. I was placed in a room with seven others, Messrs. Quinlan, Jones, Landing, Clagett, Kessler and Salmon, members of the Maryland Legislature, and Appleton, a lad of about eighteen, who was captured on his way to Virginia,—a room sixteen by eighteen feet, lighted by three slits in the wall, three feet by six inches, with a small dressing room, used in common by the occupants of the room in front, which faced the interior of the Fort; not a particle of furniture in the room. Shortly afterwards the baggage arrived in carts from the boat, and found all my packages but one trunk and one box had been opened and rifled of more or less of their contents; everything gone that was worth stealing except my cooking apparatus. All my pickles, preserves, Bologna sausage, crackers, ten pounds sperm candles, spirits of wine, soap,

tobacco, towels, tea, coffee, sugar, lemons, sardines, chocolate, cold tongues, &c., &c.; in fact I was entirely cleaned out of stores of all kinds. Found all the prisoners had suffered more or less in the same way, the soldiers on the boat no doubt thought the property of the rebels fair game; at all events, whatever they thought, they stole every thing they could lay their hands on. As the boat, with the guard on board, was still at the wharf, I hunted up Captain Updegraff, who had command of the soldiers, and insisted that he should immediately go on board, and investigate the robbery, telling him that it was his duty as an officer of the army and a gentleman that he should not lose a moment's time in looking into it; he appeared indignant that any one, for an instant, could suppose *his soldiers* guilty of thieving, and suggested that it must have been done by the North Carolina privates. I reminded him that the North Carolina privates were all confined under deck and not permitted for any purpose to come on deck, except under guard; while the baggage was on the forward deck under charge of his own men, and besides, their scanty baggage had been rifled to as great an extent as our's; their bundles broken open, and a large number of their blankets stolen; and again insisted that he should immediately go on board the boat and investigate it; he said he would do so, and started across the parade ground, which was the last I saw or heard of him.

During the day a sharp Yankee came down from Boston, and proposed to draw our rations, and furnish us with two meals a day in good style, for one dollar per day, closed with him, as fat pork and hard bread, although very good in their place, don't suit my appetite; about thirty of the other prisoners did the same,—made arrangements to get the Boston and New York papers, and at four o'clock had a very fair cold dinner, which had an unusually good taste, as I had eaten nothing since two o'clock the day previous; such of the prisoners as did not join us in this arrange-

ment had nothing to eat all day, and many of them went without food for forty-eight hours.*

After dinner I commenced looking round to see if I could not better my condition ; I had been assigned room mates who were perhaps clever enough in their own way, but not congenial to my tastes ; on examining the small room between the front and back room, which was intended as a baggage-room, and was already filled with baggage, I came to the conclusion that it would make an excellent sleeping room, it was about ten by twelve feet, dark, but perfectly ventilated by a transom over each door and an opening in the ceiling, two feet square, to the ramparts above, twelve or fifteen feet above the ceiling, making a continuous draft of air through the room without affecting the lower part of it ; calling Lieutenant Stevens, who was quartered in the front room, and who had been my room mate at Fort LaFayette, I pointed out to him its advantages as a sleeping room, and proposed to him to get the gentlemen from both rooms to remove their baggage, and give it up to us ; he concurred with me, and in a little time we had the room to ourselves, and our beds arranged.

Only eight or ten of the whole party brought their beds with them, the balance had to sleep on the floor. Appleton went into the passage to sleep ; of the remaining six in the back room, four slept with their heads on a mattress I loaned them, and the other two in my rocking chair, with such blankets and shawls as we could spare them.

* As far as I could ascertain, two raw hams and a box of soda crackers, was all the food that seven hundred people had during the whole of that day and part of the next, while many of them, in addition, had nothing to eat for twenty-four hours before arriving at the Fort.

I was congratulating myself before the baggage was sent up, that I had enough provisions to serve my immediate friends and myself for a day or two ; so thorough, however, was the "*Raid*" on our supplies that a jug of alcohol and another of Kerosene oil, both came up empty ; the former, if well diluted, might answer the place of whiskey, but the guard must have found the latter very hard drinking—worse, if possible, than that celebrated New England manufacture of rum, better known as Massachusetts lightning.

On leaving Fort LaFayette, the Commandant refused to permit any of the articles furnished by the Government to be taken with us, and even went so far as to confiscate all the liquors we had in the store room, on the plea that he did not know whether the commanding officer at Fort Warren would permit us to have them; Colonel Dimick wrote immediately to have them forwarded here, so in a few days, if they come, we shall be more comfortable, went to bed at ten o'clock and slept soundly.

NOVEMBER 2. Rose early and made a cup of tea for Mr. Quinlan, who continues unwell, and went out to take a survey of the premises; came to the conclusion that after we were fixed, we would be more comfortable here than at Fort LaFayette; we are not compelled to come in contact with the soldiers, and the officers appear to understand their position, and willing to do whatever they can to make us comfortable, or at least, to let us alone; and we will not be subject to the petty annoyances we had daily to encounter under Baggage-Master, Laundry-manager, Lieutenant Wood and his gang of Irishmen;—spent the forenoon in visiting round, and find, that in my little room I am far ahead, in comfort, of the whole party, and am entirely satisfied on that score; got a very fair breakfast at ten o'clock, and spent an hour or two in promenading and visiting the neighboring rooms; received from Boston some articles I had written for, the day previous; among them a mattress, which I gave to my room mates; this makes two mattresses for the six, and by laying their head and shoulders on the bed with their feet to the fire they manage to get through the night. Am delighted with the promptness with which we receive what we order from Boston, articles coming next day, whereas at Fort LaFayette we never received anything from New York under eight days, although the distance was less.

About two o'clock a north-east rain storm set in which stopped all out-door exercise, and confined us to our rooms. Dinner at four, and spent the evening in Commodore Bar-

ron's room in very pleasant conversation. Storm increasing, fearful night for ships on the coast; at times the wind would whistle through the casemate windows equal to the shrill whistle of a locomotive engine, and after listening an hour to the howling of the storm, and the waves breaking over the rocks, went to sleep.

NOVEMBER 3.—*Sunday*. Storm continued during the night without abatement; on getting up this morning found it impossible to go out, and very difficult to get water for washing, as very few could be found willing to face the storm for the sake of a clean face; finally a quarter induced an old negro from North Carolina, one of the prisoners, to bring water and clean up the room.

At ten o'clock the gale ceased, and the weather became mild and pleasant; several of the North Carolina officers, who had the liberty of the Island on parole, walked up on the ramparts, and on their return described the scene as fearfully grand; the surf breaking over the rocks and sea-walls and throwing the spray forty or fifty feet in the air; they bring word that a ship was wrecked last night near the Fort and all perished; they saw the dead body of a female perfectly nude fished out of the surf, and the cargo strewed all along the shore.

Weather continued pleasant during the day, and at one o'clock had religious service in one of the unfinished casemates, by the Rev. Mr. North, of Jefferson County, Va., who was captured at Harper's Ferry: quite a large congregation, Colonel Dimick and several of his officers were present and responded to the service; a more impressive scene could not be imagined, all standing, on the dirt floor, amid the massive piers and arches of the casemates around us, reminding me very much of an engraving I have some where seen, of the Worship of the Scotch Covenanters in the crypt of some old ruined castle or abbey.

Dinner at four, roast turkey and Yankee pumpkin sauce; made a good dinner of the former with the addition

of a cup of coffee; spent the evening in visiting the rooms of the North Carolina officers, some of whom I had known in my many visits to that State.

NOVEMBER 4. Was very unwell during the night, ate or drank something that disagreed with me; weather delightful after the storm, spent the morning in promenading the space in front of our rooms, allotted to us for exercise, about one hundred and fifty feet long and thirty feet wide; all "Prisoners of State" are confined to these limits, while the prisoners of war, the Carolina officers, are on their parole and have the privilege of the whole island, and of visiting until ten o'clock; the State prisoners being closed up at sun-set.

Why prisoners taken with arms in their hands in open hostility to the Government, should be accorded privileges, and a higher grade of treatment than those who are arrested and confined without any charge whatever, or ever having committed any hostile act, is one of the mysteries of "State," or rather of "Seward" policy I am not able to solve.

Made the acquaintance of a number of the Carolina officers, and find them, as a body, an intelligent set of gentlemen, contrasting very favorably with the volunteer officers in the Federal service; they bear their imprisonment with great fortitude and cheerfulness, and have an abiding faith in the success of the Southern cause, only regretting their inability to participate in it, to its successful end.

Spent the evening very pleasantly, in my room, with a number of visitors from adjoining rooms, and at "Taps," that is, at half-past nine, went to bed.

NOVEMBER 5. Slept soundly last night, and did not get up until after eight; morning unusually bright and mild for this climate; had regular Yankee breakfast: codfish and potatoes, baked beans and pumpkin "sass," all very good except the coffee, some insisting it was tea, some

coffee, while others thought it was made of roasted beans. Spent the morning in making arrangements to get up a mess of our own for forty persons, in which we were aided by Colonel Dimick, who exhibits every disposition to make us as comfortable as possible; this example necessarily influences the behavior of the subordinate officers and soldiers; I have found the old adage "like master, like man," fully exemplified in my experience of military life; we experience none of the rudeness and insolence we had daily to encounter at Fort LaFayette. Passed the afternoon in reading the Boston and New York papers and taking exercise on the walk before our quarters, and the evening in playing cards with some of the North Carolina officers.

NOVEMBER 6. Election day at home, my term of office as a Member of the Maryland Legislature expires to-day; wonder what effect that will have on my confinement, and what sort of an election there will be in Maryland to-day; as Plug-Uglyism has been restored at the point of the bayonet: suppose that "disloyal" citizens will not be permitted to vote, and "loyal" ones can vote as often as they please at each of the eighty voting places in Baltimore; see by the Baltimore papers that General Dix has issued a proclamation forbidding treasonable votes (that is, votes for peace instead of war) to be deposited in the ballot-box, and constituting the soldiers, the Federal police and the Plug-Uglies, the judges of who are "loyal" and who "disloyal," with full power to arrest and imprison whom they please; have not the slightest doubt that the "Union" party will have fifteen or twenty thousand majority in the city, and as little doubt that the actual number of voters will not exceed three thousand.

Many of the gentlemen are under the impression that we will be released after the election, as our arrest was evidently made to intimidate the people of the State, and influence the coming elections; I do not think so, for the rowdy element, which so long disgraced Baltimore, and

which after a long and hard struggle was put down, is again in the ascendant, and are the advisers of the Government in all that relates to the City of Baltimore, and *they* will not permit our return if they can possibly prevent it; the bogus elections of this Fall will give them entire control of the City Government; they will immediately dismiss all the city officers, and fill their places with their own creatures, and will not permit the return of a single individual, whom they hate or fear, or whom they think could in any way interfere with their schemes of rascality; this will be found particularly applicable to Mr. Brown, the Mayor of the city, whose release would disarrange all their plans; they will keep him certainly until his term of office expires, and probably afterwards as a punishment for his contumacy.

Set to work to-day to fix up my sleeping room; manufactured a very good bedstead out of some pine slats and put up some shelving. My room mates had a cotton sack and fourteen pounds of straw served out to them to-day, which enabled me to get back my under mattress; received some furniture I had ordered from Boston—carpet, mat for the side of the bed, chairs, washstand, bowl and pitcher, water bucket and foot bath, writing table with damask cloth cover; stowed all my surplus baggage under the bedstead and tacked a valance of black cambric around the frame, and when all was finished and arranged had about the nicest little prison room that could be found any where; many visitors came in to view and admire it.

Boat came down in the afternoon with the tables and crockery for our new mess; spent the evening in examining the bills and making the necessary arrangements to commence to-morrow morning; about one hundred of the North Carolina officers and such of the political prisoners as would not encounter the expense of our mess, are engaged in getting up another one on a cheaper scale, which they estimate will cost them fifteen or twenty cents per day above the Government rations; had visits late in the evening from Major Gillam, of North Carolina, an old

acquaintance, and several of the North Carolina officers ; entertained them with a pitcher of hot Scotch whiskey punch until eleven, and went to bed, tired from the labors of the day, and sleepy from the punch.

NOVEMBER 7. Up early this morning to prepare the room and table of our new mess for breakfast, being one of a committee, with Marshal Kane and Captain Berry, to wait on the table for a week ; capital breakfast : beefsteaks, mutton-chops, sausage and good coffee : the committee highly complimented on the first result of their labors. Several of our fellow prisoners released to-day : Captain Shields,* of Vermont, Mr. Eakin, of Pennsylvania, Mr.

* RELEASE OF CAPTAIN SHIELDS FROM FORT WARREN.—Our fellow townsman, Captain H. L. Shields, late a political prisoner in Forts LaFayette and Warren, reached home last evening. He was met at the cars by a large number of personal friends, but was so deeply affected that it was with difficulty that he commanded his feelings. The treatment of the prisoners in Fort LaFayette the captain describes as having been not only bad, but positively cruel. He was confined in a room with thirty-eight others. The air, of course, under ordinary circumstances, with so many persons in one apartment, would be very bad ; but when we add to this that many of his companions were sick, we can imagine the sufferings of those who were thus inhospitably entertained in Uncle Sam's Bastile. The food was also bad ; and the Captain declares that from the time of his incarceration until he was released he did not taste a decent meal of victuals. Colonel Dimick, the commandant of Fort Warren, does everything in his power to promote the comfort, health and happiness of the unfortunate men placed under his charge. He is a gentleman and a soldier, and his conduct towards the prisoners is of a kind and Christian character.

Captain Shields, upon the transfer of the prisoners to Boston, became of great service to his comrades from his intimate acquaintance with Colonel Dimick, and says that he is repaid for his own sufferings, by a knowledge of the fact that he was able to ameliorate the condition of those who were, like him, under arrest. Upon his discharge, Captain Shields was treated virtually with the freedom of Boston. At the hotel they would take no compensation for his accommodation, and everywhere he was the recipient of the greatest respect. On the previous occasion of Captain Shields' visit to Boston he was there in command of Sherman's celebrated battery, and being encamped on the Common, was honored with the freedom of the town. It would seem, therefore, that the two visits, though greatly dissimilar in their original cause, ended very much alike.

Elliot, of Maine, and Mr. Gilchrist, of Philadelphia, (the latter re-arrested on reaching Boston on civil process for treason,) and Dr. Brown, of North Carolina, on his parole until exchanged.

Very busy all day in getting our mess into shape, and succeeded in getting up a passable dinner at five o'clock, no doubt we shall fare better as to food, but I doubt whether much will be saved in expense.

