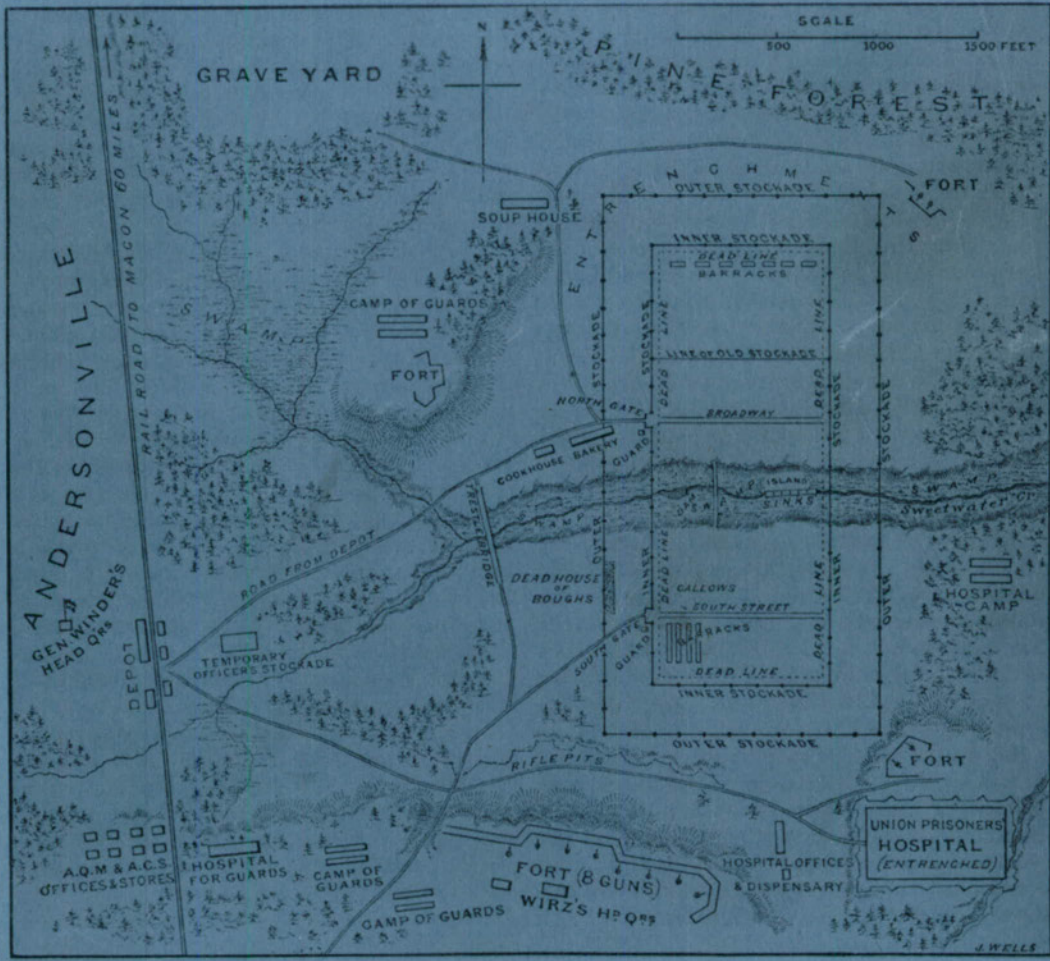


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# ANDERSONVILLE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY  
AND  
HISTORICAL BASE MAP



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SUMTER AND MACON COUNTIES, GEORGIA

# ANDERSONVILLE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY  
AND  
HISTORICAL BASE MAP

by  
Edwin C. Bearss



Office of History and Historic Architecture  
Eastern Service Center  
Washington, D.C.  
July 31, 1970



DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



## FOREWORD

This report has been prepared to satisfy the research needs as enumerated in Historical Resource Study Proposal ANDE-H-1, Historic Resource Study and Historical Base Map, Andersonville National Historic Site. Andersonville Prison has been a popular subject, and many books, including the best seller by MacKinlay Kantor, and articles have been published about it. Most of these have been concerned with conditions in the prison and man's inhumanity to man. Little attention, however, has been given to the structural history of the prison. This report is accordingly directed to correct this deficiency and to provide information about the evolution and construction history of the prison. The Historical Base Map graphically locates and identifies the stockade and its dependencies. Archeological investigations are needed to verify these locations and the type of construction. The subject report also contains a detailed administrative history of the prison, a subject that has been glossed over. For information on conditions within the prison, both the student and casual reader are referred to the many books and articles on the subject, the best of which is Ovid Futch's History of Andersonville Prison.

A number of people and institutions have assisted with the preparation of this report. Thanks are due Bob Steenhagen of EP & D, Eastern Service Center, for sharing his knowledge and enthusiasm for Andersonville with me; John Weiler, also of EP & D, for reconnoitering the area with me; W. B. King of Central Mapping, Eastern Service Center, for taking my rough draft of the base map and transforming it into a work of art; Superintendent Winston Stratton and his wife of Andersonville National Cemetery were very helpful at the site, as was Mayor L. F. Easterlin of Andersonville. Elmer Parker and Sarah Jackson of National Archives as always went all-out to suggest little known or used manuscript material. The staffs of the Special Collections Division, University of Georgia Library, Athens, Georgia, and Georgia State Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, were helpful. Mr. Will Erwin of Athens kindly gave permission to examine Gen. Howell Cobb's Letter Books, found in the Cobb Manuscript, currently in custody of the University of Georgia Library. Frank Sarles and Barry Mackintosh proof-read the manuscript and made a number of editorial suggestions which strengthened the final report, while Miss Mary Shipman, having mastered the Vip-Com machine, skillfully typed the report.



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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions.

2. It also highlights the need for regular audits to ensure the integrity of the financial data.

3. Furthermore, the document emphasizes the role of transparency in building trust with stakeholders.

4. In addition, it outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze financial information.

5. Finally, the document concludes by stressing the importance of continuous monitoring and reporting.

6. The following table provides a detailed overview of the key components of the financial reporting process.

7. This section details the specific steps involved in the data collection and analysis phase.

8. It also includes a discussion on the challenges faced during the implementation of these procedures.

9. The document further explores the impact of these practices on the overall financial health of the organization.

10. In conclusion, the document provides a comprehensive guide to effective financial reporting and record-keeping.

11. The following table summarizes the key findings and recommendations of the study.

12. This section offers practical advice for organizations looking to improve their financial reporting processes.

13. The document also includes a list of references for further reading on related topics.

14. Finally, the document provides contact information for the authors and a list of acknowledgments.

## I. EXCHANGES UNDER THE DIX-HILL CARTEL

### A. The Adoption of the Dix-Hill Cartel

Among the most vexing problems to confront the Civil War belligerents was how prisoners of war were to be handled. Standard practices, prevailing among European powers in the 1850s, provided that a prisoner of war was entitled "to all of the privileges and subject to all the inconveniences which the usages of civilized nations impose upon prisoners of war." They could be required to give a parole not to bear arms against their captors; not to visit certain localities; nor give aid and comfort to the foe; or they could be confined in prison camps. (1)

Even before the opening battles at Manassas in July and Wilson's Creek in August 1861, Union soldiers and Confederate volunteers had been captured and paroled. After the battle of 1st Manassas, where the South captured almost 1,000 Federals, and the action at Hatteras Inlet, where the Union made prisoners of a number of Confederates, the two governments sought to establish a mutually accepted policy of providing for the parole and exchange of prisoners of war. In carrying out these negotiations, President Abraham Lincoln and his agents had to exercise care to avoid any tacit recognition of the Confederate government. (2)

In July 1862, following Confederate successes in the Seven Days battles before Richmond and the passage by the United States Congress of a joint resolution calling on Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton for information as to progress of negotiations, Maj. Gen. John A. Dix was notified that President Lincoln wanted him to take charge of the negotiations which had broken down in February. Dix was cautioned to avoid any recognition of the Confederacy. On July 18, 1862, he met with the Confederate representative,

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1. William B. Hesseltine, Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology (New York, 1964), p. 1.

2. Dr. Hesseltine, in pages 7-31 of Civil War Prisons, details these tedious negotiations and the adoption of the Dix-Hill Cartel of July 18, 1862.

Maj. Gen. Daniel H. Hill, and a cartel was drafted providing for the parole and exchange of prisoners. This draft was submitted to and approved by their superiors. Four days later, the cartel was formally signed and ratified by Generals Dix and Hill. (3)

B. The Cartel Survives its First Stresses

With the announcement of the Dix-Hill Cartel, the hope of exchange for the thousands held in prisons camps in the North and South, so long promised, was realized. During the next several months thousands of prisoners were exchanged at Aiken's Landing on the James River in Virginia and at Vicksburg, Mississippi. Differences in interpreting the cartel soon posed problems for the agents of exchange and their respective governments. On the day before the document was signed, Secretary of War Stanton and Maj. Gen. John Pope caused the South to cry "foul." Stanton had issued an order directing that his military commanders in the South might seize for their use any necessary personal or real property belonging to disloyal citizens within their commands. General Pope, whose Army of Virginia was pushing toward the Rapidan and Rappahannock, had ordered the removal of disloyal male citizens from areas in rear of his lines, with the penalty of death as spies to be meted out to those who might return. More serious was the charge by President Davis on August 1 that certain Union generals were guilty of arming slaves "for the murder of their masters" in South Carolina and New Orleans. (4)

In answer to the Emancipation Proclamation and receipt of news that the United States was now encouraging the recruiting of black regiments composed of former slaves led by white officers, the Confederate Congress on May 1, 1863, passed a joint resolution declaring that white officers of black troops were to be put to death, as guilty of inciting

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3. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

4. Ibid., pp. 71-73.

servile insurrection. Any black soldiers captured were to be turned over to the states to be punished or returned to their masters. (5) This threat led on May 25 to a stoppage in the exchange of officers, although the exchange of enlisted personnel continued.

Additional fuel for controversy was General Order No. 49, issued by the United States War Department on February 28, 1863. Numerous complaints by commanders in the field that soldiers desiring a vacation from the rigors of campaigning were straggling and allowing themselves to be captured and paroled triggered this order. By this order it was declared that hereafter "paroling must take place by the signing in duplicate of parole certificates, none but commissioned officers could give paroles for themselves and their commands, and 'no inferior officer if his superior is within reach.'" There would be no more paroling on the battlefield or immediately thereafter, nor were any units to be sent to their own lines with the declaration that they were paroled. This order was especially aimed at Union units that had heretofore given their paroles to partisan units. (6)

#### C. Commissioner Ould's Declaration Causes a Crisis

On July 3, the day of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg and 24 hours before Vicksburg surrendered, the War Department issued General Order No. 207. This order called the attention of generals in the field to the cartel, particularly Article 7, "All captures must be reduced to actual possession and all prisoners of war must be delivered at the places designated." The only exception allowable would be when "the commanders of two opposing armies were authorized to exchange prisoners or to release them on parole at other points mutually agreed upon." The Confederate agent of exchange was notified at this time that "releases not in

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5. Ibid., p. 93.

6. Ibid., p. 92.

conformity with the cartel would not be accepted as valid by the United States.<sup>7</sup> All releases since May 22 would be declared illegal unless made at City Point, Virginia, or Vicksburg. (7)

On July 13, Secretary of War Stanton, realizing that Union successes at Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Port Hudson, and Helena had given the advantage in the balance of paroles to the North, determined to enforce the position taken by his government on the subject of exchanges. Agent of Exchange W. H. Ludlow was notified that no more prisoners would be delivered until there was a better understanding of the cartel. The only exchange which could be permitted was one for 10,000 of the Vicksburg prisoners to balance the number held on parole in the North. (8)

Before Ludlow had an opportunity to relay this information to Confederate Commissioner of Exchange Robert Ould, the latter declared exchanged Lt. Gen. John C. Pemberton, eleven other general officers, and three colonels surrendered and paroled at Vicksburg. Ludlow was advised by Ould that he could select equivalents for these prisoners out of the paroled men released after Chancellorsville. This caused an acrimonious exchange between the two officers.

Within two weeks, Ludlow was replaced as Agent of Exchange by Brig. Gen. Sullivan A. Meredith. Ould, in his first communication with Meredith, denied that he had ever agreed with Ludlow that all captures must be reduced to possession before their paroles would be deemed valid. To settle this and other problems effecting the cartel, Ould and Meredith met. When he went into the meeting, Meredith insisted on exchange of Col. Abel D. Streight and his officers and that the blacks and their officers be treated as prisoners of war. In reply to these demands, Ould announced that Streight and his officers would be exchanged as soon as

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7. Ibid., p. 99.

8. Ibid., pp. 100-01. Most of the 10,000 referred to were men who had been released after the battle of Chancellorsville.



the regular exchange of officers was resumed. Ould, however, could not consider any proposition in regard to exchange of blacks. He declared that the South "would die in the last ditch" before it would yield the right to return recaptured slaves to their masters. An exception might be made in the case of free Negroes, but difficulties could be anticipated in determining the prior status of individual blacks. Ould was willing to exchange officers, grade for grade, except for those commanding Negroes. Meredith declined this proposition. (9)

Ould now suggested that all paroles should be counted in accordance with General Orders Nos. 49, 100, and 207 according to their respective dates. (10) If this were unacceptable, he proposed that they should be counted as they had been in the past. Meredith, on returning to Washington, submitted Ould's proposition to his superiors. When no reply was received by September 7, Ould announced that the Confederacy would pursue whatever course it deemed proper. And four days later, on the 12th, Ould exploded a bombshell. He announced that on the next day he would declare exchanged the officers and men of seven brigades and one legion, approximately 16,000, surrendered and paroled at Vicksburg in July. He justified his action by pointing out that he was in possession of "more valid paroles of your officers and men than would be an equivalent" for the personnel declared exchanged. In accordance with established procedures Meredith could select equivalents. If he did not avail himself of that privilege, Ould would "name the Federal

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9. Ibid., pp. 103-04.

10. General Order No. 100, dated April 24, 1863, purported to be a summary of the laws and usages of war. Section 7 of this order related to prisoners of war and embodied the rules in regard to paroles which had been promulgated in General Order No. 49.

officers and men who are discharged from their parole by reason of this . . . declaration of exchange." (11)

Ould's ex parte declaration of exchange was deemed by Union officials to be contrary to both the usages of war and the Dix-Hill Cartel. To complete the arrangement declared by Ould it would be necessary for General Meredith "to make a declaration of exchange of as many of our officers and men as have been delivered at City Point since the last exchange," provided the figure did not exceed the number designated in Ould's declaration. He would attempt to arrange with Ould for the discharge from parole of any excess. (12)

A copy of Ould's "spurious" declaration was forwarded by the War Department to Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at Vicksburg, who had been puzzled by reports that Stephen D. Lee (one of the generals surrendered by Pemberton) was again in the field and in command of Rebel cavalry in Mississippi. (13) In advising Grant that there was no justification for Lee's release, the War Department admitted that under the cartel the Confederacy could release from parole all their prisoners of war and the United States could not protest but merely make another agreement. There was nothing, however, in this admission that prevented the United States from denouncing Ould's declaration as illegal. (14)

When he checked his books, the Commissary-General of Exchange in Washington found that Ould's declaration had released 1,028 officers and 22,879 men, making a total, when reduced to privates, of 29,433. There were in the North 76

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11. The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series II, Vol. 6, pp. 279-280. (Cited hereinafter as O.R.) The troops declared exchanged belonged to Barton's, Lee's, Reynolds', and Cumming's brigades of Stevenson's Division; Cockrell's and Dockery's brigades of Bowen's Division, Moore's Brigade of Forney's Division; and Waul's Texas Legion.

12. Ibid., p. 300.

13. Ibid., p. 303.

14. Ibid., pp. 273, 296-97; O.R., Series I, Vol. 30, pt. 3, p. 694.

officers and 19,083 privates on parole, leaving a balance due from Ould of 10,024. General Meredith was to advise Ould of this and to claim credit for the deficiency. In taking this position, Commissioner-General of Prisoners William Hoffman, although seeming to accept Ould's declaration as valid, recorded that he believed Ould's action to be illegal. But, while the subject was being discussed, the paroled troops would be in arms against the United States. (15)

General Meredith met with Commissioner Ould at City Point, Virginia, September 21, and told him that his declaration of the 12th was contrary to the terms of the cartel. Ould agreed, but explained that he and Colonel Ludlow had winked at this practice. When one had declared a special exchange, the other had been permitted to select equivalents. Meredith was agreeable to completing the arrangement, but it could not be consummated because of Ould's claim "as valid the paroles at Gettysburg and elsewhere, amounting to some 4,800." (16) This caused the meeting to adjourn without agreement. Meredith, however, continued to press for the 10,024 prisoners, insisting that Ould's declaration of the 12th was not authorized by the cartel and complaining that the required list of prisoners exchanged had not been forwarded to him. (17)

On September 24 General Meredith notified Ould that as

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15. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, pp. 307-08.

16. Ibid., pp. 312-13. The dispute regarding the validity of the Gettysburg paroles had originated when Gen. Robert E. Lee and his officers in June and July had paroled a large number of Federal soldiers in Pennsylvania and Maryland. In accordance with the Dix-Hill Cartel, Lee had requested Maj. Gen. George G. Meade to appoint a place of exchange. Meade had refused, and Lee to "disembarass" himself of providing for the prisoners had paroled them. General Lee in receiving these paroles, it was argued by the Federal Commissioner of Exchange, should have known that they were null and void. The Federals were accordingly disturbed when Ould insisted that the United States should "either respect these illegal paroles or deliver the persons so paroled to the Confederate authorities at City Point." Ibid., p. 199.

17. Ibid., pp. 313-16.

the Federals had a credit of 10,024 paroles, the South must "return to their paroles all officers and men for whom you have paroled no equivalents, or that you release an equal number from the prisons in Richmond." (18)

Commissioner Ould was shocked. When he checked his records, he questioned Meredith's claim that 72 officers and 8,014 Rebel soldiers had been delivered at City Point. His figures indicated the number of enlisted men to be 5,881. Moreover, since September 1 he had delivered at City Point more than 18,600 Federals, all of whom were on parole. He had other paroles totaling 16,000. Consequently, according to his arithmetic he was entitled to a credit of 34,610, and thus Meredith owed him 7,500 paroles, instead of the Confederacy being in debt to the Federals for 10,024. (19)

To magnify the problem, Ould now declared the Port Hudson paroles invalid and returned the troops to duty. These paroles had not been accounted by Hoffman or Meredith in presenting their accounts to Ould, so he felt justified in assuming that the paroles were illegal. As to be expected, this unilateral action on Ould's part caused the Federal agent to howl. (20)

Colonel Hoffman, as the dispute over the validity of the paroles continued, told Meredith to tell Ould that as the cartel was older than his orders, and was more fundamental, the orders could not set aside its terms. Consequently, Ould's proposition to count paroles according to General Orders Nos. 49, 100, and 207 could not be permitted and the North would abide by the Cartel. (21)

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18. Ibid., pp. 315-16.

19. Ibid., pp. 333-34.

20. Ibid., p. 367. Port Hudson had surrendered on July 9, 1863, and Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks had paroled the enlisted men, arguing that he did not have enough men to guard them.