A day or two after our arrival here, Colonel Dimick was kind enough to write to Washington, and ask for the privilege of extending, in his discretion, the same liberty of the Island that was enjoyed, under parole, by the North Carolina officers, to the political prisoners; the only political prisoner who enjoyed that privilege was Marshal Kane, of Baltimore, he had acquired it while at Fort Columbus, and was not disturbed in it here; the only answer to the Colonel's application in our behalf, was an order revoking the parole of Kane, and remanding him into close confinement; so we may be content that as far as we are concerned the "area of freedom" is not to be extended.

After dusk Lieutenant Buell brought in my letters from home with a request from Colonel Dimick that I would write to my daughter and suggest that in future she should not comment on the action of the Government, as it might embarrass me in my correspondence; found on reading the letter referred to that the young lady had given that free use of her pen in commenting on my imprisonment, that women alone know how to do, which was not very palatable to the censors, still they were polite about it; the letter was good enough to hand round, and had an extensive circulation.

Captain Shields is most emphatic in his declarations of innocence. He assures us that there is not a scrap of paper or the least vestige of evidence to implicate him, and so far from being a traitor, he has always expressed himself in favor of the maintenance of the Government. Those who know the Captain's great sense of honor and his personal integrity will give full credence to every word he may say respecting his innocence.—*Troy Times, (Republican) Nov. 8.*

Passed the evening in my bed room reading the papers from Baltimore, New York and Boston, the latter containing several bogus letters from Fort Warren, describing our miserable and dejected appearance, our dirt, rags and tatters, our deep penitence for having rebelled against the best and most paternal government on the face of the earth; our anxiety to take the oath of allegiance and sin no more; some of the gentlemen were not at all flattered at the special notices of them, particularly the references to their personal appearance.

NOVEMBER 8. Up early to attend to the mess and get breakfast ready, and kept all the morning busy in catering for the next two or three days; find no difficulty in getting any kind of the best provisions from Boston, and at a reasonable price. Dr. Coale, a friend of Mayor Brown, has kindly offered to attend to mess business in Boston; every prospect of good fare and good cooking; employed two North Carolina privates to cook, and eight to wait on the table, got up an excellent dinner, the best since I left home,—roast beef, roast mutton, Maryland hams and round of spiced beef, the two latter, presents from Baltimore, with good soup to begin with, and good coffee to end with.

Five of our party left to-day, all naval officers,—Lieutenant Stevens,* my bed room mate, and Lieutenants Butts,† Dalton, Loyall and Sharpe, the latter, one of the Hatteras prisoners; destination and destiny unknown; they were given half an hour's notice to pack up, and no one allowed to speak to them after they left their rooms; what nonsense!

* Lieutenant Stevens has since distinguished himself as the first officer of the iron-clad steamer "Arkansas," in her successful contest with twenty-three Federal steamers, most of them iron-clad, on the Mississippi river near Vicksburg, and subsequently commanded her when she was destroyed.

† Lieutenant Butts, on his exchange, became one of the Lieutenants on board the "Merrimac," and participated in her battles in Hampton Roads.

Another lot of Boston officials came down to-day to "view the animals;" the batch that came down the day after our arrival, with the Mayor at their head, were very particular in going to all the rooms, and taking a list of all who were not provided with mattresses and blankets, stating they would be furnished from Boston, forthwith, to avoid the tedious delay of getting them from the Government, through the ordinary method of a requisition; and the City would look to the Government for compensation, which charitable purpose was duly heralded next day in the Boston papers as an evidence of great kindness and liberality on the part of the city authorities of Boston; since which we have not heard a word of mattresses or blankets, or of their honors, the Mayor and City Councils of Boston, and to-night I was compelled to take another blanket from my own bed, and go out and borrow two shawls for my room mates, who were totally destitute of any thing to cover them at night.

A few days after reaching here it become necessary to make some arrangements to have our washing done; we proposed to Colonel Dimick to send it to Boston; the Colonel objected, and preferred it should be done on the Island; probably he feared it might be made the medium of illicit correspondence; there was a frame building outside the Fort that could be used for the purpose, and some Irish women, the wives of some of the soldiers or laborers, could do it; accordingly we sent our clothes out yesterday, and last night the intended wash house took fire and was entirely burned; a portion of the clothes was saved, but not much; truly I have hard luck with my baggage between fire and thieves.

Commodore Barron has taken the place in my small room made vacant by the departure of Lieutenant Stevens. I think I shall find him an agreeable companion; passed the evening in my room reading and writing.

NOVEMBER 9. Cold, raw morning, with easterly wind and driving rain; awoke with severe head-ache from drink-

ing some "Boston whiskey" last night; price three dollars per gallon, value twenty cents, being nothing but reduced alcohol with some coloring matter in it; won't drink any more until I get some from home, and perhaps not then, as I understand to-day that Colonel Dimick has stopped the use of whiskey among the prisoners, in consequence of some of them getting tight.

Occupied most of the morning with mess matters, sending orders to Boston for provisions, &c. Three new arrivals to-day, Mr. Green and Mr. Lowe, of Savannah, and Mr. Bunker, of Mobile,—Southern gentlemen, arrested on their way home from Europe; one of them quartered in my room and two in the room in front of me: they appear to be educated and intelligent gentlemen; received letter from my brother, he thinks we will soon be released, as the elections are over; doubt it very much, if the offer is made, it will be on conditions that are inadmissible. Our mess gives great satisfaction and works very well, but I shall be glad when my week's supervision expires, as I find it consumes most of my time.

Spent the evening in my room reading and writing by the light of a kerosene lamp I sent to Boston for, yesterday; I find it a better light to read by than gas light, it is softer, steadier, and equally brilliant, while it costs less, but requires great care in the trimming and management.

NOVEMBER 10. Usual routine; church service at eleven o'clock, by the Rev. Mr. North; quite a large audience, two or three hundred of the North Carolina prisoners present. Colonel Dimick takes great interest in our religious services; I have formed a very high opinion of him as a gentleman and christian; all the prisoners, without exception, speak well of him.

Had an extra dinner at the mess to-day, being Sunday, roast turkies, roast and boiled mutton, roast beef and lobster salad, and dessert of nuts of several kinds, fresh peaches in cans, honey and coffee, making capital prison fare. I find the rule holds good inside as well as outside

of Forts, that money will enable you to live anywhere, especially where there is a Yankee near and he wants it,—as he always does.

After dinner, visited the officer who has charge of us and our money, and drew twenty dollars from him, that being the maximum amount each party is trusted with, provided he has that much.

I find, in my visits to the other rooms, that much dissatisfaction prevails about the distribution of the quarters; we occupy what are termed “officers’ quarters,” and consists of sixteen rooms, eight above and eight below ground, half of them facing the parade ground in the interior of the Fort; the other half facing the embankment on the outside, which is twenty-five or thirty feet high, with a space between the walls of the Fort and the embankment of about twenty feet; the front rooms above ground are well lighted with large windows, and present a very cheerful appearance, the back rooms are dark, being lighted with narrow slits in the wall, six inches wide, and the light and view shut off by the embankment; the lower rooms of course are still darker, being ten feet below the level of the parade ground, and receiving their light from a narrow area—all the rooms are however dry—the lower ones have stone floors, the upper ones plank floors, and all have closets of various sizes between them.

The night before we landed, Lieutenant Buell, who has charge of the political prisoners, and Lieutenant Casey, who has charge of the prisoners of war, undertook, with the aid of two or three gentlemen among us, to apportion the rooms; it was ascertained, after setting aside forty-five of the political prisoners, who had no money, and for other reasons, were not entitled to officers’ quarters, that from eight to nine would have to be placed in each room—those gentlemen undertook to select the occupants of each room; putting together such as *they* supposed would harmonize in their habits and associations, and be agreeable to each other; the intention was a good one, but failed in the execution; during the night, the prisoners on board under-

standing that about eight would be allotted to each room, were engaged in making up their own parties of such as were congenial to each other, not knowing of the arrangements being made for them ; next morning on entering the Fort we were all drawn up in a line, and our names called ; as each eight or nine, as the case might be, answered to their names, they were given the number of their room and directed to it, and great was the amount of indignation expended when it was seen that some gentlemen occupied the front parlors, while others, their equals in social position, were consigned to the back cellars : I was assigned to an upper back room with a set of associates probably clever enough in their own way, but certainly the last I should have selected had I been left to my own choice ; indeed, the evening previous, Wallis and myself were pitying the man who should be quartered with them ; neither of us dreaming that it would be my lot ; it turned out, however, very fortunate for me, as it enabled me to get the small room I have spoken of as a bed-room, and eventually gave me the best accommodations in the Fort.

The forty-five referred to as being without money, and for that, and other reasons, not being entitled to consideration, were placed together in one of the casemates some distance from us—a room seventeen by fifty feet within the walls, ceiling and floors of naked stone ; none of them had either beds or bedding, a few had blankets, some pine slats were given them to lie on temporarily, and at the end of a week, bunks were put up, and each man furnished with a cotton sack, twelve pounds of straw and a blanket ; soldier's rations were served them, and a good cooking stove given to them ; these men fared much worse than at Fort LaFayette, where the same distinctions were not and could not be made, and were very bitter in their denunciations of their treatment ; for the first two or three days the officers and soldiers of the Garrison were disposed to treat them as pariahs, and a guard was placed at their door to keep them as close prisoners ; but this was removed, and they were allowed the same privilege of exercise that we were—on

the whole, they were a pretty hard party, and would occasionally relieve the monotony of their confinement by a fight among themselves; the Lieutenant in charge was not disposed to be amiable towards them, having had his pocket picked of forty-five dollars, which he insisted must have been done by some one of the forty-five inmates of casemate number forty-five.

Spent the evening in my room reading and writing, received the Baltimore papers only one day old, showing no detention in the delivery.

NOVEMBER 11. One of the cold, penetrating, driving, rainy days peculiar to the sea-coast in this latitude, enough to give one the horrors; out-door exercise impossible; spent the day in reading, writing and attending to my mess duties; my week's service as carver and waiter on the table has expired, but I have agreed to continue the ordering of provisions and keeping the mess accounts, Colonel Pegram, Captain De Lagnel and Charles H. Pitts being appointed the committee to superintend and wait on the table the ensuing week.

Received a basket from home to-day, filled with good things, among them a dozen bottles of mint julep, lavender brandy and old whiskey, which were stopped by the Corporal who examined the basket, and taken to the Colonel's quarters. Made a visit to the Colonel, who kindly consented to my retaining them, expressing great confidence that I would use them judiciously, and suggested that I should not make the fact generally known that I had them; he might as well have suggested to the hounds that they should no longer scent the fox. Liquor was scarce, and my friends were all seized with a sudden solicitude about my health which could only be relieved by personal enquiry; made a pitcher of hot whiskey punch, and spent the evening in my room entertaining such visitors as dropped in.

Two of our party left to-day, Mr. Bunker, of Mobile, and Mr. Pierce, of New Orleans—both took the oath of allegiance.

NOVEMBER 12.—Usual routine for the morning, exercise and attending to the mess duties; a number of articles received to-day from the charitable ladies of Boston, viz: some second hand Testaments and Sunday school hymn books, several jars of jelly, quite a number of calico comforts, made of old frocks and window curtains; a small parcel was handed to me by the corporal, endorsed with great pomposity “from Mrs. Alexander V. Rice, of Boston, for the sick rebels in Fort Warren,” opened it and found it contained six bottles of “Ayers’ Cherry Pectoral,” not having any use for it, handed it back to the corporal for him to find some other customer; six of my back room mates, although men of property, were mean enough to accept the calico comforts referred to; although abundantly able to make themselves comfortable, they have preferred to depend upon the charity of their fellow-prisoners and the Boston people for every thing they require, too indolent to keep their room clean, which has only been done when I paid one of the servants from some other room to clean it for them; with one exception they should have been placed in number forty-five, where they properly belong.

NOVEMBER 13. Beautiful day, reminds me of the weather at home during this month, spent most of the morning exercising in the open air, received letters from home, all well, and expecting my release very soon now that the election is over; have not much hope of it myself, had my name transferred from the roll of the back room to the front room, a very desirable change as it gives me a right to use the front room, which I only enjoyed before by courtesy, and relieves me entirely from my former associates without offending them; my room mates now consist of Commodore Barron,* who sleeps in the small room with me; Colonel Pegram,† who was captured at the

*Commodore Barron was exchanged in July, 1862, and is now stationed at Charlotte, North Carolina, or was a short time since.

†Colonel Pegram was exchanged early in January, and was on the staff of General Beauregard at the battle of Shiloh, now a Brigadier General under General Bragg.

battle of Rich Mountain, in Virginia, last summer; Colonel Bradford,* an old army officer, who was captured at Hatteras Inlet, and who, singularly enough, was one of the officers who superintended the construction of this Fort, Captain De Lagnel,† who was taken in Virginia after the battle of Rich Mountain; Charles Green,‡ a merchant of Savannah, arrested at Detroit on his way home from Europe; Andrew Lowe,§ a merchant of Savannah, arrested at Cincinnati on his way home from Europe, Marshal Kane, of Baltimore, and Appleton,|| the young man who was taken while endeavoring to make his way from Baltimore to Virginia; the latter two sleep in the passage, where Marshal Kane has fitted up a very nice room, by running a partition across the lower end, his health not permitting him to sleep in a room with a fire; one servant, one of the North Carolina privates, is allotted to us, who makes the fire, and the beds, (except mine, for I don't let anybody touch mine but myself,) cleans up the room, blacks the boots, brings water and makes himself generally useful, particularly when he is looked after and kept up to his work. Mr. Green, who prides himself on his skill in making tea, has undertaken that department, and at eight o'clock we have a nice little set out of whatever we may happen to have in the closet; at "re-

* Colonel Bradford was exchanged in December, and returned to his home in North Carolina; he was in bad health—now in command at Goldsboro', North Carolina.

† Captain De Lagnel after his exchange in December, was promoted to a Lieutenant Colonelcy, and commanded the batteries at Craney Island, near Norfolk; now in command at Fayetteville, North Carolina.

‡ Mr. Green was released in February on parole to go to his family, then in Virginia, but not to return to Savannah. Five hundred dollars to R. J. effected what Lord Lyons failed in; Green was a British subject.

§ Mr. Lowe was paroled for exchange in February, but spent three months in Baltimore, endeavoring to get a pass to go South; he, finally by a liberal expenditure of money, succeeded in getting it, and returned home.

|| Appleton was released on an indefinite parole in March, and returned home to study law.

treat" that is at half-past four, when we leave the parade ground and retire to our rooms, and the sentinels are drawn in to our door, I trim and light my lamp, and prepare my writing table for those who wish to write, or read in quiet, leaving the front room for conversation, and the backgammon players, the only game we have, as there are not card players enough among us to make up a game; at ten o'clock, I brew a pitcher of hot whiskey punch, which we sip until eleven; Colonel Pegram, the only one among us who does not partake of the punch, gives us some very fine music from his guitar, and we put out the light and go to bed; conversation not being forbidden in bed, as at Fort LaFayette, those who are not sleepy can indulge until they unconsciously drop off.