21. Ibid., pp. 369-70.

When Meredith made his declaration to balance Ould's, the Confederate agent on October 16 announced that within the next several days he would publish another declaration of exchange. He reminded Meredith that according to his computation, the Federals were "considerably" in debt to him. He proposed to reserve to himself the right to "make further declarations of exchange from time to time, based upon the paroles in my office." In justifying this action, he pointed out that he had merely adopted the rules as laid down in General Orders Nos. 49, 100, and 207 in counting his paroles. (22)

#### D. Ould and Meredith Battle with Invective

When advised of Ould's position, Maj. Gen. Ethan A. Hitchcock--Meredith's and Hoffman's superior--determined to put a stop to all declarations of exchanges until some adjustment was made. To make this adjustment he determined to obtain from Ould a statement of the paroles which he claimed as a basis for his ex parte declarations. (23)

Ould, in the meantime, had reiterated his request that Meredith acquiesce in his proposition that all officers and soldiers on both sides be released "in conformity with the provisions of the cartel." When he had first broached the subject, Meredith had indicated that it was a fair proposition, and he would ask that his government sanction it. Ould had not expected a favorable reply to this proposal, but he was troubled to read in several northern newspapers that the Confederate Government had "refused or objected to a system of exchange." (24)

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22. Ibid., p. 387. To be exchanged were all officers and men captured and paroled previous to September 1, 1863, except those surrendered at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and those delivered at City Point or other places before September 1, 1863. In addition, he was declaring exchanged the staffs of Generals Pemberton, Stevenson, Bowen, Moore, Barton, S. D. Lee, Cumming, Harris, and Baldwin, and Colonels Reynolds, Cockrell, and Dockery; the officers and men of the engineer corps, the sappers and miners, and the 4th and 46th Mississippi Infantry Regiments, all surrendered at Vicksburg.

23. Ibid., p. 400.

24. Ibid., p. 401.

Colonel Hoffman, on reviewing the correspondence that passed between Ould and Meredith, became convinced that the Confederate agent--in announcing his unilateral declarations of exchange--was devoid of all fairness and was so reckless of any integrity that he did not see how it would be possible for Meredith to continue his efforts to carry out the cartel. Hoffman questioned the validity of Ould's sweeping declaration of September 12 announcing the "exchange of masses of men without giving . . . any intimation of who or how many are covered by it," leaving Meredith to secure the support data. To make matters worse, Ould did not even know how many troops were embraced in his September 12 declaration, as he had no rolls.

Finally, after Meredith had made his counter-declaration, and Ould had been invited to show how he had secured his figures, the Confederate agent "with unblushing assurance, and without a line of record to sustain him," had challenged Meredith's computations. Then to compound the difficulty, Ould on October 16 had declared another exchange, again giving neither numbers nor persons. Hoffman went on record that it was "folly or worse" to attempt to negotiate with a man such as Ould, "whose principles are so flexible that his rule of action is in no way influenced by a sense of honesty or honor." In Hoffman's opinion, Meredith should report that no reliance can be placed on "the words or acts of Mr. Ould, and decline to have further communication with him." (25)

General Hancock concurred, and on October 23 he requested that Secretary of War Stanton authorize him to notify "the prisoners of war at their several places of confinement, through their proper commandants, that no further discharges will . . . be made." (26) Stanton was agreeable, and on the 27th telegrams were forwarded to the prison camp commandants directing that for the time being there would be no more exchanges. (27)

When he advised Commissioner Ould of Stanton's decision, General Meredith pointed out that the exchange of prisoners

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25. Ibid., pp. 403-04.

26. Ibid., p. 415.

27. Ibid., p. 427.

had been initially interrupted by the Confederate announcement that the cartel would not be applicable to blacks and their white officers. The declarations of September 12 and October 16 had satisfied the Federals that it was Ould's policy to declare exchanged all Confederate officers and soldiers within their lines "without having any proper right to do so, either under the cartel or under the laws of war." Subsequent to his entering on duty, the fortunes of war had thrown into Ould's hands the 29,500 men paroled by General Grant at Vicksburg and the 6,000 paroled by General Banks at Port Hudson. Then, suddenly and without any preliminary meetings, Ould one week before the battle of Chickamauga had declared exchanged more than one-half the troops paroled at Vicksburg. In doing so, he had made no enumeration of the numbers involved, but had designated the commands exchanged. When he checked into the subject, Meredith had found that Ould had discharged three for two, or one-third more than he was entitled to. (28)

Meredith advised Ould that he had no objection to the Confederate's acting according to his conscience so long as that conscience was guided by the laws of war. But, he continued in a sarcastic vein, there was no reason to believe that Ould had a responsible conscience. After having scored his point, Meredith rejected Ould's offer to release men on parole until an adjustment was made, as the men would be returned to the ranks immediately by the Confederacy. (29)

Ould, his ire aroused, replied that while he had relied partly on his own sense of fair play, he had also relied to some extent on Meredith's. To justify his position, he countered, "it has been well known for a long time that your authorities are opposed to a fair and regular exchange of prisoners under the cartel." In rejecting his proposal for an exchange of all paroled prisoners, Meredith had endeavored to "conceal under a cloud of vague charges and unfounded statements the determination at which your Government [has] long since arrived." Why not be frank? he asked, "Why not say . . . that you have reached the conclusion that our

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28. Ibid., pp. 441-42.

29. Ibid.

officers and soldiers are more valuable, man for man, than yours?"(30)

With two men so unwilling to meet on reasonable grounds to adjust their differences but eager to engage in invective, it is easy to see why the Dix-Hill Cartel, subjected as it was to severe stresses, broke down. The real sufferers in this situation would not be Ould and Meredith and their superiors, but the prisoners of war who would henceforth be held in large numbers in Northern and Southern prison camps. (31)

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30. Ibid., pp. 453-55.

31. Hesseltine, Civil War Prisons, pp. 109-10.



## II. THE LOCATION OF A PRISON PEN AT ANDERSONVILLE

### A. The Search for a Site

#### 1. Efforts to Locate the Prison in North Carolina Fail

Information that the United States had determined to cease the exchange of prisoners reached Gen. Robert E. Lee through unofficial channels--the Richmond newspapers. This change of policy caused Lee grave misgivings, because he did not believe that Richmond would be a "suitable place for the accommodation and safe-keeping" of large numbers of Union prisoners. He was satisfied that it would be unwise for the Confederates to hold large numbers of prisoners of war in and around Richmond, as the worn-out railroads would be hard-pressed to bring in rations for them, along with food to feed the civil populace and his Army of Northern Virginia. Food shortages in the capital had caused prices to rise faster than wages, much to the detriment of the laboring class.

When General Lee relayed his thoughts to Secretary of War James A. Seddon, on October 28, he pointed out that Union prisoners could be provisioned at less cost and expense to the government at "some point or points" in the deep South. Moreover, he continued, a large number of prisoners would be a liability in event of a thrust or raid by the Army of the Potomac into the Richmond area.

As the Federal government had seemingly made arrangements to "keep their prisoners during the war," Lee believed a like disposition on the Confederates' part "would manifest our indifference on the subject and would being them to terms of exchange sooner than anything else we could do."

General Lee suggested that a desirable point for location of prison pens would be on the Danville Railroad, near the North Carolina border. There wood was cheap and provisions abundant, while the area was in little danger of being visited by Yankee raiders. Finally, the inmates could be easily transferred to City Point, Virginia, should the Federals reverse their policy and exchanges be resumed. (1)

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1. O.R., Series II, Vol. 6, pp. 438-39.

Secretary of War Seddon had also been devoting considerable thought to the subject, since being alerted by Commissioner Ould that the Federals were intent on abandoning the cartel. At first, he had believed the announcement that there would be no more exchanges was more bluster on the part of the Yankees. But at his meeting with General Meredith in the last week of October, Ould was satisfied that "the enemy had adopted as their settled policy the retention of all prisoners."

When notified of this by Ould, Secretary Seddon instituted a study to select a convenient, yet secure, locality where prisoners could be retained for an indefinite period. By the time he had received General Lee's communication, arrangements had been made to send a number of prisoners currently in the Richmond area to Danville, Virginia, where there were several large, vacant tobacco warehouses. But as this would be only a stopgap measure, he was endeavoring to secure an island in the Yadkin River, near the railroad, for a permanent prison camp.

Efforts to lease or purchase an island had failed, and suitable land in North Carolina could only be obtained under the impressment law, which Seddon was loath to resort to. Following this rebuff, he had sent agents to Clarksville, North Carolina, to investigate, as possible sites, several islands in the Roanoke River. In any event, Seddon promised to keep in mind General Lee's feelings regarding the removal of the prisoners from Richmond, and would endeavor to effect it as soon as practicable. (2)

## 2. Capt. Sidney Winder Succeeds in Georgia

The officers soon returned from Clarksville and reported they had been unable to locate any sites that would answer the desired purpose. Whereupon Secretary Seddon, at the behest of a Georgian--Maj. Gen. Howell Cobb--turned his attention to southwestern Georgia in an effort to locate a site for a large prison pen. On November 24 he ordered Capt. W. Sidney Winder to Milledgeville to consult with Governor Joseph E. Brown, after which he was to travel to Atlanta to see General

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2. Ibid., pp. 455-56.

Cobb. Winder would then proceed to the vicinity of Americus or Valley Fort and locate the projected camp. (3)

When he reached Milledgeville, Captain Winder found the Georgia legislature in session, and he was introduced to members from the southwestern counties by Governor Brown. The governor pumped them for suggestions as to where Winder might look. When he left Milledgeville for Atlanta to confer with General Cobb, Captain Winder was provided with letters of introduction to many prominent men in Albany and Americus. (4)

Winder, on reaching southwest Georgia, gave some thought to locating the prison at Blue Springs, near Albany, but opposition of property owners discouraged him. He then returned to Americus, where he called on Uriah Harrold, a purchasing agent for the Commissary Department, for assistance in locating a prison stockade in Sumter County. Harrold, after giving some thought to the subject, drove Winder out to Bump Head, a primitive Baptist campground, on the road to The Plains. When they arrived there in Harrold's buggy on a Sunday morning, they encountered local opposition. The members of the congregation suggested the Andersonville area would be preferable, because of its location on the Southwestern Railroad, and the "large supply of beautiful clear water."

They then drove to Andersonville, and, on reconnoitering the area, Winder saw that what he had been told about the water was true. The site settled upon, in the third week of December, was in Sumter County, five

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3. Ibid., p. 558; Ambrose Spencer, A Narrative of Andersonville . . . (New York, 1866), p. 18. Cobb, as commander of the District of Georgia and Florida, had suggested to Seddon the possibility of establishing a prison camp in southwestern Georgia. Sid Winder, the son of Brig. Gen. John H. Winder, had been appointed a captain in the Commissary Department on June 10, 1862.

4. S. Boyer Davis, Escape of a Confederate Officer from Prison; What He Saw at Andersonville; How He Was Sentenced to Death and Saved by the Interposition of President Abraham Lincoln (Norfolk, 1892), p. 23. Winder had left Richmond for Milledgeville on Nov. 25, 1863. Compiled Service Records of Confederate General & Staff Officers & Nonregimented Enlisted Men, NA, Microcopy 331.

miles west of Flint River, and about 1,600 feet east of the Andersonville depot. (5)

Andersonville had a population of about 20 when Captain Winder visited the area and made arrangements for the location of the prison. George W. Adams named it "Anderson" for John W. Anderson of Savannah, Superintendent of the Southwestern Railroad at the time of its extension from Oglethorpe to Americus in 1854. The United States Post Office Department changed the station's name to Andersonville in 1856 to avoid confusion with Anderson, South Carolina. (6)

The land on which the prison pen and its support facilities were to be located was owned by Benjamin B. Dykes and Wesley W. Turner. Dykes was to receive \$50 and Turner \$30 per month for rent of their land in the 28th and 29th Districts of Sumter County. (7)

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5. Isaac Turner Claim, Congressional Jurisdiction Case 11496, National Archives, RG 125; Spencer, A Narrative of Andersonville, p. 19; Ovid Futch, History of Andersonville Prison (Gainesville, 1968), p. 3; O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, p. 541. In December, Winder made trips from Milledgeville to Atlanta; Atlanta to Albany; Albany to Macon; and Macon to Americus and return. Compiled Service Records of Confederate General and Staff Officers and Nonregimented Enlisted Men, NA, Microcopy 331.

6. Spencer, A Narrative of Andersonville, p. 16. A postoffice was established at Anderson on November 19, 1855, with Jesse T. Register as postmaster. The name of the postoffice was changed to Andersonville by the Postmaster-General on Jan. 18, 1856. Wilson L. Dykes was postmaster at Andersonville at the time of Georgia's secession from the Union in January 1861. Records of the Post Office Department, Records of Appointments of Postmasters, NA, RG 28.

7. Record of Richard B. Winder, Compiled Service Records of Confederate General and Staff Officers and Nonregimented Enlisted Men, NA, Microcopy 331. Benjamin Dykes of Fayette County, Georgia, had purchased on March 23, 1857, from James Stewart for \$1,000 Lots 151 and 180 in the 29th District of Sumter County, excepting a strip 75 feet wide on each side of the center line of the Southwestern Railroad. Sumter County Deed Book M, p. 95.

While Dykes did not reside on the acreage rented to the Confederate Quartermaster Department, Turner did. When work was started on the stockade, Turner and his family vacated their "double-pen log house" and moved into another dwelling about one mile west of Andersonville. Turner died on May 1, 1864, and his name is remembered by those familiar with the "Andersonville Trial" as Sergeant Turner, the man in charge of the hounds used to pursue helpless prisoners. Witnesses who identified Wesley W. Turner as Sergeant Turner were wrong, because he was dead before any Georgia Reserves reached Andersonville. (8)

## B. The Environment

### 1. Topography

As to be expected, the land selected by Captain Winder and rented to the Confederate Quartermaster Department by Dykes and Turner was submarginal. Along the Southwestern Railroad a few miles north and south of Andersonville there was a marked improvement in the quality and character of the land. The pine forests had been cleared and prosperous plantations and farms were found as one approached Americus ten miles to the south and Oglethorpe a similar distance to the north.

The most noticeable topographic features of the Andersonville area are swamps, streams, and hills. Heading five miles west of Andersonville is Sweetwater Creek, which meanders through a swamp and flows into

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Three months later, Dykes purchased from Virgil Powers for \$1,600 Tract 181 in the 29th District, excepting the railroad right-of-way and the lot on which the depot was located. Ibid., pp. 299, 300. The depot occupied a one-acre lot, 310 feet in length and 140 feet in width, adjoining the right-of-way. Sumter County Deed Book S, p. 661. Before being designated Anderson, the depot was known as Station No. 8. Turner had purchased Lot 380 in the 28th District from J.J., L.Z. and G.A. Brown on September 1, 1863, for \$500. Turner, who was the tax collector for Sumter County, moved onto the tract. Isaac Turner Claim, Congressional Jurisdiction Case 11496, NA, RG 125.

8. Isaac Turner Claim, Congressional Jurisdiction Case 11496, NA, RG 125. Turner, who was born in 1825, had married Cynthia Turner on Dec. 27, 1848, and to this union were born seven children, six boys and one girl. The Widow Turner remarried in the 1870s and moved to Arkansas.

Flint River about five miles east of the village. Andersonville itself is on high ground; the watercourses which unite one-fourth-mile east of the depot to form Stockade Branch head in the low ground to the northwest and southwest. Stockade Branch joins Sweetwater Creek about one mile southeast of Andersonville.

Although the bottoms were swampy in 1864 as they are today, the hillsides were dry and heavily wooded. The slope rising from Stockade Branch to the north was sand with large admixtures of clay and oxide of iron; that to the south was sandy. This was to have important ramifications after the prison was established, because the red clay was of sufficient tenacity to provide a considerable degree of consistency to the soil. The alternate "beds of clay and sand, as well as the oxide of iron, which forms in its various combinations a cement to the sand," favored tunneling. Many prisoners erected dirt hovels with "balls of clay and sand" excavated from their wells, while others used these wells as a point of origin from which to drift tunnels toward freedom. (9)

The summit of the hill on which the C.S.A. General Hospital was subsequently located was 435 feet above sea level, the second highest point on the railroad between Oglethorpe and Albany. At the depot the elevation was 399 feet; the hill opposite the depot 416 feet, and the highest hill in the stockade 400 feet. (10)

The bottom through which Stockade Branch meanders widens as it approaches Sweetwater Creek, and the ridge to the south merges into the swamp. Thus much of the area east of the stockade site was swamp, and fallen timber blocked the passage of much of the deleterious animal and vegetable matter flushed from the stockade by heavy rains. Besides giving off a horrible odor, the swamp was a breeding ground for mosquitoes. After Dr. H.

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9. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 596; Trial of Henry Wirz, House Executive Documents, 40th Congress, 2d Session, Series 1331, Robert Kellogg's Testimony, p. 64. Robert Kellogg was imprisoned at Andersonville from May 3 to September 10, 1864. (The House Executive Document containing the transcript of the "Trial of Henry Wirz" will be cited hereinafter as Wirz Trial.)

10. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, pp. 590-91.

H. Clayton took charge as chief surgeon in January 1865, he had this foul swamp drained. (11)

Although one of the major reasons cited for locating the prison on Stockade Branch was the presence of "beautiful clear water," the stockade by June 1864 had become so overcrowded that the water became a source of universal complaint. In the first week of May, when the number of prisoners was under 12,000, an inspecting surgeon reported that the stockade was on the banks overlooking a stream, which provided "an ample supply of good water for drinking and bathing." The site was elevated and well drained, while the soil was sandy without "vegetable mold or other cryptogamous growth likely to engender malaria." (12)

Maj. Gen. James H. Wilson, a trained engineer and Union cavalry leader, visited Andersonville in the late spring of 1865. He was shocked by what he saw, as he did not believe Stockade Branch carried sufficient water to supply more than 5,000 men, about one-sixth of the number confined there in the summer of 1864. (13)

## 2. Flora and Fauna

Very little ground on Stockade Branch, east of the railroad, had been cleared. Growing on the slopes and higher ground were long leaf pine, yellow pine, scrub oak, blackjack, post oak, upland yellow oak, persimmon, chinquapin, black walnut, wild plum, maple, sweet leaf, wild haw, whortleberry, and other shrubs. Pines predominated. In the bottoms and swamps were sweetgum, tulip trees, black gum, tupelo, red flowering maple, linden, beech, small magnolia, sweet bay, red bay, myrtle, common cane, and shrubs and vines. (14)

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11. Wirz Trial, Dr. G. G. Roy's Testimony, p. 82. Dr. Roy reported for duty at Andersonville on September 1, 1864, and remained there until the end of the war.

12. O.R., Ser. II., Vol. 7, pp. 124-25.

13. Wirz Trial, Wilson's Testimony, p. 270.

14. O.R., Ser. II. Vol. 8, p. 593.

Where the high ground had been cleared for cultivation, the absence of vegetable mold limited productivity. The area's one-crop economy soon burned out the soil, and fields were abandoned, as it was cheaper to clear new ground than employ large quantities of fertilizer. (15)

Opossums, raccoons, rabbits, and fox and cat squirrels were found in Sumter County, while deer grazed the forests and swamps. Gophers and pouched rats were common where soil was sandy. Sand fleas and mosquitoes swarmed "in untold myriads." Because of the large numbers of mosquitoes it was almost impossible to sleep, except under nets. During his first night at Andersonville, in August 1864, Dr. Joseph Jones' hands and face "were thoroughly peppered with the bites of these insects, and throughout" his stay his "face appeared as if covered with an eruptive disease." (16) There were cottonmouth moccasins in the swamps, and rattlesnakes, copperheads, and coral snakes, along with several harmless varieties, on the higher ground.

### 3. The Village

Andersonville, prior to the decision to establish a prison there, included a depot, church, store, cotton warehouse, and about a dozen houses, most of which were poor shanties. (17) Normally two trains, one northbound and one southbound, passed daily. The train up from Albany stopped at 11 a.m., and the locomotive and cars down from Macon chuffed in at 1:30 p.m. Besides taking on and letting off passengers and freight, the locomotives took on water and wood. When the movement of

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15. Ibid., pp. 590-91.