NOVEMBER 14. One of the loveliest days that could be imagined, positive luxury to be in the open air; read and wrote alternately all day, most of our party, from the tenor of their letters received to-day, are very sanguine of an early release, "*nous verrons;*"—went with Mr. Harrison, who had heard some of them were sick, to visit the prisoners in number forty-five, and to distribute some clothing among them sent by the ladies of Baltimore:—God bless them for their continued kind remembrance of the poor prisoners;—good substantial clothing, not miserable patches of cast off garments. The atmosphere of number forty-five was almost unendurable, that peculiar sickening smell known as a "Poor House smell," familiar to all who have gone through Alms Houses; got out of it as soon as possible, and for the first time visited the casemates occupied by the North Carolina privates, (which, however, was against the rules, as visits to them are not permitted,) found their condition much worse than the inmates of number forty-five; the casemates are the same size, that is seventeen by fifty feet, but the number in each, varied from sixty-five to eighty-five, and the stench was perfectly sickening; no wonder that thirty or forty are continually in the hospital with the typhus fever;—

the mumps has run through the whole of them; each room is furnished with a large iron kettle with a furnace under it outside the door, in which kettle they boil their meat and soup, and make their coffee, all exposed to the weather. I have often noticed them, thinly clad, cooking their rations in a driving rain or snow storm.

From thence I went to the hospital, the sentinel kindly looking another way when I passed him; here I was most agreeably disappointed, a more comfortable and better arranged hospital I have never seen, clean and free from any unpleasant smell; the contrast was so great between it and the rooms I had just left, that I began to think it must be a luxury for the poor fellows to get sick, and rejoiced that I had at last found something creditable to the United States Government in my journeyings round among their Forts, but the delusion was dispelled on my return to my room, by being informed that it was fitted up entirely by private contributions from Boston, under the direction of Dr. Peters, a surgeon in the Federal army, who was taken prisoner in Texas, and released on his parole of honor until exchanged, and who has devoted himself to the sick prisoners, carrying the point of honor so far that he will not attend to the sick of the garrison, considering that would be a breach of his parole; that man ought to be unconditionally released.

NOVEMBER 15. A placard was posted in our rooms to-day, that on to-morrow an agent of the State Department would visit the Fort, for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting to Washington the names of such prisoners as were willing to take the oath of allegiance, as a condition preliminary to any investigation of their cases. Numbers, no doubt, will take that or any other oath the Government may require, to be released from imprisonment; like the news man in Fort LaFayette, who was not at all particular what the oath was, and would not hear it read.

A large lot of clothing, shoes and blankets, was received

to-day by Mr. Wallis, from a Mr. Johnson, of Boston, for distribution among the North Carolina prisoners. It came very opportunely, for they were sadly in want of it; there are some gentlemen in Boston, although one would not think so, to judge of the Boston newspapers. A small parcel was received to-day, and when opened was found to contain two pair of nice yarn socks, with a slip of paper containing, "For a prisoner at Fort Warren, from a young lady in Boston, who has a brother, a prisoner, in Richmond;" that girl's heart is in the right place.

My views with regard to the Maryland election have been more than realized,—our letters from Baltimore, and from all parts of the State represent it as disgusting in the extreme, not worthy of being dignified by the name of a farce; gangs of rowdies and armed soldiers stationed at the polls, privileged to arrest and imprison whom they pleased, while the ballot box was stuffed with the votes of "Loyal Citizens." In the City of Baltimore several hundred were arrested and sent to the watch houses, and when they were full, to the theatre, charged, as the "*Baltimore American*" quaintly observes, with "attempting to pollute the ballot box," by depositing Democratic votes; even the aforesaid "*Baltimore American*" degraded as it is, felt impelled to express its regret at the extent to which those outrages were perpetrated, not that they were disgraceful in themselves, but that well known "Loyalty" of the great mass of the people of Baltimore, rendered them unnecessary.

How any one, bearing the shape of a man, and claiming to be one, can accept the fruits of such villiany, is one of the curiosities of human nature beyond my comprehension—truly there must be a charm in the possession of power.

Spent the evening in making up my mess accounts for the week, a very troublesome job.

NOVEMBER 16. Mr. Seth C. Hawley, the agent of the State Department, referred to yesterday, came down this morning to make his investigation; did not visit my room,

and left word he would be down again; prepared my answer in writing, declining to take the oath, or accept my freedom clogged with any conditions; if the Government has any charge against me let them produce it.

Hawley was very much disgusted with the result of his mission, and with the prisoners generally: found but three or four that were willing to take the oath, and had to listen to a great deal of plain talk not at all complimentary to him or his master; one of the prisoners suggested to Hawley, that as a preliminary to the opening of negotiations on the subject, he should pay over the six hundred dollars, which, as a lawyer, he had collected some years since and failed to account for. One of the North Carolina officers, to whom he commenced talking on the subject of the "oath," promptly demanded satisfaction for the insult; Hawley immediately apologized, protesting that he was not aware he was conversing with a prisoner of war: doubtless he will report us as "incorrigible rebels."

Very dull to-day; not sick—not well; too hot in the rooms—too cold and windy to go outside; glad when night came that I could light my lamp and get to reading.

NOVEMBER 17.—*Sunday*. Church service by the Rev. Mr. North, but did not get to it; was engaged in reading and missed the hour. Visiting round until dinner, which was an extra good one, with champagne and sherry; presents to Mr. Faulkner from some of his New York friends; time begins to grow heavy and monotonous; getting very tired of the daily routine of eating, drinking and sleeping; how I shall get through the winter if kept here I cannot tell; the climate is horrible—cold, foggy and changing in temperature half a dozen times a day, while the small space allotted us for exercise, never having been graded or paved, is so muddy that we cannot use it half the time; it is true I am comfortably fixed within doors, but it will be tiresome in the extreme; read until ten o'clock and went to bed.

NOVEMBER 18. Mr. Hawley, the agent of Seward, made his appearance again to-day—handed him my answer in writing, which he said he would have filed in the State Department;* it was in substance that I could not recognise the justice or legality of my arrest by the acceptance of any conditions as the price of my release, which I suppose fixes me here for the winter; two of my recent room-mates express their willingness to swear to anything, and are frank enough to say that they do not regard an illegal oath, taken under duress, as having any moral force.

Another large lot of clothing was received to day from the ladies of Baltimore for the Hatteras prisoners. Mr. Warfield, Mr. Harrison and Marshal Kane undertook its distribution.

The boat to-day also brought down, a lean, tall, uncommonly pious looking individual, with a white cravat, whose business it was to distribute among the prisoners some religious tracts and small hymn-books. I secured one of the latter, and will preserve it as a curiosity. The hymns were, as one of our distinguished fellow-citizens would say, extremely “simisencous” in their character.—Opening the book in the middle, the first my eye lit on, was “Come to Jesus;” the next the “Star Spangled Banner;” then, “I would not live always, no, welcome the tomb,” followed by “Hail Columbia, Happy Land,” and “Sinners awake, the hour is come,” preceding the “Red, White and Blue.” Some of the gentlemen were

FORT WARREN, November 16, 1861.

* I have *twice* taken the oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, during the present year, and am not disposed to turn a solemn obligation into ridicule by constant repetitions of it.

I am not conscious of having, in any manner, violated that obligation. If I have, or if the Government supposes I have, I have a right, as a citizen of the United States, to demand an investigation.

I cannot, by the acceptance of conditions for my release, acknowledge by implication or inference, that any just or legal cause existed for my arrest, which I utterly deny.

I am willing to hold myself in readiness to meet any charges that may be brought against me.

LAWRENCE SANGSTON.

rude enough to decline his hymn books; for my part I would not take a dollar for mine.

Spent the evening in my room reading the Ingoldsby Legends, and playing back-gammon with Colonel Pegram; went to bed at ten, very sleepy.

NOVEMBER 19. Spent the morning as usual in exercise, reading and visiting the neighbors; although I have reason to be thankful for my comfortable quarters, I regret very much my separation from my Baltimore and Maryland friends; they are all, with the exception of Marshal Kane, located on the other side of the sally-port, and although we have the privilege of visiting freely during the day, we cannot cross the sally-port at night, but have free access to the eight rooms on our side of it, from sunset until eleven o'clock. My associates are altogether among officers of the army and navy, and although very clever and intelligent gentlemen, it would be a relief occasionally to spend an evening with my own people; I might perhaps get permission to do so, but I dislike asking favors of our keepers.

I have already noticed that Colonel Dimick was kind enough to write to Fort LaFayette for our wines and liquors that were kept by Lieutenant Wood, on our departure; almost all the prisoners had more or less liquors in the store room, either purchased, or the gift of kind friends, and generally of the finest quality; to-day Dr. Thomas received two demijohns and a half one, of whiskey, part of his stock, being all that arrived; as the Commandant of Fort LaFayette does not add drinking to his numerous failings, he could have had none other than a pecuniary motive in confiscating them, and somebody must have made two or three hundred dollars by the operation.

Received pleasant letters from home and spent the evening in answering and getting up my correspondence, generally, which had fallen in arrears.

NOVEMBER 20. Suffered very much last night from Lumbago, must have taken cold, first time for nearly a month I have had it; it does not affect my general health, but is exceedingly painful and annoying; feel very dull to-day, too cold and blustering to exercise much in the open air, and but little disposition to do anything within doors; went to No. 2 and played cards with Governor Morehead,* Warfield and Pitts for an hour, got tired of that; helped them, in connexion with Dr. Thomas and Frank Howard, to drink a bottle of whiskey, but that did not raise my spirits. Went back to my own room and played back-gammon with Colonel Pegram for an hour or two, got tired of that; tried to read the Boston papers, but soon became disgusted with them, particularly on reading that Captain Updegraff, the officer who commanded the gang of thieves that rifled our baggage on the voyage from Fort LaFayette to Fort Warren, was, for "meritorious conduct," promoted to be a Colonel in the army; went

*The Governor, like myself, would occasionally become restive, and find it difficult to get through the day; accustomed to an active life, mentally and physically, enjoying for many years the highest honors that could be conferred on him by his native State, and surrounded by all comforts and luxuries that wealth and position could give him, retired from public life and devoting himself to his family and the cultivation of his estate; he found the transition to the loathsome battery rooms at Fort LaFayette almost unendurable.

The story of his arrest was the same as of all the prisoners, dragged from his bed at midnight, hurried off without a change of clothing, taken by special trains from town to town and from jail to jail, to avoid the service of writs of Habeas Corpus, and finally lodged in Fort LaFayette, after a journey of a thousand miles, in the same clothing in which he was taken, and then furnished with a bag of half rotten straw to sleep on.

He had been sent to Washington by the State of Kentucky, to represent her in the Peace Convention, so called, and having spoken and voted in favor of Peace, was thereafter regarded a "dangerous" man.

He was released in February and returned to his home in Kentucky; although taking no part in public affairs his presence there was supposed by the Government to have an unfavorable influence, and his re-arrest was ordered; getting wind of it, two or three hours start enabled him to reach the Canada frontier before his pursuers, from whence a few weeks afterwards he went to England.

into my little room and lit the lamp, thinking I would read for two or three hours, gave it up and went to bed, but not to sleep. The Commodore, observing that my thoughts "were in a train that did not run on sleepers," kindly entertained me with a very interesting account of his capture at Fort Hatteras, at Hatteras Inlet; it appears that the Fort was a very small one, built for only one hundred and fifty men, and having bomb-proof shelter for only that number; when the attack commenced he had in the Fort three hundred men, and during the night following, four hundred additional were sent into the Fort,—on the second day's bombardment, the ships anchored two miles distant, in a perfect calm, a thing hitherto unknown in the neighborhood of Cape Hatteras, obtained the exact range of the Fort, and could place every shell they fired, into it, while in the Fort, there was not a gun that would reach over a mile; four-fifths of the men were without shelter, and their retreat entirely cut off; under such circumstances it was necessary, to save the lives of the men, to hoist the white flag for a parley; it was now the duty of General Butler, who commanded the opposing forces, to have sent an officer in a boat to have ascertained what was wanted, instead of which, he brought several of his vessels under the guns of the Fort, one of which, the "Harriet Lane," got ashore, and then sent a boat ashore to receive the proposition Commodore Barron had to make. Barron proposed to surrender as "Prisoners of War." Butler demanded an unconditional surrender. Barron refused to capitulate in any other way, insisting that his defences were but little injured, and he had plenty of ammunition left, and that if his terms were not acceded to, he would, after giving sufficient time for the officers to regain the decks of their vessels, hoist his flag and resume the battle.

Butler now began to understand the position in which his ignorance of the rules of naval warfare had placed him; the Fort would certainly ultimately be reduced by the powerful fleet that was safely anchored out of reach of

its guns; but in the meantime, Butler and the ships under the guns of the Fort could be blown in the air before they could possibly escape, and under the necessity of the case, Barron's demands were acceded to, and the garrison capitulated as prisoners of war, having guaranteed to them all the rights accorded to prisoners of war by the usage of civilized warfare, being the first time the United States, through any of its officers, has recognized the Confederates as belligerents, and this explains why the North Carolina officers have the parole of the island, wear their uniforms, and enjoy privileges not accorded to other prisoners of war. This portion of the capitulation of Fort Hatteras, however, does not appear in the official report of General Butler; perhaps the General thought it "would not look well in print."

NOVEMBER 21. Still suffering with Lumbago, and consequently dull and gloomy, not only from that, but other *désagrémens*. This is the twenty-fifth anniversary of my wedding day, the day on which we were to have celebrated our silver wedding, and I am in a military prison, five hundred miles from home. May the foul fiend blast those who sent me here in utter violation of Law and Justice; I don't often indulge in the luxury of swearing, if it be a luxury, but to-day I can't help it; perhaps the recording angel will treat me as liberally as he did "Uncle Toby."

Wrote home to my wife, and was sorry afterwards I did so, because of the sadness of my missive's tenor:—fresh arrival of prisoners to-day, two officers and twenty-three privates, captured at Santa Rosa Island, near Pensacola, in the fight there with Billy Wilson's regiment of New York thieves; they were very ragged and destitute: fortunately a large lot of clothing arrived to-day, from the Baltimore ladies, which was distributed among them: coming from a warm climate and being very thinly clad, they were almost frozen to-day, by being kept on the parade ground for two hours in the face of a driving

storm, until quarters were assigned them. The Baltimore people have been exceedingly liberal to the prisoners here, scarcely a day passes that something does not arrive for them.

NOVEMBER 22. Usual routine for the morning, reading, visiting and exercise, wrote to my brother to know if he could learn through some of his Union friends, what the Government propose to do with us? but I fear he may not act, as his own "loyalty" may be suspected, if he makes any inquiries.

My attention was called to-day to a fact I had hitherto not noticed, that two of our room mates, although joining in general conversation, did not speak to each other, and made some inquiry as to the cause; it appears they were merchants in the same city, and for many years partners in business; they separated as partners sometimes will do, with some ill-feeling or misunderstanding, both went to England on business, and the story goes, that in returning they took different steamers to avoid coming in contact; each was arrested on his way home, one in Detroit, the other in Cincinnati, both arrived by the same boat on the same day, at Fort Warren, and were quartered in the same room,—so all their efforts to keep apart were unsuccessful.

Spent the evening in reading and playing back-gammon with Colonel Pegram.

NOVEMBER 23. Usual routine for the morning; received some fine old whiskey from home, and consequently had numerous visitors who called to enquire after my health. Officers making preparations to receive Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who are expected here to-morrow; notwithstanding the rejoicing of the press and the hallelujahs of the pulpit at their capture, the approval of the President and Secretary of the Navy of the act of Captain Wilkes, the vote of thanks given him by Congress, the exultation of Governor Andrews at Wilkes having bearded the British

lion, and the general demand of the Northern press that the captives shall be confined in a dungeon and fed on bread and water, it is very evident that Mr. Seward does not feel at ease, and is doubtful of the result, for orders came yesterday to prepare quarters suitable to their rank; nine North Carolina officers—a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major and six Captains were turned out of their rooms to accommodate them, the floor carpeted and the rooms well furnished with bedsteads, good beds and bedding, tables, chairs, &c., which has never before been done for any prisoners; their quarters are adjacent to mine—only the passage between us—so we will be close neighbors.

An easterly storm set in after dinner and blew a gale all night; heard the surf breaking over the rocks until I went to sleep.

NOVEMBER 24. Storm over, bright, clear morning; queer climate this—rain, hail, snow, fog and sunshine all in twenty-four hours; spent part of the morning in collecting autographs in a book for which I sent to Boston yesterday; church service as usual by Mr. North; the Colonel has fitted up a room specially for the purpose with stoves and benches; it is well attended by the officers and soldiers of the Garrison, as well as the prisoners, the Colonel always taking part in the service.

At eleven o'clock this morning the steamer San Jacinto, Captain Wilkes, arrived with her prisoners, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and Messrs. Eustis and McFarland, their secretaries, who were duly installed in their quarters; they looked pleasant and cheerful, and a stranger might have supposed they were visitors instead of prisoners.

After delivering them, Captain Wilkes took his ship up to Boston to receive the promised ovation, and aid the loyal and patriotic people of that city in making asses of themselves.

Wrote to Mr. John Garrett to know whether he could give me any information relative to our confinement, or

the prospects of a release. Spent the evening in my room in writing and listening to the new-comers giving an account of themselves and their capture.

NOVEMBER 25. Passed a restless night, suffering very much with Lumbago ; snow until noon, when it turned into rain and slush, preventing any out-door exercise ; got through the day as well as I could, visiting my neighbors and gossiping. Spent the afternoon in Mason and Slidell's room, listening to a narration of their voyage, how they ran the blockade at Charleston, their arrival at, and reception in Havana, their capture by the San Jacinto, their treatment by Captain Wilkes, (which was courteous, he giving up his own cabin to them,) and their voyage to this place. The United States Marshal with some of his deputies joined the ship off New York, and endeavored to make an exhibition of their "loyalty" by rudeness towards the prisoners, assuming that they had charge of them, which was instantly stopped, Captain Wilkes informing the Marshal that he commanded the ship, and the New York officers were only passengers ; found their conversation very interesting and their genuine Habanas delicious.

After writing for an hour in the evening, making up my mess accounts for the week, had a visit from Mr. Eustis and Mr. McFarland ; they take their capture and imprisonment very composedly, being confident that England will demand their surrender, and restoration on the deck of a national English vessel ; on the whole they rather appear gratified at it, believing it will hasten the rupture, which they think inevitable, between England and the North. I am not sufficiently versed in such matters to know whether the belief is well founded ; before leaving, Mr. McFarland entertained us with music on the guitar, having an excellent voice ; his opera music was entirely too scientific for me ; the ballads were delightful.

To-day, Mrs. Gelston, the lady who was so kind to the prisoners at Fort LaFayette, sent us a large box of provisions, which was distributed among the Hatteras

prisoners, as they have to live altogether on the Government rations; a large lot also came from Mr. Milbourne, the blind preacher; thirty turkeys, which were in like manner distributed, reserving a small portion for our mess.

NOVEMBER 26. Suffered very much last night from Lumbago, day cold and raw, with occasional snow, the morning's boat brought down the Marshal with orders to release thirteen prisoners on taking the oath of allegiance, nine took it and departed, the other four refused.

Of the nine, seven were inmates of "number Forty-five," one of whom remarked to me as he passed out, that "he had been stunk into taking the oath," the other two were my former room mates, Messrs. Quinlan and Landing, members of the Maryland Legislature; Quinlan has been sick for a long time with a chronic dysentery, and would have died if detained much longer; he has repeatedly offered to take the oath, with a view of saving his life, but has hitherto been refused; Landing's habits are bad, being drunk whenever he could get the liquor, and particularly so to-day, having smuggled two bottles of whiskey into his room, in addition to the one allowed by the regulations; he was too drunk to know whether he were taking the oath of allegiance to Wm. H. Seward, or the Emperor of Japan; the Government need not be afraid of either of them; great rejoicing among their room mates at their departure: sickness and drunkenness are disagreeable companions in crowded rooms.

Our mess continues to improve; fare now equal to any of the hotels; the only trouble is I eat too much for so little exercise.

To lessen the trouble, and at the same time make it more agreeable, we have arranged with Mason and Slidell and their secretaries, to have supper alternately in each other's rooms, this gives us the servants of both rooms to wait on the table: and Eustis is a capital good cook, (Kane thinks *he* is, but it is a mistake)—the advantage of this arrangement is on our side, as their stock of stores is more exten-

sive than ours ; I have been unanimously elected to brew the whiskey punch at ten o'clock ; perhaps this mark of confidence was extended because I happen to be the only one who has a stock of Scotch and Irish whiskey ; but it may be I make it better than any of the others.

After supper, Mason and Slidell went over the whole subject of International Law as applicable to their case, and did not, for a moment, entertain a doubt of the result ; Mr. Mason went so far as to make a calculation of the time they would remain in Fort Warren ; he said the Captain of the "Trent," which vessel only went as far as St. Thomas, would deem the matter of sufficient importance to go to England himself and report in person, that he would arrive at Southampton on the 28th of November, and immediately take an express train for London : that the news would be instantly telegraphed all over England and create an unparalleled excitement : public meetings would be held in every direction calling upon the government to demand immediate reparation for the outrage and insult to the British flag : that the government would within five days dispatch a special messenger of rank, with a positive demand for their surrender, and an ample apology for the outrage, with instructions to Lord Lyons, if refused, to demand his passports and return home immediately ; that in view of a possible refusal, England would immediately prohibit the exportation of military stores, and commence shipping troops and munitions of war to Canada : that on the arrival of the messenger in Washington, Mr. Seward would ask a few days grace for the sake of appearances, which would be granted : that in spite of all the bluster of the press, he would make a virtue of necessity and yield to the demands of England : that a British ship of war would be sent to Fort Warren from either Halifax or Bermuda : that they would leave on or about the 1st January, and by the 15th January, would be at their respective posts in London and Paris.

The experience of Mr. Mason on questions of International Law, acquired by many years' service as Chairman

of the Committee on Foreign Relations in Congress, perhaps authorizes him to make this statement in advance, "*nous verrons.*"

While sipping the punch, Colonel Pegram and Mr. McFarland entertained us with some fine singing and music on the guitar, which they continued long after the lights were put out, and we went to bed.

NOVEMBER 27. One of the marvels of this wonderful climate, a clear, calm, warm, shining day, about equal to June weather in Maryland; in all probability we shall have a gale of wind and a snow storm before morning.

Another arrival to-day, Captain Tatnall, of the Navy, just returned from the coast of Africa, and one departure, Mr. Langley, of New Orleans. Spent most of the morning in collecting mess dues for the week, and writing to Boston for provisions; had to visit all the rooms, and found the universal subject of discussion was International Law, all contending that the laws of nations were violated in the capture of Mason and Slidell, except Mr. Faulkner, who took the opposite ground, while he regretted it; went back to my own room and found the same subject under discussion, Mr. Mason going over the whole ground to a numerous audience which had dropped in to hear him; mail came in with papers from Boston and New York, nothing in them but Mason and Slidell and International Law, all agreeing that Captain Wilkes had immortalized himself, and some naming him for the next President of the United States; many of them insisting that England ought to be whipped any how, as a punishment for her sympathy for the rebels; long account of the grand banquet given to Captain Wilkes in Boston, and the very effectual manner in which Governor Andrews and the "solid men" of that city made fools and asses of themselves.

One of the Boston papers contained a very interesting letter from "their Fort Warren correspondent," describing the arrival and reception of Mason and Slidell; their villainous, cut-throat looking countenances; their baggage,

consisting of a small amount of clothing and a large amount of liquors and cigars; the close confinement in their dungeon apartments; their dinner, (the fellow had the ill-manners to peep through the bars,) consisting of salt pork, bread and bean soup, served on tin plates and eaten with an iron spoon; how Slidell, whose habits were supposed to be more luxurious than Mason's, turned up his nose at food that was too good for them, and how thankful they ought to be to a humane and merciful government for not hanging them as traitors, &c., &c.

Read the letter this evening to Mason and Slidell at the supper table, while they were discussing some terrapins and oysters from Maryland, and a very fine boned turkey from Cranston, of the New York Hotel; noticed the sentinels as they passed the windows looking wistfully in, doubtless regretting they were not inside and we outside.

After supper we were again entertained with the voices and guitars of Pegram and McFarland until bed-time.

NOVEMBER 28. Snow, rain, hail and slush until mid-day when the sun came out, but the ground was unfit for exercise; quite a large number of prisoners discharged to-day, fourteen from Kentucky, including the idiot, and Mr. Carter from Baltimore; the former had not a dollar among the whole party, and Governor Morehead protested in the strongest terms against the cruelty of turning those men adrift, seven or eight hundred miles from home, with no means of reaching there; we had been in the habit of taking up a collection among ourselves to defray the expenses of individual prisoners who were discharged, to their homes, but this lot was too large for our limited means; after a long discussion, the Colonel and the Marshal from Boston promised they should be sent home at the expense of the Government.

All of them took the oath, and went through the usual search by the Marshal, a most searching operation. When a prisoner is released on parole of honor, he packs up his baggage, which is sent to the wharf for him, takes leave

of his friends, and departs like a gentleman; if he takes the oath of allegiance, he is not permitted to leave his room until he finally departs; a guard is placed over him to see that he does not communicate with the other prisoners; when ready, he and his baggage are taken to the office, and undergo a rigid examination from the Marshal or some of his deputies, even to the shaking out of every shirt and handkerchief to see that nothing is concealed in them. I was accidentally a witness this morning, to the search of Carter's trunk, the Marshal was on his knees carefully taking out each article, opening and shaking it, and even reading over the letters from Carter's wife, which had already been read before he received them, while Carter was standing meekly looking on; I could not help expressing my indignation at the insult in very plain terms; the Marshal looked up in amazement at the temerity of a prisoner in thus addressing him, expecting me to wilt under his withering gaze, but finding I did'nt, quietly resumed his dirty work. It is evident they have no confidence in the man who would accept his liberty on such terms and regard him as degraded, and I think they are right, although in Carter's case the circumstances which impelled him to take the oath, justified him in so doing; we were all sorry to part with him, for apart from being an agreeable companion, he was very useful; the North Carolina officers will particularly miss him, as he undertook the management of their mess, and kept the accounts.

At twelve o'clock orders were given for us to repair to our rooms; while wondering what could be the object, and thinking, perhaps, it was to prepare for shipping us to Sandusky Island or Fort Mackinaw, somewhere in the direction of sun set, with which we had been threatened, an officer made his appearance in the room, and with great ceremony and dignity, read us a State paper signed by William H. Seward, forbidding the prisoners to employ counsel in their behalf, assuring them that employment of counsel would be regarded by the State Department as additional cause for continuing their imprisonment; a

queer doctrine, not laid down I believe, in any of the law books, asked him for a copy of the precious document, he excused himself on the ground that he had to read it to all the prisoners, and would not have time to copy it before the boat returned.

Spent the evening in my small room, reading, writing and playing back-gammon with Colonel Pegram and Mr. McFarland.

NOVEMBER 29. Snow and rain all day, preventing any out door exercise, so spent the day in reading, writing, back-gammon and visiting the neighbors. One arrival to-day, Mr. Fuller, of Lexington, Ky., of course he has not done anything, that's the uniform story of all new comers; find the discussion on International Law still continues, a little of it does very well, but am getting tired of it; this evening, Colonel Pegram, after reading an hour in my little room, remarked that Mason would be in presently, and as he had had a surfeit of the laws of nations, he would spend the evening in Major Gillam's room, where he could listen to something else by way of variety; in a few minutes he returned and proposed a game of back-gammon, asked him what brought him back so soon, said he found Mason in the room with a large audience round him, going over the whole subject.

Mason came in at ten, in time for the whiskey punch, and remained an hour; got him on other and more interesting subjects; he has fine conversational powers.

NOVEMBER 30. Snow and slush all day, with a beautiful starry night, funny climate this; usual in-door routine, reading, writing, visiting, smoking, playing back-gammon, any thing to kill time, hard work to get through the day.

Among the Hatteras prisoners are four negroes who were servants to the officers, and accompanied them hither; two are free and two slaves, all have families at home, and since the cold weather has set in they have become dis-

satisfied and wish to return home; a few days ago Major Gillam wrote to the State Department stating the circumstances and asking permission to send them back; to-day Colonel Dimick received orders to discharge them on their taking that universal governmental panacea, "the oath of allegiance to the United States," the negroes were sent for, but indignantly refused; the first one, a free negro, when the oath was read to him replied, "Lor bless you massa Dimick, I can't take no such oaf as dat: I'm a secesh nigger;" the next was a slave who wanted to know if "Massa George had taken dat oaf," and on being informed in the negative, replied, "I can't take no oaf dat massa George won't take." So the poor darkies will have to remain until there is a general discharge. One of the free negroes owns several thousand dollars of property in North Carolina, and is very uneasy lest the "dam Yankees," as he terms them, will destroy it, yet would not take the oath to save it; I remarked to him that perhaps he had better have taken it and gone home, he promptly replied, "I ain't going out here on no dishonorable terms." I fear the suggestion has impaired his good opinion of me, for on asking him shortly afterwards to bring me a bucket of water from the pump, he did it very reluctantly.