16. Ibid., p. 594.

17. John B. Vaughter, Prison Life in Dixie . . . (Chicago, 1880), p. 36. A veteran visiting Andersonville, 43 years later, reported that little had changed in the village. He saw the country store, a half dozen houses, "which never saw a paint brush," a little frame church, and the red soil and dirt roads. Dedication of the Monument at Andersonville, Georgia, October 23, 1907, In Memory of the Men of Connecticut who Suffered in Southern Military Prisons, 1861-1865 (Hartford, 1908), pp. 3-4.



prisoners to and from Andersonville was at its height, the Southwestern Railroad put on special trains. (18)

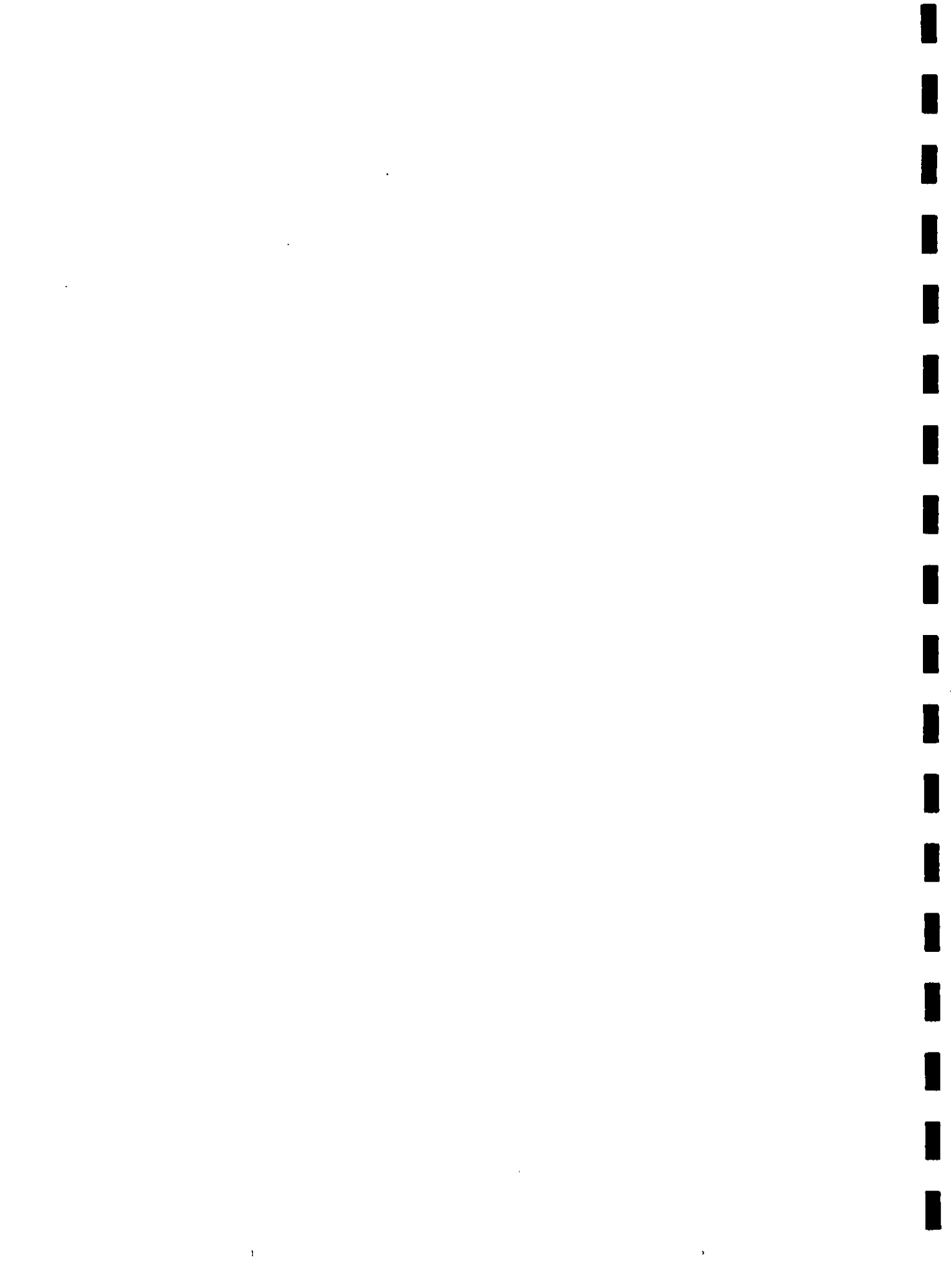
The country store, which handled dry goods and groceries, was owned and operated by Benjamin Dykes. Stocks in 1864-65 were scarce and prices high. Members of the Dykes family also served as railroad agent and postmaster. (19) While the prison pen was occupied, there were a blacksmith shop-axe factory and carpenter shop in the village. It is not known whether these existed before the prison, or if they were established by the Confederate Quartermaster Department. The blacksmith shop-axe factory was located in a two-story frame building and employed a half dozen forges. (20)

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18. Wirz Trial, Capt. Henry E. Noyes<sup>o</sup>, Dr. John C. Bates<sup>i</sup>, John K. Davidson's, Edward Richardson's, and Father W. H. Hamilton's Testimony, pp. 19, 43, 146, 206, 291-92. Noyes was the officer sent by General Wilson in May 1865 to take Captain Wirz into custody; Dr. Bates was a surgeon stationed at Andersonville from Sept. 19, 1864 to March 25, 1865; Davidson, a 4th Iowa Cavalry veteran, reached Andersonville on March 8, 1864; Richardson was a resident of Albany, Ge.; and Father Hamilton was a priest sent to look after the prisoners<sup>o</sup> spiritual needs.

19. Ibid., Dr. Bates<sup>i</sup>, Charles T. Williams<sup>i</sup>, and Lt. Col. Alexander W. Persons<sup>o</sup> Testimony, pp. 43, 208, 211, and 461. Williams, a veteran of the 1st New Jersey Infantry, spent several months at Andersonville, while Colonel Persons was in charge of the prison from February until June 1864. Williams recalled that the store was about 50 x 60 feet, while Colonel Persons reported that it was similar in size to the courtroom in which the Wirz Trial was being held.

20. Ibid., Davidson's and Lt. Col. Daniel T. Chandler's Testimony, pp. 145-46, 246-47. Colonel Chandler, as an agent for the War Department, made an inspection of the prison in August 1864. The carpenter shop was about 15 feet square and employed three or four men, and the structure housing the blacksmith shop-axe factory was about 60 x 40 feet.



### III. THE ANDERSONVILLE STOCKADES

#### A. The Inner Stockade as Constructed

##### 1. The Palisade

With a site selected for the prison, the next step was to begin construction. This would be the responsibility of the Quartermaster Department. One of the officers in this department was Capt. Richard B. Winder of Maryland, a cousin of Capt. Sid Winder and a nephew of Brig. Gen. John H. Winder, the commander of the Department of Henrico, with headquarters in Richmond. The general, who had used his influence to get his son sent to southwestern Georgia to locate the prison, now employed it to get his nephew named quartermaster at Andersonville. (1)

It was late December when Captain Winder was ordered to Andersonville "to build a prison stockade . . . capable of holding 6,000 prisoners." He would also be quartermaster of the new post, and as such provide quarters for troops detailed to guard them. On reaching the area, he saw the steep slope north of Stockade Branch and suggested building a prison considerably larger than the one with a 6,000-man capacity outlined by his cousin. The additional land north of the branch could be enclosed at little additional expense, and would enable the prison to house 10,000 men. His proposal was approved by his Richmond superiors.

Captain Winder had been told, prior to his departure for Georgia, that he "could get any amount of labor and teams to do the work." But upon his arrival, he found the local people opposed to the erection of a prison, and to get necessary labor and teams he had to secure authority from Richmond to impress. This caused serious

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1. Futch, History of Andersonville Prison, pp. 6-7. Richard Winder had been appointed a captain in the Quartermaster Corps on August 14, 1862. Compiled Service Records of Confederate General & Staff Officers & Nonregimented Enlisted Men, NA, Microcopy 331.

delays, and when work was commenced it was with a limited force. (2)

Capt. Dick Winder, after resorting to impressment, in January turned a gang of blacks to felling trees for his stockade and digging a ditch to set them in. Winder had acquired the services of an experienced foreman, C. C. Sheppard, former plantation superintendent of Dougherty and Lee counties, and impressed teams, slaves, free blacks, and tools. For the next six weeks the hillsides sloping down to what was to be called Stockade Branch echoed to the ring of axes, the crash of trees, the thud of shovels, and the shouts, songs, and laughter of the blacks. (3)

Ambrose Spencer, a Sumter County Unionist, recalled that when Sid Winder had located the stockade, the slopes were covered with a heavy growth of pine and oak. Most of these were felled to provide timber for the stockade. When a local citizen pointed out that the trees should be left to provide shade for the prisoners during the hot Georgia summers, Captain Dick Winder reportedly exploded, "That is just what I am not going to do! I will make a pen here for the d-d Yankees, where they will rot faster than they can be sent!" (4)

The design of the stockade was simple. Tall, straight pines were felled, trimmed, and topped so as to make logs about 22 feet in length. Negroes with broadaxes then hewed these logs to a thickness of eight to 12 inches, and the hewn timbers were set vertically in the ground to a depth of five feet and rising 17 feet above it. The ditch was backfilled. The enclosed area of 16 1/2 acres was in the shape of a parallelogram. The

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2. O.R., Series II, Vol. 8, pp. 730-31; ibid., Vol. 7, p. 541.

3. Futch, History of Andersonville Prison, pp. 4-5; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 6, p. 965.

4. Augustus C. Hamlin, Martyria; or, Andersonville Prison (Boston, 1866), pp. 17-19; Ambrose Spencer, A Narrative of Andersonville . . . (New York, 1866), p. 21.

north and south sides were 779.6 feet in length, and the east and west fronts 1,010 feet. (5)

So skilled were the men with broadaxes that each pole "matched so well on the inner line of the palisades as to give no glimpse of the outer world across the space of the dead-line." The poles were held in position by long, slender pine beams, nailed to the exterior side by large iron spikes. (6)

## 2. The Gates

There were two entrances into the interior stockade, and both were entered through double security gates and a small court yard. Both entrances were in the west front of the palisade, with the South Gate about 250 feet south of Stockade Branch and the North Gate about 400 feet north of the stream. These gates were "small stockade pens, about 30 feet square, built of massive timbers, with heavy doors, opening into the prison on one side and the outside on the other." Cut into each door were wickets. One set of doors was always shut, and they were strongly guarded. (7) A sketch of the South Gate prepared by one of the prisoners, R.K. Snedon, accompanies this report.

## 3. The "Pigeon-Roosts" or Sentry Boxes

When the stockade was completed, in the third week of March 1864, there were eight sentry boxes, positioned

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5. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 136, 546; Hamlin, Martyria, pp. 17-19, 48-49, & 51; Henry M. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons for United States Soldiers at Richmond, Danville, Andersonville, Savannah and Millen (Cincinnati, 1890), p. 272.

6. Hamlin, Martyria, pp. 48-49, 52. These beams were positioned about ten feet above the ground. Wirz Trial, Colonel Chandler's Testimony, pp. 243-44; General Wilson's Testimony, p. 275.

7. Hamlin, Martyria, p. 52; Vaughtner, Prison Life in Dixie, p. 37; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 136, 546; Wirz Trial, A. G. Blair's and Ambrose Henman's Testimony, pp. 344, 373. Blair was a soldier in the 122d New York Infantry and Henman had belonged to Company L, 4th New York Cavalry. Both had been prisoners at Andersonville.

along the palisade to permit the occupants to overlook the interior of the prison pen. These stations were located at intervals of 40 yards.(8) As the number of prisoners increased, the interval between sentry boxes was reduced to about 100 feet, and this with the enlargement of the stockade in June increased their number to 52.

These "Pigeon-Roosts" were erected on the outer side of the stockade. The platforms were six feet long by four feet wide, and of such height that when the "sentry stood erect the top" of the palisade was level with his "belt." Access was gained by ladders resting against the exterior face. To shelter the guards from rain and sun, a shed-roof was added, supported by peeled pole corner posts. These provided the sentries "a comfortable place in which to stand and watch what was going on in the pen." (9)

#### 4. The Deadline

In late March 1864, the prison authorities established a deadline, inside the pen and parallel to the palisade. It was marked, except at the two gates, by a railing, "over which no prisoner" was "allowed to go, day or night, under penalty of being shot." (10) The deadline, which averaged 19 feet from the interior face of the stockade, was as close to the poles as 15 feet in places, and as far as 25 feet in others. The frail scantling, marking the deadline, was nailed to stakes driven at intervals of from six to ten feet into the ground. The railing was about three feet in height. (11)

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8. O. R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 136, 546.

9. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 372; Wirz Trial, Halley's & Wilson's Testimony, pp. 161, 275; Vaughter, Prison Life in Dixie, p. 37; Hamlin, Martyria, p. 52.

10. O.R., Ser. I, Vol. 7, pp. 137, 546; Wirz Trial, Joseph D. Keyser's & W. D. Hammack's Testimony, pp. 96, 497. Keyser, a veteran from the 120th New York Infantry, reached Andersonville in February 1864, while Hammack belonged to the 55th Georgia.

11. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 272; Vaughter, Prison Life in Dixie, p. 45; Wirz Trial, Thomas Walsh's Testimony, pp. 373-75. Walsh had seen service with the 74th New York Infantry.

The authorities had a difficult time with the deadline where it crossed Stockade Branch. In June when it rained day after day and at the time of the August cloudbursts, the deadline markers were swept away. While it was down in June, several prisoners were shot at the creek, near the west face of the stockade. (12)

In September, after the transfer of thousands of prisoners from Andersonville to other prison pens, the inmates took advantage of a relaxation of discipline to dismantle the deadline markers. First, the railing vanished and then the posts, the materials being used for fuel. In mid-October, Captain Wirz had the deadline rebuilt. While it was down, the prisoners and their guards fraternized, and the Yankees were able to trade greenbacks and buttons for vegetables to supplement their rations. (13)

The ground between the deadline and palisade was called the "deadrun," and it was allowed to grow up in weeds. At periodic intervals, Captain Wirz or his assistant would send guards into the deadrun with augers to test for tunnels. (14)

### B. The Stockade is Enlarged

#### 1. Colonel Persons undertakes a Project

When the first prisoners were received in the last week of February, the stockade between the North and South Gates had not been completed. While the Yankees were confined to the completed section of the pen, Confederate cannons unlimbered two guns to command the

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12. Wirz Trial, Corbett's, Keyser's, Kellogg's & Persons' Testimony, pp. 73, 97, 162, 460. Sergt. Boston Corbett, who shot John Wilkes Booth, was a prisoner at Andersonville.

13. Ibid., Col. G. S. Harris' Testimony, p. 588. Colonel Harris commanded the 3d Regiment, Georgia Reserves.

14. John L. Maile, Prison Life in Andersonville (Los Angeles, 1912), p. 31; W. W. Day, Fifteen Months in Dixie or My Personal Experience in Rebel Prisons (Owatonna, 1889), p. 27.

area where the poles were not positioned. (15) Three more weeks were to pass before the stockade was completed, and the prison administrators were able to partially relax their vigilance. (16)

Although the stockade enclosed 16 1/2 acres, the swamp reduced the space available for quartering the prisoners to 12 acres. In June when the number of inmates zoomed to 25,000, the compound became overcrowded and filthy. When the wind was right, it was possible to smell the odor from the pen from a distance of two miles. (17) When the authorities in Richmond took no steps to alleviate a situation of which they had been repeatedly apprised, and continued to forward additional prisoners, Colonel Persons, on his own responsibility, determined to enlarge the stockade. Accompanied by several engineers, he surveyed the area and staked out lines to extend the pen 510 feet farther north. In the second week of June, Persons turned a crew out. It consisted of about 130 prisoners, 100 whites and 30 blacks, supervised by Capt. J. H. Wright of the 55th Georgia. The prisoners were issued tools--axes, spades, and shovels--by Captain Dick Winder. The workmanship of the extension was similar to that in the old stockade. (18)

## 2. The Prisoners Move In

The extension, which increased the acreage of the enclosure to 26 1/2 acres, was completed and inspected on

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15. Wirz Trial, Keyser's and Walsh's Testimony, pp. 94, 373, 74. The prisoners, who were issued and prepared their own rations, soon felled for fuel all trees left standing in the stockade, except two tall pines in the southeast corner.

16. John L. Ransom, Andersonville Diary: Escape and List of Dead . . . (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 56.

17. Wirz Trial, Spencer's Testimony, p. 256. This was Ambrose Spencer, the Sumter County Unionist.

18. Wirz Trial, Persons' and Wright's Testimony, pp. 406, 456; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, pp. 238-39. When they were first asked to volunteer to extend the stockade, the prisoners refused, but they soon reconsidered.



June 30. On July 1 Captain Wirz notified the prisoners that all detachments above No. 48 were to be inside the addition within two hours, and if any men were unable to comply, their blankets would be confiscated. Thirteen thousand men would be required to crowd through a ten-foot opening in 120 minutes or lose their property.

The transfer commenced at 10 o'clock, and a stampede ensued. One of the men likened their action to a band of sheep escaping through a hole in a fence. As they crossed through, they had to leap a ditch five feet deep and three feet wide, with the spoil thrown up on the far side.

During the night, the section of the palisade standing between the old stockade and the extension was, except for a small portion, pulled down. The timber was carried off for fuel by the prisoners. (19)

### C. The Middle and Outer Stockades

#### 1. General Winder Calls for More Security

In late July, at the time of the alarms caused by the Rousseau and Stoneman raids, General Winder--who had been in charge at Andersonville since mid-June--called for his chief engineer, Capt. Theodore Moreno. He told Moreno to have his blacks erect a second and third stockade. In planning for these, Moreno was to keep in mind that they were to have both an offensive and a defensive role. If the inner stockade were forced by the prisoners, the middle palisade was to constitute a second line of defense, while in case of an attempt to deliver the prisoners by a raiding column, the outer line would be defended by Confederate troops. The new stockades were to be integrated with the earthworks currently under construction. (20)

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19. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, pp. 238-40; Robert Kellogg, Life and Death in Rebel Prisons . . . (Hartford, 1864), pp. 157-58; Wirz Trial, Kellogg's Testimony, p. 65; Ransom, Andersonville Diary, p. 110.

20. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, pp. 595-96.

## 2. The Middle Stockade

Work was started on the middle stockade in the second week of August. The north, south, and east fronts of this stockade were parallel to and about 200 feet from the corresponding ones of the prison pen. The west face, except for the section fronting the North and South Gates, where it bowed to the west to enclose the bakehouse, also paralleled the corresponding wall of the prison pen. The northwest, northeast, and southeast corners of the middle stockade were blunted and fronted by redans.

Because of the time factor, the logs for this stockade were not hewn. Formed of the "rough trunks of pines," they were positioned in a trench, and the ground tamped. The poles projected 12 feet above the ground. (21) There was one gate, in the west face, passing through the middle stockade. This gate was north of the branch, and about midway between the North and South Gates of the inner stockade. (22)

## 3. The Outer Stockade

Captain Moreno at the same time had his men begin erecting a third stockade, which was never completed. The palisade commenced at the right flank of the northwest bastion and, paralleling the north and east faces of the middle stockade, terminated at the left flank of the south bastion. This palisade, which provided the guards with a covered way, had passageways giving access to the north, northeast, east, and southeast bastions. The covered way had a width of about 20 feet. The poles in the outer stockade were unhewn

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21. Hamlin, Martyria, pp. 48-49; Vaughter, Prison Life in Dixie, p. 38; Wirz Trial, Gibbs', & Wilson's Testimony, pp. 22, 275. Col. George C. Gibbs of the 42d North Carolina was in charge of Andersonville in the winter and spring of 1865.