DECEMBER 1.—*Sunday*. Delicious, balmy morning; did not go to church as I ought to have done; the fact is I am losing fast what little piety I ever had, and fear if I remain here much longer I shall have none left—the region seems anti-religious. Spent the most of the day in the open air, for fear this will be the last fine day of the winter; in the evening read aloud for my companions and wrote to the Rev. E. N. Kirk, of Boston, who has sent us a number of bound volumes of his sermons, and kindly offered to preach for us; accepting his offer and thanking him for his remembrance of those in "bonds" and requesting him to preach on next Sabbath from the following text:

"For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him;"

Acts, c. 25, v. 27. Perhaps Mr. Kirk may consider that doctrine "disloyal" and not adapted to the civilization of the present day, perhaps not. We will see.

DECEMBER 2. Nothing to break the monotony of the day but the arrival of six more prisoners, hard looking cases, who were quartered in number forty-five; found on going to that delectable room that they were fishermen, captured with their fishing batteaux on the Potomac river, on their way home to Baltimore; among them were two Shany's, father and uncle of John Shany, a notorious rowdy of Baltimore, and as it is sometimes called, of a bad breed; they were both old men, very ragged and dirty; the captain of the steam tug, who captured them, found six hundred dollars in gold, on searching them, which convinced him they were rebels, so he confiscated the gold, and sent them to Fort McHenry, whence they were transferred to Fort Warren; I think the captain was right, for the possession of that amount in gold on their persons would have been proof positive to my mind, that they had taken a load of "contraband," to Virginia, and were returning with the proceeds, using their fishing boat as a blind, but whether right or wrong, the captain made a good thing of it, for it is not likely they will ever hear of their gold again.* Another burial to-day, from among the Hatteras prisoners.

*They were released a few days afterwards, on taking the usual oath of allegiance. There must have been some mistake in sending them to Fort Warren, five hundred miles from where they were captured, as they were ready at any moment, to take any description of oath required of them. Their room mates told me they had been taking some medicines to Virginia, and were returning when arrested. If this be so, I wish them better luck next time. I believe this is the only instance in the history of the world, that any nation, claiming to be civilized, has made medicines "contraband of war." England tried it once, but it created such a storm of indignation all over Europe, that the ministry were compelled to rescind it. Sidney Smith's celebrated letters on this subject, "*War on the Gallipots*," published at the period referred to, settled that matter forever, in Europe, and ought to be re-published in this country at this time. It annoys me that so foul a blot should be in the history of my native country.

DECEMBER 3. Very unwell to-day, did not go out of my room until eleven, Marshal came down in the boat from Boston with orders to release Dr. Lynch, on condition of his taking the oath and resigning his seat in the Senate of Maryland; and Dr. McGill, on condition of his taking the oath; both declined.

Mayor Brown received a parole of thirty days to visit Boston, with permission to go anywhere in Massachusetts; in all probability some arrangement will be made at the expiration of that time by which he will not return, but be permitted to go home. Spent the evening in reading and playing back-gammon with Captain De Lagnel, and in writing a long letter home; very cold to-night, had to break the ice in the pitcher to get a glass of water.

I received a piece of information to-day, that is worth recording. Mr. Blair, one of the cabinet at Washington, (if I am rightly informed,) has always opposed the system of arbitrary arrests, as a matter of both principle and policy—and more particularly has opposed the continued incarceration of the Maryland State prisoners.

A few days since, at his instance, a cabinet meeting was held on that subject, at which he insisted on the unconditional release of the Maryland prisoners, and after a hard struggle succeeded in getting an order passed for their release; on the day following, a self-constituted committee of "Loyal" men from Baltimore, nearly all of whom were speculating on the Government in some shape or form, made their appearance in Washington, and presented a sycophantic address to the President, craving for further Government patronage for the City of Baltimore, and telling the President, "Already has your excellency, by removing from our midst incendiary politicians, and by surrounding our City with a force to repel invasion, laid the foundation of affection and gratitude; sentiments which may be perpetuated by affording to our citizens work which the Government requires, and which *they* are anxious and able to perform."

The result was, that the order for our release was immediately revoked. Two or three of the more decent of the party, when they discovered the damage they had done, insisted that they never read the address and knew nothing of its contents until they heard it read to the President, notwithstanding their names were signed to it; one of them, who felt particularly sore about it, went so far as to publish a card to that effect.

DECEMBER 4. Mr. Brown left us to-day on his visit to Boston; occupied the morning in collecting the mess dues for the week, and undertook a new duty, hitherto performed by Mr. Brown, that of receiving all the liquors that came into the Fort and distributing a bottle daily to each room; this is a regulation by Colonel Dimick to prevent excesses; there is some discretion allowed, and the wines intended for the mess table are not interfered with; being considered discreet!! enough by the Colonel to take charge of this important position, I am permitted to use my own judgment in going beyond the daily allowance, and the probability is I shall have a quarrel on my hands before long with some thirsty people who cannot see why any distinction is made, when they buy and pay for their own liquor.

Captain De Lagnel is quite sick to-day with the mumps, a disease that is spreading among the prisoners.

Letters from home, pleasant and cheerful; they expect me soon.

DECEMBER 5. Nothing of interest to-day; weather pleasant and suitable for out-door exercise. Commodore Barron has given his bed in my little room to Captain De Lagnel temporarily during his sickness, which keeps me out of the apartment for fear of disturbing him.

DECEMBER 6. Great commotion among the North Carolina people to-day: two hundred and fifty of them are to be sent home for exchange: Colonel Dimick has orders to

select for that purpose, first the sick, and then the married ; how far, in an exchange of prisoners, it is proper to pick out those classes in return for *sound* people I do not know ; one of their officers informed me to-day that three hundred of them were suddenly taken sick on receiving the news ; poor fellows ! I have no doubt they are anxious to get home, for they have had a hard time of it.

Four new prisoners came in to-day—Messrs. Myers, Forrest, Debree and Glassell, all Lieutenants in the Navy, just returned from a three years' absence in the East Indies, knowing nothing of the state of affairs here, and immediately sent to Fort Warren because they were Southerners, and refused to fight their own people ; one of them, Lieutenant Myers, had his wife and children awaiting his arrival in New York, but was refused to see them ; this appears to me to be the most brutal of all the arrests : two of them, Myers and Glassell, were quartered in my room.

After going to bed to-night, Captain De Lagnel, who could not get to sleep, gave me an account of his defeat and subsequent capture :* he was attached to a small army in Western Virginia under General Garnett, in the regiment commanded by Colonel Pegram ; which regiment was detailed to cover the retreat of the main body ; with but seven hundred men, they kept five regiments at bay for an entire day, long enough to effect the safety of the larger body, but were finally overpowered and captured ; De Lagnel was badly wounded, a ball passing entirely through his side ; he told me that when the rout commenced, fearing he would be trampled to death by the advancing columns,

* The reader will doubtless remember the celebrated Napoleonic proclamations of General McClellan after the battle of Rich Mountain—“*Soldiers you have vanquished two armies.*” The two armies, according to Colonel Pegram's account, consisted of 2,200 men under General Garland and 700 under Colonel Pegram ; they were hemmed in the mountains and out of food—the latter were captured, the former escaped with a loss of 30 men.

In the printed evidence now before me, taken before some military committee in Washington, it appears that General McClellan's army (by his own admission) amounted to 35,000 men.

he crawled to the road side and hid in some bushes, still where he could see what was going on ; the first body that came up was an Indiana regiment, who paused only *long enough to run their bayonets through every wounded man on the field who showed the least signs of life*, and then passed on ; when night came he managed to reach a house in the neighborhood, occupied by a widow woman who had several sons ; fortunately they were Southern in their feelings, and took him in, keeping him concealed in the house for over a month, notwithstanding the house was searched several times, some suspicion having attached to the family ; finally, having recovered sufficiently to be able to walk, and fearful of compromising the family by remaining longer with them, he determined to try and make his way to the Eastern part of Virginia ; taking with him a small wallet of provisions kindly furnished by the old lady, he departed, but lost his way in the mountains, and after suffering much hardship for want of food and shelter, was on the sixth day captured by the picket guards of McClellan's army ; on being questioned by his captors, he represented himself to be a cattle driver, and had been in the mountains searching for lost cattle : they were about releasing him, when one of the soldiers, an Irishman, exclaimed, "Be Jasus, he's no cattle driver, look at them boots, they did not cost less than ten dollars!" the soles were gone, but the patent leather tops betrayed him, and they took him into the camp. Fearing his personal safety, until he could meet with some officer of rank, to whom he could make himself known, he repeated the same story to the Captain of the Guard, who immediately replied, "It is useless, sir, for you to tell that story, cattle drivers do not speak the pure English that you do : who are you ?" "Then I am Captain De Lagnel of the Confederate Army." The officer replied, "I am glad to see you, and that you have avowed yourself ; first, because we have been searching for you a long time, knowing you were concealed somewhere in the neighborhood ; and secondly, that you may receive the treatment due to your position ;" he was taken

the next day to General McClellan's head quarters, who placed him under his parole, when entirely recovered from his wound, to report himself to Colonel Burke, at Fort LaFayette; he then went to Bedford Springs, and remained until entirely well, when he repaired to Fort LaFayette and surrendered himself, and after being kept there for several weeks, was transferred to Fort Columbus, and finally to Fort Warren; a few days ago he received the likeness of his wife, and his Bible, which McClellan recovered from the soldiers who rifled his trunk after the battle; he appears to be a favorite of General McClellan, and especially so of Colonel Dimick, who frequently calls in to see him,—some negotiations are going on for his exchange with a Captain Ricketts, now a prisoner in Richmond, and he feels very anxious lest he may not get well before the order for his release reaches here and so detain him.

I was much amused last evening at a conversation I accidentally overheard, between some of the garrison officers. I had gone to the front door to enjoy the fresh air, the rooms being over heated; a group of officers were standing a few feet from the door conversing on the subject of exchanges. Negotiations were then going on for the exchange of Colonel Pegram and Captain DeLagnel, for officers of similar rank, then prisoners in Richmond. One of the officers remarked, that it was a piece of d—d nonsense in the United States Government to exchange such men as Pegram and DeLagnel for anybody they had in Richmond.*

DECEMBER 7. Beautiful spring-like day; wonderful climate this. Spent most of the day out of doors walking and chatting with every body; De Lagnel still sick, and getting worse, which keeps me out of my room. No Baltimore papers received now for three days; can't account

*JANUARY, 1862. Perhaps he was right, for Pegram is now a Brigadier General, and commanded the cavalry that so annoyed the rear of Rosencrans' army at the battle of Murfreesboro', and DeLagnel has an important command in North Carolina.

for this, unless our masters have stopped them, thinking we are learning too much of the world outside.

Mr. Grady, one of the old police officers from Baltimore, discharged to day, got up a subscription of twelve dollars to send him home; the Government don't undertake to send to their homes those who are discharged, and Grady did not happen to have a cent in his pocket; the most the Government will do is to take the discharged prisoner to Boston and land him on the wharf. Spent the evening in Mason and Slidell's room; had another dish of International Law; went to bed late. We are now allowed to burn our lights until eleven, and the guards rarely interfere if we burn them later; my room mate very restless, and imagines he will have a tedious illness.

DECEMBER 8.—*Sunday*. Another spring-like day; service as usual by the Rev. Mr. North; the Colonel and most of the Garrison officers present; my room mate still very sick, which keeps me much out of my room as he requires quiet; read until eleven and went to bed.

DECEMBER 9. Weather still more mild, resembling a June day at home; received all the missing papers to-day, so our mail matter was not stopped as we feared. Mr. Charles J. Faulkner left us to-day, to go to Richmond and return in thirty days, unless he can get himself exchanged for Mr. Ely,* the Congressman who went to Bull Run to see the fun, and was captured.†

Faulkner's arrest was one of the most outrageous ever perpetrated. He was Minister to France, and when super-

* Mr. Ely, on his return home, published quite an interesting book on his capture and prison life in Virginia. In it, he refers to the numerous bogus letters which were published in the Northern Journals, purporting to come from Federal prisoners in Richmond, detailing their sufferings and horrible treatment, and has the candor to express his regret that the Northern papers deemed it necessary to keep up the military ardor of their people by the manufacture of such ridiculous and untruthful stories.

† JANUARY, 1862. Faulkner succeeded in making the exchange for Ely, and after remaining in private life for a year, recently joined the army as Adjutant General of the army under General Joseph E. Johnston.

seded returned to the country. Went to Washington, settled his accounts with the State Department, asked for and received a safe-conduct to pass the lines and return to his home in Virginia; while in the act of starting he was arrested and confined in the common jail in Washington; the remonstrance of some of his friends among the foreign ministers caused his removal after a week's confinement in jail to a better prison, where he was kept a month, and then sent to Fort LaFayette.

He wrote to Seward, who had in person furnished him with the safe-conduct, complaining of the outrage; Seward replied he had nothing to do with it, that Cameron had him arrested; on applying to Cameron to know the cause, he replied that he had him arrested as a hostage for Mr. Magraw who was sent to Virginia to look for the body of Cameron's brother, who was killed at Manassas, and had been captured by the Confederates and taken to Richmond.

Faulkner wrote to Richmond and obtained the release of Magraw, expecting his own discharge immediately to follow; he was then informed that he was no longer a prisoner of Cameron but a prisoner of State, or rather of Seward, and would be held for State reasons; but as the Republican party are very anxious to get back Mr. Ely, who is one of their big guns, the arrangement has been made for Mr. Faulkner to go to Richmond.

This is the first instance, since the safe-conduct given to John Huss, by the Emperor Sigismund, now nearly five hundred years ago, that a safe-conduct, regarded as the most sacred of all pledges, has ever been violated by any civilized nation; perhaps the excuse was, in principle, the same in both cases; in the loose theology of that day, the emperor was advised by the clergy that he was not bound to keep faith with heretics: and the Government doubtless came to the conclusion that they were not bound to keep faith with rebels.

Faulkner certainly expects to be successful in his mission, for he has distributed his stores and personal effects among his friends.

The Colonel gave permission to the prisoners to-day to use the parade ground to play foot ball, and for some hours it was a pleasant and exciting scene; they went at it like boys, in fact I kicked the ball a few times myself—after we had finished, the Hatteras privates took their turn at it. Received letters from home; wife very much distressed at my continued absence; De Lagnel still very sick, and my next neighbor in the adjoining room very ill: could hear his groans all night; spent the evening in making up my mess accounts and writing home; at supper, in Mason and Slidell's room, had a nice dish of Maryland terrapins. Durrett, of Kentucky, left us to-day, took the oath, and was consequently well searched.

DECEMBER 10. Heavy fog this morning, which cleared away by ten o'clock, giving us another beautiful day, which the North Carolina people availed of for another game of foot-ball.

At twelve, the boat from Boston brought down Major General B. F. Butler and his staff on a visit of inspection to the Fort: first time I have seen the General since the memorable day he dined at the Gilmore House in Baltimore, and subsequently found so much difficulty in mounting his horse: looked as natural as he did then, except that the cigar, at an angle of forty-five degrees, was not in his mouth, and his locomotion was steadier; made a show of generosity by bringing to Major Andrews his letter-book and papers that were taken from him at his capture at Fort Hatteras.

When Mayor Brown went to Boston last week, he very naturally stopped at the house of his brother-in-law, residing in that city. The Boston papers of this morning contain a number of scurrilous articles abusing his brother-in-law for "*harboring a traitor!*"* It is really painful

* MAYOR BROWN—A REMARKABLE ADMISSION BY MR. SEWARD.—A most vulgar and shameful attack is made in the *Evening Transcript* of yesterday, upon one of our most estimable and inoffensive citizens. It comes under the head of "sneaks and cowards." It seems that Mayor Brown,

to read the Boston newspapers, the press of the "Athens of America," and see the diligence with which they labor to stir up the basest passions of the multitude into a hatred of every thing South or Southern, stopping at no lie, however glaring, that will answer their purpose with the ignorant; their venom appears particularly directed towards us; scarcely a day passes but they have some bogus letter or information from Fort Warren, with which to regale and delight their readers. We are styled "The Rebels at Fort Warren;" "The Traitors at Fort Warren;" "The Miserable Wretches at Fort Warren;" "The Deluded Wretches at Fort Warren;" "The Wretched Creatures at Fort Warren;" "The Political Scoundrels at Fort Warren," and worse than all, the most disparaging accounts are given of our personal appearance. We were under the impression that, on the whole, we were tolerably good looking, and well dressed, but they represent us as having villianous countenances, unshaven, dirty, and ragged; of weak, puny frames and small statue, in striking contrast with the stalwart sons of the North, and about an

of Baltimore, is out of Fort Warren on parole, not to leave the State. Naturally enough, he repairs to the house of the citizen aforesaid, that house being the dwelling of his own sister, who is the wife of the citizen in question. This is called by the *Transcript* "harboring a traitor." Of course, on this theory, the Government are "sneaks and traitors," for letting Mayor Brown be at large.

The gentleman who has thus, according to the *Transcript*, been guilty of "harboring a traitor," is a physician highly respected in his profession, and so well known for charitable deeds, that one can hardly conceive of the malignant spirit which could prompt such an attack upon him. It can only be characterized as the basest sort of prying into the privacy of domestic life, and a gross assault upon all the sympathies and affections of human nature.

We have heard by the way, that a deputation of respectable and loyal Baltimore people waited on the Secretary, in regard to Mayor Brown, to learn why he was confined. It was asked—"Has Mr. Brown been guilty of any treason?" The answer was "None, that I know of." "Do you suspect him of disloyalty?" "I have no reason to do so." "Then, pray, why do you imprison him?" "Because he happens to be an obstacle in our way." We give the statement as we heard it; and his release on parole, to remain in Massachusetts, seems to confirm the story.—*Boston Courier*, Dec. 10.

average specimen of Southern physical imbecility, and with the exception of a few desperate characters, exceedingly penitent, and imploring the Government for pardon and forgiveness for having wickedly rebelled against the best government on earth; all of which is doubtless duly believed by nine-tenths of the people of New England.*

Quite an entertaining newspaper political fight is now going on in Boston; the municipal election is at hand, and the present Mayor desires a re-election. On the arrival of the prisoners at Fort Warren, when the fact was made known in Boston that a large number were sick, and there was no hospital arrangement at the Fort, no beds for the sick, and no medicines, the Mayor took the responsibility, aided by some charitable people there, of furnishing the hospital; the papers opposed to his re-election are now fiercely denouncing him as a "sympathizer with the rebels," and his friends are defending him, some on the ground of humanity, and some, that what he did was so little as not to justify his condemnation; as I have no interest in the quarrel, I don't care what the result is; I merely mention it as a specimen of Bostonianism.

DECEMBER 11. Rain all day, preventing out door exercise; occupied the morning in collecting the mess dues for the week, in reading and playing single handed euchre with Governor Morehead, and back-gammon with Colonel Pegram; in the evening played a few games of whist with Mason, Slidell and Gatchell; found they were too scientific for me, and as they were not disposed to be at all complimentary in their comments on my skill as a player, gave

* Scarcely a day passed that the mail did not bring numbers of anonymous letters to Colonel Dimick, denouncing him as a traitor for his humane treatment of the prisoners in his charge, and threatening him with all sorts of vengeance. The Colonel quietly put them into the fire as fast as opened; as time wore on, a change took place, and the Boston people gradually learned to speak of the Colonel, and even of the prisoners, with some respect; while the fever was at its height, Gov. Andrews felt impelled to announce publicly in Boston "that he regarded Benedict Arnold a saint when compared with the Fort Warren rebels."

my place to Eustis, while I took a game at back-gammon with McFarland. Slidell suggested that I was better skilled in brewing punch than playing whist, took the hint and prepared it, while McFarland got out some bread and butter, and a couple of jars of *Paté de fois gras*.

My temporary room mate recovering from his mumps, much to my gratification ; in the first place, a sick man in a room ten by twelve, is not a desirable companion, however agreeable in other respects, and in the second place, mumps are said to be catching !

DECEMBER 12. Another beautiful day, intensely cold in the morning, but moderating towards noon, the ball players enjoyed it very much ; another prisoner released to-day, Sommers, of Baltimore. One of my room mates, George Appleton, put in the guard house for impudence to one of the garrison officers ; after remaining there a few hours, at the instance of Commodore Barron and Colonel Pegram, the Colonel released him, but ordered him to remain a close prisoner in his own room. We all tell George he has done wrong, and advise him to go to the officer and make an apology, but boy like, he is stubborn, and refuses ; two or three days will bring him to his senses. I cannot conceive why the Government keeps him here, a mere child, utterly incapable of doing them any harm.

DECEMBER 13. Very dull day, spent most of it in the unprofitable labor of endeavoring to unravel some Chinese puzzles, brought home by the naval officers from the East Indies, and in looking over several hundred stereoscopic views from China and Japan, some of them different from any I had ever seen, the same picture representing, according to the light thrown on them, scenes by day and by night ; these gentlemen have brought with them a large quantity of Chinese and Japanese articles, the examination of which serves to while away the time.

Spent the evening in my room, reading, writing and

chatting with De Lagnel, who is much better, and such visitors as dropped in.

DECEMBER 14. Took a walk this morning round the ramparts in company with twelve or fifteen of the political prisoners, by special invitation from two of the officers of the Garrison, who went with us.

The scene was a beautiful one, Boston in the distance, the harbor studded with small islands, and the ocean in front; the day clear and bracing; perhaps it looked more pleasing from the fact that for forty-five days I have seen nothing but the parade ground, the stone walls that enclose it, and the sky above.

Received very pleasant letters from home, also from Ward and Matilda, the latter enclosing some of her patriotic poetry, and the former giving a very gloomy picture of affairs in Baltimore. W. thinks that apart from my absence from my family and my accustomed ways, I am losing nothing by being here. Wrote to E. declining to accept any release encumbered with conditions, which I suppose will keep me here; spent the evening as usual in reading, writing and visiting; ate a few oysters in No. 7 and some boned turkey and champagne in No. 11, and dropped in at Mason and Slidell's to finish off with a good Habana.

Captain De Lagnel left us to-day, having been exchanged for a Captain Ricketts; the news of his exchange almost made a well man of him; hope I shall meet him again; he is one of the finest specimens of humanity I have ever met with.

DECEMBER 15. Another beautiful day, cold but clear, and bracing; church service as usual by Mr. North; spent the afternoon in reading the English papers and their comments on the capture of Mason and Slidell: looks very warlike. Spent the evening in getting up my correspondence which was falling behind.

DECEMBER 16. Cold and stormy, so much so, that the boat could not land at the wharf to-day, and had to go back with our letters, papers, and to-morrow's breakfast and dinner; the occasional missing of the mail and our bundles of newspapers, is regarded as a calamity, the latter gives us employment from twelve until two, and we look for it as regularly and with more impatience than we do for our dinner; after reading the papers, their contents afford us subjects for discussion and conversation the balance of the day; for want of other matters to discourse on, the subject of International Law was resumed, much to my annoyance. The two hundred and fifty Hatteras prisoners who have been exchanged, were to have left to-day, but the storm prevented it.

DECEMBER 17. Storm passed away, and at twelve o'clock the Hatteras prisoners embarked for their homes: one of my room mates, Colonel Bradford, a very estimable gentleman, going with them; as they were passing out of the sally-port, one of them stepped out of the ranks and told Colonel Dimick that should they ever take him prisoner, they would take good care of him.

The Colonel very kindly took all the remaining North Carolina privates on the ramparts to witness the departure: he is a good old man; lost two of our room mates, whose places were immediately filled with three others, making our quarters more crowded than ever.

The news from England has created great commotion among the prisoners: from present appearances we shall have war with England, for I cannot see how Mr. Seward can possibly back down, *query?* How will it affect the chances of our release? badly I fear. Mr. Mason insists, that the Government at Washington, notwithstanding the approval of the Secretary of the Navy and the President, and the vote of thanks by Congress to Captain Wilkes, will surrender them and make any apology England may require. Spent the evening in my bed room, reading the papers to Commodore Barron, who is sick, and in supping round, oysters, terrapins, hot whiskey punch, &c., &c.

DECEMBER 18. Charles H. Pitts left this morning on a parole of thirty days to visit his family; the general impression is, that he will not return, and for his own comfort, I hope it may prove so. I can see no object in sending him back, but then, at the same time, I can see no object in keeping any of us here, so that amounts to nothing; passed the day as usual.

DECEMBER 19. Another warm and pleasant day, of which the ball-players took advantage; one discharge to-day, Mr. Cenas, of the Navy, who goes home to be exchanged; passed most of the day in the open air; find the nights are getting long and tedious, dark at half-past four, and to bed at eleven; six and a half hours to get through with every evening, a fine opportunity to read, if I could settle my mind to it, but the annoyance of being here, my unprotected family at home, and the uncertainty of the future, prevents anything like continued reading or study. When I think of the outrageous manner in which I have been treated, dragged from my home at midnight, without a moment's warning or preparation; transported from Fort to Fort like a felon; of my business affairs thrown into confusion, if not ruin; of my wife and six daughters at home without a protector, I lay down the book and do a deal of inward swearing. Mr. Slidell advised me the other day to do it outwardly, expressing the belief that it would relieve me, as a flow of tears sometimes is a relief to dry eyes when in distress.

DECEMBER 20. Mr. Kessler, of Frederick County, late member of the Maryland Legislature, left us to day; he has been ready for several weeks to take the oath, but somehow they had not faith in him. Col. Kane returned to-day from his three weeks' leave of absence, reports everything very dull and gloomy in Baltimore, saw my family and says they are all well. Durant, member of the Legislature from St. Mary's, offered the oath but declined it.

DECEMBER 21. Usual routine of exercise, reading and visiting the neighbors; spent an hour in Governor Morehead's room playing cards, and another in Wallis' room listening to his reading, and Gatchell's humorous wit; the latter is the life of the room, and never loses his humor or his temper.

Played back-gammon in the evening with some of the naval officers and listened to another discourse from Mason on International Law; made the whiskey punch earlier than usual with a view of changing the subject, but that only brightened his ideas, and he went on.

DECEMBER 22. Mr. North preached his last sermon to-day, he has been exchanged and leaves for his home in Virginia to-morrow. Mr. Brewer, clerk of the Maryland Senate left to-day to visit his family on a parole of thirty days; extra good dinner to-day, to which Captain Berry, one of the prisoners, added a basket of Champagne.

DECEMBER 23. Rain, hail, snow and slush, with a gale of wind from all points of the compass, converting the parade ground into a huge mud puddle which I had to cross twice during the morning. Mr. North left us to-day, having been exchanged for some regimental parson captured at Bull Run, we fitted him out with a good suit of clothing, and gave him thirty dollars out of the mess fund to take him home, a small return for his services in the Chapel; we are now without a minister.*

The approach of Christmas is bringing to us the kind remembrances of friends from all parts of the country, and the indications to-day are that we shall have provisions enough to feed the whole of the remaining five hundred prisoners during Christmas week. Six large boxes came by the Boat to-day, from Washington County, Md., consigned to Dr. McGill and Mr. Alvey,† of Hagerstown, with

*Mr. North returned to his home at Charlestown, Va., only to be driven from it in a few weeks by the advance of the Federal army.

†Mr. Alvey was released in February on his parole, and returned to his home in Hagerstown, but in April was compelled by the mob to leave, and took refuge in Canada.

a list of the contributors, one hundred and thirty in number, turkeys, hams, rounds of beef, venison, tongues, in fact, everything to eat or to drink that could be thought of by that number of people.

The town of "Freedom," in Maine, sends two large boxes filled with turkeys, lobsters, salmon, the sweet corn of that country and some very fine wines and old brandy; we had among us for some time, two gentlemen from that town, who lost their "freedom" for exercising freedom of speech; they attempted to make speeches at a "Peace" meeting, but the meeting was broken up, and that night they were taken out of their beds and sent to Fort LaFayette, where, and at Fort Warren, they had the opportunities, for four months, of doing penance for the sin of preferring Peace to War. Too stormy to take exercise and had to pass the day within doors, listening to the usual discussions on Mason and Slidell and the chances of a war with England; Mason still persists there will be no war, and that the Government will back out from every position they have taken, others think they have bullied and blustered so much, that they cannot back out without making themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the whole world; for the last ten days a large force has been engaged in mounting the barbette guns of the Fort, and putting it generally in a state of defence.

A nice mess of oysters cooked by Marshal Kaue, with some Scotch whiskey-punch, closes the day, or rather the night, and to bed at eleven.

DECEMBER 24. Mr. John W. Davis, Police Commissioner of Baltimore, left us to day on a parole for thirty days; this system is getting quite fashionable; nothing of interest to-day, except the preparations for Christmas, boxes continue to arrive from all quarters, with good things for the holidays; mutton and hams from the Eastern shore, canvas-backs, terrapins and oysters from Baltimore, turkeys and geese from everywhere, pound cakes and fruit cakes without end; we shall give the North Carolina privates, and the moneyless politicals of number forty-five, such a week's

feasting as will make them "return to their muttoms" of salt pork and beans with perfect disgust.

This being Christmas-eve, the Colonel kindly sent us word that we could burn the lights as long as we desired.