22. John T. Trowbridge, The Desolate South, 1865-1866, edited by Gordon Carroll (Boston, 1956), p. 250; "Sketch of Andersonville," NA, RG 92.

pine logs, and extended about five feet above the ground. (23)

#### D. The August Flood

The weakest sections of the inner palisade were where it crossed Stockade Branch. On Tuesday, August 9, 1864, before much work had been done on the exterior stockades, there came a short, hard rain, which did no damage. About 3 p.m. the sky blackened and the clouds burst. General Winder had a difficult time remembering when he had seen it rain harder. Inside of an hour the branch had risen to a depth of five feet, and the water cascaded through the pen with "irresistible force." Rushing across the naked ground, the water undercut the stockade, and about 100 feet of the west wall, where it crossed the bottom, was swept away. One sentry box fell, the guard barely escaping the raging torrent. At another point, the flood uprooted 30 feet of palisading.

When the stockade began to give way, the officer-of-the-day had two cannon emplaced in Star Fort fired, and the guard turned out on the double to prevent a mass escape. The troops, along with 16 cannon unlimbered to command the compound, cowed the 33,000 prisoners, and they listened to their sergeants and no mass break was attempted. The one consolation the prisoners had, as they watched the Georgians deploy in front of the breaches, was the sight of them "standing, with arms at the ready, in the downpour." (24) Some of the more daring prisoners risked their lives to plunge into the flood to salvage uprooted stockade timbers for use as fuel. (25)

As darkness closed in, General Winder had every available man, including a large force of blacks, at work closing the breaks in the stockade. Throughout the night, while the troops stood by under arms, fatigue parties and work gangs toiled away. The next day before repairs had been finished,

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23. "Sketch of Andersonville, Ga.," NA, RG 92; Trowbridge, The Desolate South, p. 250; Wirz Trial, Gibbs' Testimony, p. 22.

24. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 589; Kellogg, Life & Death, pp. 209-13; "A Vermonter in Andersonville: Diary of Charles Ross, 1864," Vermont History, 25, p. 237; John W. Northrop, Chronicles from the Diary of a War Prisoner in Andersonville and Other Prisons of the South in 1864 (Wichita, 1904), p. 103.

25. Kellogg, Life and Death, pp. 212-13.

it resumed raining" with almost as much violence as the day before." Stockade Branch again flooded. A number of poles which had been righted were again dislodged. Once again, troops and working parties spent a sleepless night. To harass them, the prisoners called, "That is good for you Rebs; that's the way your Confederacy will fall: Grant and Sherman are making bigger holes than these." (26)

Two nights and one day of fighting flood waters and watching for a mass escape broke General Winder's nerve. On August 11 he telegraphed Adjutant General Cooper, "Two days of tremendous rain has damaged the stockade so much that I do not know if our whole force can save it." Because of the emergency, he asked that no more prisoners be sent to Andersonville until such time as the stockade could be further enlarged. (27)

By the evening of August 12, after another difficult 24 hours, Winder and his men had the situation under control. (28) When he made his report of the flood, he observed that we have "here 33,000 prisoners of war, and more arriving almost daily. We are crowded to excess, and the mortality is very great, amounting to 633 in seven days." (29) In case the Richmond authorities failed to take cognizance of his plea to cease forwarding prisoners to Andersonville, Winder had told Captain Moreno to give top priority to the construction of the exterior stockades. In the days following the flood, work on these palisades was pushed, and the middle stockade was completed by September 1. (30)

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26. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 589; Northrop, Chronicles, p. 103.

27. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 583. He urged that the new stockade at Millen, Georgia, be rushed to completion to relieve congestion at Andersonville.

28. Ibid., pp. 586, 589.

29. Ibid., p. 589.

30. "Imprisonment at Andersonville: The Diary of Albert Harry Shatzel, May 5, 1864--September 12, 1864," Nebraska History, 38, p. 119.

#### IV. INNER STOCKADE STRUCTURES AND FACILITIES

##### A. Sheltering the Prisoners

##### 1. Shortages and Lack of Initiative

Capt. Dick Winder, as post quartermaster, had the responsibility of providing quarters for the prisoners. But for a man of his limited ability the problem was too complex. First, he was confronted by a shortage of lumber. When he checked with local sources he found that there were only two sawmills in the area, both water-powered, and such "primitive affairs" that they were undeserving of the name. The nearest steam-powered sawmill was near Smithville, 23 miles away, and the next at Reynolds, 50 miles off. Most of the lumber used at the prison was shipped in 80 miles from Gordon. (1) Second, it was difficult to buy lumber from the mills, because governmental red tape frequently delayed payments. This, in a period of rampant inflation, hurt the owners financially. Third, even after Captain Winder was given authority to impress mills, the railroaders insisted their rolling stock would break down entirely if they did not get a fair share of lumber from local sources. Finally, because of a food shortage at Richmond, prisoners were shipped to Andersonville before facilities for their reception had been completed.

Months were to pass before the authorities were able to provide any shelter for the prisoners confined in the stockade. Their failure to do so, as has been pointed out, was not because of a lack of humanity, but resulted from a breakdown in the Confederate economy and railroads, along with a lack of initiative on the part of the officials involved. Capt. Dick Winder in February had forwarded requisitions for tents to shelter the prisoners, but Quartermaster General Alexander R. Lawton, on checking with his subordinates, found that none were

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1. L. M. Park, "The 'Rebel Prison' at Andersonville, Ga.," reprinted in Confederate View of the Treatment of Prisoners, Compiled from Official Records and Other Documents (Richmond, 1876), p. 164.

available. The State of Georgia had a large number of tents stored in a Savannah warehouse, but Governor Brown refused to release them, as they were needed for Georgia troops. This was an old story in the Confederacy, where powerful governors of states held onto items needed by the general government. (2)

Even Colonel Persons, who was more sympathetic to the needs of the prisoners and guards than Captain Winder, was unsuccessful in his search for tents. He bombarded officers in charge of quartermaster depots with letters, and sent off his regimental quartermaster in a futile effort to secure tools (axes, spades, shovels, picks, etc.) to be used in making the compound more habitable. Tools for burying the dead were difficult to locate. On learning that tools could be had in Augusta, he called on his quartermaster and found him confined to his quarters with rheumatism. As the regimental quartermasters of the 55th Georgia and 26th Alabama were absent, Colonel Persons caught the first northbound train. At Augusta, he was able to discharge his mission. With the tools the prisoners were able to police the camp, and for a brief period there was an improvement in the general health of the guards and their charges. (3) With the advent of hot weather and the overcrowding of the prison, the sick and death lists again lengthened.

Following the delegation of authority to impress sawmills, Colonel Persons arranged to have 1,000,000 feet of lumber sawed near Macon. By early May some of this lumber had been sawed and shipped to Andersonville, and Colonel Persons suggested to Captain Winder that they begin erecting barracks, employing prisoners who knew the carpenter's trade. (4) Either somebody overruled Persons or he changed his mind, because no barracks were built at this time. Part of the lumber (which had been stacked near the depot) was diverted for use at the prison

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2. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 732.

3. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, pp. 61-62.

4. Ibid., p. 136.

hospital, which was relocated at this time, and for construction of the Confederate hospital complex. In June, after General Winder had taken command, the subject of erecting barracks again surfaced. It was agreed by Winder and his aides that it would be a tremendous task, and even the most optimistic agreed it would be several months before many were completed. The subject was then pigeonholed until mid-August. (5)

## 2. Tents, Holes, and Huts

The prisoners, except those confined in the hospitals, were accordingly required to provide their own shelter. The quarters, "shebangs," erected were limited by a number of factors: space, materials available, and the initiative and health of individuals. There were thousands of shelters, but they fell into seven categories. Some were formed by fastening long strips of cloth together with wooden pins. This covering was then stretched across several poles placed with one set of ends on the ground and the other elevated upon a sand embankment, raised to a height of several feet by the occupants. Water, of course, cascaded through the seams in the roof during light rains. (6)

Two men would bunk together, and use their blankets stretched over a ridge pole as a tent fly. A similar but less pretentious shelter was one consisting of two components--a short pole, thrust into the ground at right angles, and a blanket draped over it. Others, less ambitious or lacking necessary resources, scooped out holes in the sand or clay. Here they bunked, but since there was no covering they suffered from the heat and rain. Three or four men could pool their resources to dig a hole about three feet deep and then scoop out the earth at right angles to it. Into these caves they would crawl and be protected against the heat and storm, but they were plagued by cave-ins and several of the

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5. Ibid., p. 427.

6. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 242; O.R., Ser. II., Vol. 7, p. 557.

troglodytes were smothered in their sleep. Some employed pine boughs for protection.

A more satisfactory shelter was built of adobe secured from the bluish clay found near the swamp. The clay was moulded and dried in the sun. Three walls, to a height of three or four feet inclining to the center, were raised. A blanket, overcoat, or blouse was used as a roof. The "aristocracy" of the prison built huts of slabs, split from pine logs, which were brought in from outside the stockade, "during the time when the prisoners were permitted to hire a guard" to accompany them into the woods. The huts usually accommodated a half dozen men. They were of sufficient height to permit the occupants to stand erect, and little slabs were placed about for seats. Pegs and shelves were installed; there were bunks of "pinestraw"; and a door kept out the elements and unwelcome visitors. (7)

These "low hovels" were densely and irregularly arranged, "preventing free circulation, engendering foul and noxious vapors, and precluding any system of police." By day the prisoners were exposed to the torrid Georgia sun; by night they were subjected to the dews, while many had no protection from the rain. (8)

### 3. Hovels and Barracks

General Winder had been at Andersonville seven weeks before arrangements were made to begin erecting barracks. Work commenced on August 8. (9) The barracks, actually

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7. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, pp. 242-43. .

8. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 557.