DECEMBER 25. Christmas day; spent it pretty much as I would have done at home, only on a smaller scale, visited all the rooms, taking a glass of egg-nog here and of apple toddy there, had the best dinner of the season, but no one appeared disposed to eat it, the egg-nog having supplanted the dinner; continued my visits under special permit from the Colonel, until eleven, and am sorry to record, went to bed forgetting to wind up my watch.

We had a rich scene this evening in the underground apartments the other side of the sally-port, in the trial and execution of Wm. H. Seward for treason, in having abolished the Constitution and the Laws and usurped the Government; about fifty of the prisoners were present and participated in it; a stuffed figure had been made, representing the culprit, who was seated in the criminal box; a judge was selected,* twelve jurymen drawn, the prisoner was assigned counsel, the prosecuting attorney opened the case, and the examination of witnesses went on in due form; speeches were made by counsel on both sides, and the case given to the jury, who after some deliberation (I fear they were biassed) found the prisoner at the bar guilty; the judge, after making the usual preliminary speech on the enormity of his crimes and the justness of his condemnation, pronounced the sentence and he was immediately executed. One of the garrison officers was present, and between the trial and a bucket of egg-nog on the table in the corner of the room where he

*DEATH OF AUSTIN E. SMITH.—Major Austin E. Smith, son of Ex-Gov. Smith, of Virginia, and formerly Navy Agent at San Francisco, was severely wounded in the battle before Richmond on the 27th ult., in the shoulder. On the 29th his arm was amputated, but he survived the operation but a few hours. It will be recollected that Major Smith, on his return from California, was arrested on the Isthmus, and for some months was confined in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor.—*Richmond Enquirer*.

stood, seemed to enjoy it very much. I fear that on awakening next morning, he found his recollection of the doings of the previous night very much impaired.

DECEMBER 26. Awoke with severe head-ache, the penalty of yesterday's indulgence, and spent most of the day in bed, received letters from home, informing me that General Dix had written to Washington to procure a parole for thirty days for me, wrote back declining to accept it.

DECEMBER 27. Very cold and stormy, out door exercise impossible, still unwell and suffering from bad cold, Mr. Salmon, member of the Legislature from Frederick County discharged to-day, took the oath, and Mr. Oaksmith, charged with fitting out slavers, but suspected of fitting out privateers, removed to New York for trial.*

DECEMBER 28. Intense cold with strong gale of wind, so much so that the boat from Boston could not make the landing and had to return, consequently no letters or papers.

Without the papers and with weather too inclement to take exercise, the days are very long; there are not enough card players in the room to make up a party, and backgammon has become tiresome. About ten, the officer who was present at the trial of Seward, came in and helped me

*Oaksmith was the only prisoner ever sent to any of the Forts on a specific charge of an offence not political; partly because we did not desire the company of a slave trader, and partly because we suspected him of being a spy, (he having been at the last election in New York a prominent and active member of the Black Republican party,) although either would have been sufficient, we declined to admit him into our mess.

He was a man of fine personal appearance, intelligent and polished in his manners, and took our refusal very hard, in a few days he took a seat at the mess-table uninvited, and no notice was taken of it.

He was removed to the jail in New York city, and during the Spring, tried and convicted for being engaged in the slave trade, and sent to the Penitentiary for five years, from which he soon made his escape, and finally turned up in Havana.

to drink a bottle of whiskey, that is, he drank seven-eighths, and I the other eighth.

DECEMBER 29. Very cold, thermometer some distance below zero—our chaplain having left us, we did not expect a sermon, but on going to the chapel this morning, whom should I find reading the service, but the officer who drank my whiskey last night; he had a full clear voice and read it better than nine-tenths of the clergymen I have heard; after service Colonel Dimick informed me that he had received orders from Washington to permit me to go home for thirty days, told him I would decide in a day or two what I would do, spent the evening in writing and reading in my little room.

DECEMBER 30. Cold and raw; spent most of the day in my room, preparing to leave, having determined to accept the proffered parole after much consideration over it. My affairs at home are getting into a confused state, and my wife fretting very much at my absence, and now sick in bed.—Most of my friends approve of my going. Some object to it, thinking that in so doing I recognize the right of the Government to keep me a prisoner. I do not think so, as I enter into no obligation except to return in thirty days. Mason and Slidell are also preparing to leave, having received official notice of their intended surrender.

DECEMBER 31. Another cold and raw day, preventing out-door exercise—spent most of the day in my bed-room reading and writing; got up a game of cards in the evening, the first *in our room* since I have been here. Col. Dimick sent word in the evening, that as it was New Year's Eve, we could burn the lights at pleasure. Determined to show our appreciation of his kindness by brewing a second pitcher of Punch, and finally a third one, and as the Commodore did not drink Whiskey Punch, but was partial to Rum-Milk Punch, I sent to the mess room for a gallon can of cream that was left over from our Christmas keeping, and

with the aid of a bottle of very old rum, presented me by Mr. Harrison, very soon concocted a beverage, that if not fit for the gods, was certainly appreciated by the Commodore, colonels, and prisoners of State; it was the most delicious thing I ever tasted, rich cream, rum forty years old, a little sugar and nutmeg, with a few drops of orange juice; I give the receipt for the benefit of posterity.

We had numerous visitors during the evening, and about mid-night, Lieutenant Moore, of North Carolina, who occupied the room immediately under us, made a call, (the smell of good things will sometimes descend as well as ascend,) the ostensible object of his visit was to give Mr. Mason a copy of some very clever verses, set to the tune of "Dixie," his own composition, which Mr. Mason had heard him sing a night or two previous, (Moore has a fine voice) and of which Mason had specially requested a copy. Mr. Mason took the song, and putting on his specs, carefully read aloud each verse, commenting as he went along, and pronounced the whole a capital good thing; folding it up and putting it in the side pocket of his coat, he went on to say, that he intended on his arrival in London, to have it set to music and sung in the theatres, printed and distributed among the ballad singers on the streets, played by the organ grinders, in fact he intended to make an "institution" of it; after singing a song or two, Mr. Moore retired and we went to bed.

JANUARY 1. After breakfast this morning, while Mason and Slidell were in our room, their own being cleaned up, a tap at the door, and Lieutenant Moore came in. "I am glad to see you Mr. Moore," said Mason, "I do not know at what moment we may leave here, and I want you to give me a copy of the song I asked you for a few days since;" "why Mr. Mason," said Moore, "I gave it to you last night;" "you did nothing of the kind," said Mason; "I did;" replied Moore, "and Mr. S., who was present, will doubtless remember it." "Mr. Mason," said S., "Mr. Moore came in last night about twelve, and handed you the

song ; you read it carefully, with running comments, and stated what you purposed doing with it when you reached London ;” “I did nothing of the sort,” replied Mason, “and I really think, Mr. S., you are carrying the joke too far ;” “I have no disposition, Mr. Mason,” replied S., “to carry a joke an unnecessary distance, but I have now a distinct recollection that after reading it, you folded it up and put it in the side pocket of the coat you now have on.” Instantly he ran his hand into the pocket, and lo ! it was there ; looking alternately at the paper, Mr. Moore and S., he turned to S. and quietly remarked, “I’ll be d—d if I drink any more punch of your brewing ;” nor did he, for in a few minutes after, an agent of Mr. Seward’s, a Mr. Webster, came in and informed him and Mr. Slidell that a boat was at the wharf, waiting for them, and they must depart instantly.

Slidell replied he was not ready, and would require two or three hours to pack up ; Webster insisted that the boat was waiting and they must go within thirty minutes ; Slidell, who was not particularly amiable at being thrust out of the Fort in this unceremonious manner, and withal had been sick for several days, replied in language more forcible than chaste that he would not go until he was ready, nor did he, for it was nearly twelve o’clock when they departed. Colonel Dimick particularly requested that no demonstration should be made on their departure, and that none of the gentlemen should go on the ramparts to see them off ; their immediate friends took leave of them in their room, and the prisoners generally ranged themselves on each side of the sally-port and uncovered as they passed out. I understood during the day from one of the officers that they were taken away in one of the small harbor tug boats, and as the boat went straight out to sea it must be to put them on board of some British ship in the offing ; as there was a strong gale of wind, with a heavy sea running, they must have had an uncomfortable time.*

* We learned a day or two after that they were put on board an English steamer forty miles from the Fort, about two hours before the gale com-

Occupied the balance of the morning in collecting the mess dues for the week, and preparing the accounts to hand over to my successor, Mr. Green, of Savannah, who has agreed to undertake that troublesome task. Our "sanctum," as Commodore Barron terms it, I have handed over, with all my bedding and furniture, to Mr. Green, after consulting with the Commodore, who accepts him as a room mate, with the proviso, however, that should I return, he will vacate it.

In the afternoon, by special permit, took a walk round the ramparts for the second and last time. Spent the evening packing up and preparing to leave.

In leaving this Fort, it is, perhaps, proper to say, that we have experienced none of the brutal treatment which characterised the officers and soldiers at Fort LaFayette; while we were thrown entirely on our own resources and subjected to strict discipline, there was no harshness or rudeness exhibited towards us; in no instance did I receive an unkind word from any officer or soldier. I was compelled, from my mess duties, to come more in contact with the soldiers than any other prisoner, and uniformly found them civil; I suppose I asked over a hundred what induced them to enlist in the army; the answer invariably was, I am a mechanic, with a family and without employment, and was driven to it by necessity; very few of them were foreigners, and although they probably will fight if driven to it, they have no heart in the contest,—they enlisted to *live* and not to *die*.

JANUARY 2. Up early, and occupied the morning in packing up and taking leave of my companions. Terrible

menced. The steamer was bound for Halifax, and as nothing was heard of them for two weeks, great apprehensions was entertained for their safety. We subsequently learned that the vessel after battling with the storm for several days, with many of her crew frost-bitten, gave up the attempt to reach Halifax and bore away for Bermuda.

Mr. Mason's predictions were all realized with wonderful accuracy, with the single exception of the date of his arrival in London, he did not reach there until the 28th January, owing entirely to the storm, and consequent change of route by the West Indies.

storm last night, seven vessels wrecked on or about the island, much apprehension about the safety of Mason and Slidell, unless they reached some larger vessel before night; the small tug could not possibly have lived in such a storm. Their mode of surrender was discreditable to Lord Lyons for permitting it, and disgraceful to the American Government in the extreme,—it was like the spiteful and unwilling act of a whipped child.

Left the Fort at one o'clock in company with Lieutenant Buell, the officer who has had special charge of the political prisoners, and who was visiting Boston for a day or two's holiday; got on board the steam tug with much difficulty and some danger: the storm was still so severe that the boat could not make fast to the wharf, and our only chance of getting on board was to stand on the wharf, which was covered with ice, holding on to a post, as the boat would run past and spring on board as she rose on the water, to our level, while my baggage was "pitched" on the deck, and a fine rocking chair, which I was desirous of taking home, came on board minus the legs and rockers,—had I had any idea of the difficulty, I would certainly have remained another day.

Reached Boston at three o'clock, and went to the Tremont House to dinner. I happen to be about the same size and the same general outline as Marshal Kane; our features are dissimilar, but both had, at the time, our faces covered with beard,—a few minutes after I was seated at the table, I noticed that I was the observed of all observers, and soon it was whispered all over the dining room that the veritable Marshal Kane, the celebrated rebel and bridge-burner of Baltimore, was present; it did not however disconcert me, or in the least interfere with my appetite: and having finished my dinner, I walked through the room with as much of dignity as I could possibly assume, every eye being turned on me to take one long look at so notorious a character.

After calling on Dr. Coale, who has been so kind to us, and settling my mess account with him, and visiting

Faneuil Hall market to pay some bills due for marketing ; (quite a crowd gathered round me in the market when it became known that I was one of the "Fort Warren rebels,") I left Boston at 5.30 for New York, via Fall river.

At the supper table on board the boat, the negro waiter who attended to me, was unusually polite and attentive to my wants : before rising from the table he whispered in my ear, that he hoped Marshal Kane was well ; I thanked him, and assured him he was in excellent health.

JANUARY 3. Did not reach New York until eleven o'clock, in consequence of the storm of last night ; too late to connect with the train for Baltimore and was compelled to remain until six o'clock ; as I passed over the gangway of the boat, I could hear numerous voices behind me, "that's Marshal Kane," "that's him," there he goes," my negro friend had evidently spread the news ;—after telegraphing home that they might expect me in the morning at five o'clock, I called on Mr. McMasters, editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, and Mr. Sullivan, the counsel for the privateersmen, who were my companions at Fort LaFayette, and spent two or three hours going round with them ; was surprised at the freedom of speech every where we went, perhaps our visits were confined to one class of people ; at three dined with Cranston at the New York hotel, who sent us so many good things at Fort LaFayette and Fort Warren ; after leaving the hotel, found myself dogged by a couple of villainous looking detectives, faces half bully and half sneak ; go where I would, those fellows were behind me ; in the coffee room at the depot, in the ticket office, while getting my baggage checked, there they were—finally in the cabin of the ferry-boat, finding I could not get rid of them, and their action was attracting notice towards me, I went deliberately up to them and stared them out of the cabin.

Came through without stopping, reached home at five o'clock and found my wife and daughters up, and awaiting my arrival, and a nice warm breakfast ready, which, sur-

rounded by my family, was the sweetest meal I had eaten for months.

It only remains to say, that on the expiration of my parole, through the action of some of my friends, I was not required to return to the Fort ; no conditions were exacted from me, for I would accept of none, no cause given for my arrest and none for my release. In short, I suppose, not being considered a " dangerous " man, I was simply turned loose.

APPENDIX.

Fort LaFayette.

OUR removal from Fort LaFayette on the 30th of October, 1861, entirely cleared that place of prisoners, only, however, to be refilled to a much greater extent, and in a few weeks crowded far beyond what we supposed its utmost capacity.

From many gentlemen who were confined there through the following winter, and the spring, and summer of 1862, I have had statements of their condition and treatment, showing that our treatment there, brutal as it was, was humanity compared to the treatment of those who followed us.

In the Battery Room where I was located with thirty-seven others, and which was then so crowded that our beds touched, or at most a few inches between them, sixty-five were packed during the winter and spring, the other Battery Rooms packed in the same proportion; the small casemate rooms, which we esteemed over crowded with eight occupants, were made to hold as high as eighteen, bedsteads had to be dispensed with, and the floors covered with mattresses, so that the inmates could sleep in common, something like the between decks of a slave ship; about eighty of the prisoners, sailors and privateersmen, were kept all the time in irons, their legs chained together.

Up to the month of May they were kept close prisoners in their rooms, not permitted to leave them, except under guard, to visit the rear; after sun-set they were not permitted to leave their rooms under any circumstances whatever. The rations were inferior in quality and quantity, so much so, that among the poorer class of prisoners, complaints of hunger were daily and hourly made; Mrs. Gelston continued an angel of mercy to the prisoners, daily sending them food, until it became offensive to the commander and it was prohibited, first, except in cases of sickness, but soon after totally;

on entering and leaving the Fort they were stripped and searched, their money, watches and pocket knives taken from them; during the winter they suffered much from the very limited supply of fuel.

But all this was humanity compared to the treatment of a few prisoners who were specially obnoxious to the Government; Colonel Zarvona, Dr. Edson B. Olds, of Ohio, Pierre Soulé and Mr. Messereaux, of Louisiana, who were confined in separate rooms, or dungeons they might be called, although above ground. The first three or four weeks of Dr. Old's imprisonment was in solitary confinement, not permitted for any purpose to leave his cell, utterly denied the use of pens and paper, of newspapers or books of any description, even to the refusal of a Bible when he applied for it: not permitted to have light in his cell: the greater portion of the time he was ill with the Bloody Flux, and was even refused waste paper. I am aware these details are disgusting, still they form a part of the history of the times. Some of the prisoners noticing that the food which was taken into Dr. Old's cell, came out untouched, supposed the inmate (they did not know who) was sick and unable to eat the army rations, and requested permission of Lieutenant Wood to send the sick man some other food, which was refused.

The treatment of Zarvona is probably the same, none of the prisoners ever saw him, and he still remains there. Soulé and Messereaux received the same treatment except shortly before they were released, it was so far modified as to permit them to receive newspapers, and visit the rear under a guard, at which time all other prisoners must be in their rooms.

On two occasions, the draft from the chimney leading to the quarters above, became reversed, throwing the whole of the smoke into Zarvona's room; his noise induced the sentinel to open the door, after calling the Sergeant of the Guard; the soldiers on entering the room immediately retreated, stifled from the smoke; the door had to be left open for fifteen minutes, and the other prisoners were driven to their rooms to prevent them from seeing him.

Lieut. Wood, suspecting he had found means to communicate with the other prisoners, laid a trap to ascertain if it were so. Dressing one of the soldiers of the same size, in Zarvona's clothes, Zarvona was removed from his cell at night, and the soldier substituted, with instructions how to act. Next morning, one of the prisoners, Mr. Cecil, in passing the cell, was attracted by a noise from the window, and a piece of paper tied to a nail was thrown out; unconsciously he stooped to pick it up, and was immediately seized and conveyed to a

dungeon cell, six by three feet, where a ray of light never penetrated, and kept there for seven weeks; his fellow-prisoners could scarcely recognise him, when he re-appeared at the end of that time, so haggard and emaciated had he become. The reason assigned by Lieut. Wood to the other prisoners for his brutality towards Zarvona was that he had attempted to make his escape. It is true he did make the attempt, but it was nearly two months after he had been placed in close confinement, and when it is known that the night on which he made the attempt was very cold, that the tide runs like a mill-race between the island and the main-land, and that should he have escaped the fire of the sentinels, he would almost certainly been chilled to death by the water, or carried out to sea by the tide, and as his friends say, is unable to swim, it will readily be seen that nothing but insanity, or desperation caused by his barbarous treatment could have induced him to make the attempt.

Lieut. Wood, in answer to an enquiry recently made by a committee of the Senate, states that Zarvona is confined in a room 25 feet long by 15 wide, lighted by three windows, only one of which is closed. This is not correct. The room, which I measured myself, is less than 14 by 22 feet, with an arched ceiling, 5 feet high at the spring of the arch, and 8 feet in the centre, has one door and one window, facing the interior of the Fort, which were kept solidly closed, and two narrow slits in the wall facing the sea. When the front door and window was closed, it was impossible to read or write in the day time without candles.

Fort Warren.

AFTER leaving Fort Warren, according to the accounts of my companions who remained, every thing went on as usual. In February, the North Carolina prisoners were exchanged, with the exception of Commodore Barron and a few naval officers. The prisoners were congratulating themselves on the increased accommodation by their departure, when a fresh arrival of nearly two hundred officers taken at Fort Donaldson, crowded them more than ever.

The new arrivals experienced the same kind and humane treatment from Colonel Dimick which had previously marked his character, with the exception of Major General Buckner and Brigadier General Tilghman, who were, by special orders from Washington, placed in solitary confinement, where they remained during their whole imprisonment.

All the prisoners of war were exchanged and left the Fort the latter part of July—a portion of the political prisoners had been discharged in May, on various conditions, and but fourteen now remained; of these, some had been offered a release on parole which was indignantly refused, others were esteemed too dangerous to be released on any terms.

The liberty of the island was now given them on parole, and as time passed on, the garrison, impressed by their manly bearing, learned to treat them with much respect. Even the Boston Journals ceased to speak of them as “Miserable Rebels,” “Deluded Traitors,” “Misguided Wretches,” but as men whose calm fortitude and stern determination to suffer rather than surrender a principle, entitled them to sympathy and regard, even from those who differed from them.

This change of feeling, going on through all the Northern States, partly the effects of returning reason, and partly the wide-spread feeling, that no man, having public or private enemies, could feel assured, on retiring at night, that the morrow’s sun might not find him in a Fortress or a filthy Jail, finally developed itself in the Fall Elections in such an unmistakable form, that the Government was forced to relax its policy, and in the month of November, general orders were issued to release all the State Prisoners, against whom no specific charge existed; still the feeling against the Maryland Prisoners was yet so strong at Washington, kept up in all probability by the Plug Ugly Junta in Baltimore, that special orders were sent to Col. Dimick not to release any of his prisoners under the general order, and the probability is that those gentlemen would have remained at Fort Warren, but (as I am informed) for the interference and strong protests of Mr. Blair, the Post Master General, who had always regarded with disfavor, the arrest, and particularly the long continued imprisonment of the Maryland prisoners, and insisted on their unconditional release, which he succeeded in effecting after a strong effort.

Camp Chase.

It may be interesting to know how "*State Prisoners*" are cared for in the Bastiles of the West; they exist in every State, and probably vary but little in their management. The one at Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio, is thus described by a "Loyal" Editor who writes on the spot :

HORRIBLE DISCLOSURES IN RELATION TO A POLITICAL PRISON.

We speak wholly of the political prison, the prison of State, as we know nothing whatever of what occurs in the prison where "rebels taken in arms" are kept—that is, "the prisoners of war."

It must not be forgotten that there have been from six to seven hundred political prisoners at Camp Chase at a time; and although several hundred have been lately discharged without trial, there are yet some four hundred—one or two hundred of these have arrived there within a few days past from Kentucky and Western Virginia. These men are taken from their homes, some from their beds at night, some from their houses in day-time, and a great many of them are picked up in their fields at work, and never suffered to see their families before being spirited off to Ohio and incarcerated in the celebrated Bastile, which will soon be as famous as Olmutz itself.

Our Ohioans are put into the same prison with these men from other States, and from them we have learned some facts which the people of Ohio ought to know. Many of these men have been kept in this prison for over one year, a great many for five, six, seven and eight months, without even seeing outside, or being allowed to communicate personally with any one, not even wife, child, father, mother, or stranger.

They are furnished with nothing but a single blanket, even these cold nights, unless they are able to purchase additional comforts with money they may be able to command. Many are poor men, and unable to purchase; they were not permitted to bring along a change of clothing, and many had on when seized nothing but summer wear, and that has become filthy, worn out, and scarcely hangs upon their backs.

They have no bedding, and therefore are compelled to sleep on bare boards. They have not enough wood furnished to keep fires up all night, and hence the suffering is intensified by the cold weather. If they attempt, after night, to walk out in the yard to take off the chills of the dreary night, they are instantly threatened to be shot by the guards, as ordered by those in command.

Dr Allen, of Columbia county, Ohio, said he laid on a bare board until his hips were black and blue. The wood furnished them is four feet long, and they are compelled, each mess to chop it up for themselves, and, the provisions being furnished raw, they have to cook for themselves. Recollect, always, that these are political prisoners, against whom no one appears as accuser, and no trial is permitted.

The prison has become filthy—awfully so—and the rats are in droves. If the prisoners attempt to kill one of these rats they are forbidden, and threatened with being shot instantly. Recollect, always, as we said above, these are political prisoners, against whom some malicious negro-worshipper has created a suspicion of disloyalty, but whose name is kept a secret, and hence there can be no trial.

The prison is perfectly alive with lice and no chance is given to escape the living vermin. A dead man, one of the prisoners, was the other day carried out to the dead yard, and laid there over night, and when visited in the morning by other prisoners, who heard there was a dead man there, they found the hair on his head stiff with lice and nits—the lice creeping into his eyes in great numbers, and, as he lay with his mouth open, the lice were thick crawling in and out of his open mouth.

Not long since two of the prisoners got into a scuffle in trying their strength, and finally into a fight, as was supposed; and several other persons rushed to part them, when the guards from the look out above fired on them, killing an old man by the name of Jones, from Western Virginia, and the ball grazing the skull of another; he fell, and it was supposed at first he was killed, also; another of the balls passed through a board at the head of a sick man in the hospital, and only escaped him by a few inches. The two men in the scuffle were not hurt.

We might go further, but God knows this is far enough for once. It is enough to make one's blood run cold to think of it.

Now, if any one doubts this—if the authorities at camp or at the State House doubt it, if the Legislature, when it meets, will raise a committee, we promise to name the witnesses who, if sent for, under oath, prove all this, and as much more, some of which is too indecent to print in a newspaper for the public ear.

We do not bring these things to light for any other purpose than an act of humanity, of respect for the fair fame of Ohio, and to direct public attention to them that the brutal authorities of that camp may have justice done them. The commandant of the camp is himself a member of the Ohio House of Representatives. He will no doubt appear on 1st Monday of January to take his seat. Let him answer to his compeers on that floor—let him answer to his constituents who elected him—let him answer to the whole people of Ohio, if he dare, whether these things are so or not. Heaven be blessed if any modification can be put upon these transactions—any excuse of the most trivial nature, by which the fame of Ohio may be vindicated from the crime and stigma which otherwise must go down to all time upon the pages of our history.—*Columbus (Ohio) Crisis.*

COPY OF PROTEST SENT TO WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 8.

[PAPER REFERRED TO ON PAGE 42.]

FORT LAFAYETTE, October 8, 1861.

His Excellency, the President of the United States:

SIR: The undersigned prisoners confined in Fort LaFayette, are compelled to address you this protest and remonstrance against the inhumanity of their confinement and treatment. The officers in command at Fort Hamilton and this post, being fully aware of the grievances and privations to which we are obliged to submit, we are bound, for humanity's sake, to presume that they have no authority or means to redress or remove them. They, in fact, assure us that they have not. Our only recourse, therefore, is to lay this statement before you, in order that you may interpose to prevent our being any longer exposed to them.

The prisoners at this post are confined in four small casemates and two large battery rooms. The former are about fourteen feet in breadth by twenty-four or thereabouts in length, with arched ceilings about eight and a half feet high at the highest point, the spring of the arch commencing at about five feet from the floor. In each of these is a fire-place and the floors are of plank. The battery-rooms are of considerably higher pitch, and the floors are of brick, and a large space is occupied in them by the heavy guns and gun-carriages of the batteries. They have no fire-places or means of protection from cold or moisture, and the doors are large, like those of a carriage-house, rendering the admission of light impossible without entire exposure to the temperature and weather without. In one of the small casemates, twenty-three prisoners are confined, two-thirds of them in irons, without beds, bedding, or any of the commonest necessities. Their condition could hardly be worse if they were in a slave ship, on the middle passage. In each of the two, out of the other three casemates, ten gentlemen are imprisoned; in the third there are nine, and a tenth is allotted to it; their beds and necessary luggage leaving them scarce space enough to move, and rendering the commonest personal cleanliness almost an impossibility. The doors are all fastened from six or thereabouts in the evening, until the same hour in the morning, and with all the windows (which are small) left open in all weathers, it is hardly possible to sleep in the foul, unwholesome air. Into one of the larger battery-rooms there are thirty-four prisoners closely crowded; into the other, thirty-five. All the doors are closed for the same period as stated above, and the only ventilation is then from the embrasures, and so imperfect that the atmosphere is oppressive and almost stifling. Even during the day three of the doors of one of these apartments are kept closed, against the remonstrances of the medical men who are among the inmates, and to the utter exclusion of wholesome and necessary light and air. In damp weather all these unhealthy annoyances and painful discomforts are of course greatly augmented, and when, as to-day, the prison-

ers are compelled by rain to continue within doors, their situation becomes almost intolerable. The undersigned do not hesitate to say, that no intelligent inspector of prisons can fail to pronounce their accommodations as wretchedly deficient, and altogether incompatible with health: and it is obvious, as we already feel, that the growing inclemencies of the season which is upon us, must make our condition more and more nearly unendurable. Many of the prisoners are men advanced in life: many more are of infirm health or delicate constitutions. The greater portion of them have been accustomed to the reasonable comforts of life, none of which are accessible to them here, and their liability to illness is, of course, proportionately greater on that account. Many have already suffered seriously from indisposition augmented by the restrictions imposed upon them. A contagious disease is now spreading in one of the larger apartments, and the physicians who are among us, are positive that some serious general disorder must be the inevitable result, if our situation remains unimproved. The use of any but salt water, except for drinking, has been for some time altogether denied to us. The cistern water itself, for some days past, has been filled with dirt and animalcules, and the supply, even of that, has been so low that yesterday we were almost wholly without drinking water. A few of us who have the means to purchase some trifling necessaries, have been able to relieve ourselves, to some extent, by procuring an occasional, though greatly inadequate, supply of fresh water from the Long Island side.

It only remains to add, that the fare is of the commonest and coarsest soldier's rations, almost invariably ill-prepared and ill-cooked. Some of us, who are better able than the rest, are permitted to take our meals at a private mess, supplied by the wife of the Ordnance Sergeant, for which we pay at the rate of a dollar per day, from our own funds. Those who are less fortunate, are compelled to submit to a diet so bad and unusual, as to be seriously prejudicial to their health.

The undersigned have entered into these partial details, because they cannot believe that it is the purpose of the Government to destroy their health, or sacrifice their lives, by visiting them with such cruel hardships, and they will hope, unless forced to a contrary conclusion, that it can only be necessary to present the facts to you, plainly, in order to secure the necessary relief. We desire to say nothing, here, in regard to the justice or injustice of our imprisonment, but we respectfully insist upon our right to be treated with decency and common humanity, so long as the Government sees fit to confine us.

Commending the matter to your earliest consideration and prompt interference, we are your obedient servants.

This paper was signed by about eighty of the prisoners, and Lieutenant Wood informed us it was sent to Washington. Some of the prisoners refused to sign it on the ground that the facts were too tamely stated, and others, that it might be construed into a petition, as it subsequently was. No notice, as far as I know, was ever taken of it at Washington.