9. "Imprisonment at Andersonville: The Diary of Albert Harry Shatzel, May 5, 1864--September 12, 1864," Nebraska History, Vol. 38, p. 119.



sheds, were located at the north end of the stockade. Five barracks, each to be 134 feet by 20 feet, with their north elevations positioned about 20 feet south of the deadline, were programmed. To expedite construction, Capt. Dick Winder on August 19 called on Major Dillard, district quartermaster, to forward 200 kegs of nails, one-half of which were to be eight-penny and the remaining 100 assorted sizes. (10) The nails were forthcoming, and in September the sheds, each designed to accommodate 270 men, were completed. (11)

The transfer of thousands of prisoners from Andersonville to prison pens at Camp Lawton and in South Carolina facilitated the construction of the sheds. In October the remaining prisoners in the stockade, about 7,000, were compelled by Captain Wirz to move their "shebangs" into the section of the enclosure south of Stockade Branch. While they were free to roam north of the stream, they were compelled to be on the south side for roll call and to draw their rations. (12)

When Brig. Gen. John D. Imboden, who had been named Inspector of Prisons West of the Savannah River, visited Andersonville in October, Captain Wirz suggested that additional barracks be erected. Imboden was agreeable, and 100 prisoners were paroled and assigned to this project. Five sheds, 120 by 20 feet, were erected in the

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10. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 624; Hamlin, Martyria, p. 51. Also requisitioned at this time were 25 additional 40- to 60-gallon iron kettles for the cookhouse and 250 tents for the hospital.

11. O.R., Ser. I., Vol. 7, p. 830; Wirz Trial, Thornburg's Testimony, p. 338. The work was done by paroled prisoners. Northrop, Chronicles, p. 103. Dr. Amos Thornburg was a Confederate surgeon assigned to Andersonville.

12. Wirz Trial, Bates' & Harris' Testimony, pp. 30, 599.

southwest corner of the stockade. The long axis of these structures ran north and south. (13)

In 1865 the barracks at the north end of the stockade were taken over by the medical service as a receiving and distributing hospital. Thereafter, the prisoners were not permitted to cross to the north side of Stockade Branch. (14)

The only description we have of the barracks is Maj. Gen. James H. Wilson's. When he visited Andersonville in June 1865, he recalled "the remnants of ten sheds inside the stockade, five at one end and five at the other. They were simply shed roofs, supported by ordinary squared timbers cut from the woods and covered with boards." (15)

#### B. Stockade Streets

There were two east-west streets inside the prison pen. South Street, at the South Gate, was used by Sergt. W. J. Humes' wagon to haul in the rations for delivery to the sergeants in charge of the detachments. This was also the roadway used by the prisoners in making minor offenders run the gantlet. The street leading east from the North Gate was known as Market Street. It was on this roadway that the sutler had his frame store and Yankee traders had set up shop. Both streets were about ten feet in width, and accessible to wagons. (16)

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13. Hamlin, Martyria, p. 50; Wirz Trial, Thornburg's & Wilson's Testimony, pp. 270, 338; Sarah Ashe, The Trial and Death of Henry Wirz with Other Matters Pertaining Thereto (Raleigh, 1908), p. 12.

14. Wirz Trial, Thornburg's Testimony, p. 338.

15. Ibid., Wilson's Testimony, p. 270.

16. Wirz Trial, Fannin's, Fechtner's, and Harris' Testimony, pp. 438, 572-73, 599. Col. J. H. Fannin commanded the 1st Regiment, Georgia Reserves, while George W. Fechtner of the 1st Kentucky Mounted Infantry was a long-time prisoner at Andersonville.

In addition to the two avenues, there were about a dozen side streets. These byways, about four feet in width, crossed the avenues at right angles, and several extended from the deadline on the north to the corresponding one on the south. (17)

C. Sutler's Stand and Peddlers' Stalls

The sutler's stand, a frame shanty, was on the south side of Market Street. James Selman was the sutler, and he employed two prisoners to operate his stand. Among the items sold were flour, tobacco, beans, peas, salt, rice and small quantities of onions, potatoes, and apples. (18)

Clustered nearby were a number of peddlers' stalls. The more prosperous had also erected booths: a rough slab, split from a log brought in for the purpose, and covered with a clean rag or a strip of paper. On this counter, the Yankee trader displayed his stock. Overhead was stretched a blanket, coat, or blouse for awning. Less elaborate were those whose stalls consisted of nothing but a rough board, supported by four poles driven into the ground. The most common stall consisted of "wicker work formed of pine splinters; woven together." Besides the 200 tradesmen, there were a number of peddlers who had no stand, but carried on their "little business" upon the street. These individuals usually had but one or two items for sale, and they displayed them in their hands, or if it were meat impaling it on a stick and hawking it about Market Street. (19)

Like Sutler Selman, the peddlers dealt in the necessities of life--peas, pone, flour, cornbread, hardtack, cornmeal,

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17. Ibid., Fechtner's and Harris' Testimony, pp. 573, 602.

18. Wirz Trial, Corbett's, Chandler's, Gray's, and Fechtner's Testimony, pp. 74, 243-44, 400, 561-62. George Gray of the 7th Indiana Cavalry was a prisoner at Andersonville.

19. Ibid., Harris' Testimony, p. 602; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, pp. 251-52.

soup, potatoes, rice, meat, and salt. High prices were demanded and received for luxury items consisting of-- tobacco, onions, eggs, soda, red peppers, gingerbread, soap, taffy, sour beer, tea, apples, peaches, watermelons, pails, wooden dishes, thread, buttons, and the like. The peddlers accepted money, gold and silver watches, and rings for the wares, as well as items, such as laurel pipe-bowls, carved by prison craftsmen. (20)

#### D. Reclaiming the Swamp

##### 1. Captain Wirz's Initial Proposal

As the number of prisoners confined in the stockade climbed in April, complaints were voiced about the swampy condition of the bottom. To correct this situation, it was proposed by the authorities to erect two dams of various heights near where Stockade Branch entered the enclosure. The upper was to impound water for drinking and the lower for bathing. Over the remainder of the stream, it was planned to construct sinks. Chief Surgeon Isaiah H. White argued, successfully, in support of this undertaking that the stream was of "sufficient volume and velocity to carry off all ordure." (21)

The building of the dams would enable Commandant Wirz to reclaim about one-fourth the compound which was too wet and marshy for use by the prisoners. Until this was done the amount of space allotted to each of the 12,180 prisoners was 42 square feet. (22) Once a day, the flood gates of the dams would be opened to allow a surge of water to carry off all waste that had collected during the day. (23)

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20. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, pp. 252-53.

21. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, p. 125.

22. Ibid., p. 136.

23. Ibid., p. 171.

Maj. Thomas P. Turner, who inspected the camp on April 30, disagreed with Dr. White, however. He held that the "volume and velocity" of water in Stockade Branch was insufficient for the number of prisoners confined within the stockade. He recommended that wells be sunk on the higher ground. If the number of inmates was substantially increased, he urged that another stockade be erected to enclose a 16-acre tract on Sweetwater Creek, where the "volume and velocity" of the water was ten times as great. (24)

## 2. Inertia Grips the Prison Administration

Neither the authorities at Andersonville or in Richmond were prepared to accept Turner's recommendation, and lethargy on the part of Capt. Dick Winder, compounded by a shortage of tools and lumber, blocked Captain Wirz's plan for dams. By June 20, as the number of prisoners climbed to 20,000, the available space in the enclosure for shebangs was still 12 acres. Consequently, the part occupied was "crowded, filthy, and insecure." Along with the enlargement of the stockade to enclose 26 1/2 acres, the drainage of the swamp was undertaken. This helped relieve the congestion. When the swamp was drained, it exposed "to the rays of the summer sun a surface covered with decomposed vegetable matter, a condition favorable to the production of malarial diseases." To utilize the reclaimed marsh for camping purposes, Captain Wirz ordered it covered with dry sand. (25) But by the end of July, this project had not been accomplished, (26) and there remained about 3 1/2 acres near the center of the enclosure so marshy as to be "unfit for occupation."

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24. Ibid., p. 167. Major Turner had been sent from Richmond to inspect the prison by Adjutant General Cooper.

25. Ibid., pp. 392, 426. Doctors at this time did not know that malaria was transmitted by mosquitoes, but attributed it to vapors arising from swamps.

26. Ibid., p. 525.

Because of this situation, the available space for the 30000 inmates was about six square feet per prisoner. (27)

### 3. Richmond Takes Action

In the first week of August, Dr. White urged General Winder to have the marsh covered with sand, the stream bed deepened and widened, and the bed and banks planked. Above and below the stockade, the branch should be treated in similar fashion, and action taken to prevent flooding after heavy rains. Measures were also needed to prevent the guards from polluting the stream. (28)

Captain Wirz was now authorized to turn a crew to filling in the swamp and constructing a sluice--"the upper end to be used for bathing, &c., the lower as a sink." The difficulty of "procuring lumber and tools," however, slowed the work. (29) (It was at this time that the photographs of the sinks accompanying this report were taken.) Work dragged, and finally, after the receipt of Colonel Chandler's report, Adjutant General Cooper on September 3 directed the Engineer Bureau to "proceed to effect the drainage and reclamation of the marsh." Labor to carry out this project would be impressed. (30) This decision came too late, because by the time it was implemented most of the prisoners had been transferred and space was no longer at a premium.

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27. Ibid., pp. 546-47, 558.

28. Ibid., p. 559. The ground from 30 to 50 yards on each side of the branch was a marsh, unfit for occupation, having been used as "a sink since the prison was established."

29. Ibid., pp. 546, 547, 558. Prisoners were detailed to fill the swamp, and the dirt for the fill was brought down from the hillsides.

30. Ibid., pp. 754-55.

### E. The Sinks

Although the prison pen had been occupied since the last week of February 1864, five months later there was a lack of proper sinks. Dr. White, on August 2, complained that the "absence of proper sinks and the filthy habits of the men" caused a deposit of fecal matter over much of the swamp. At the same time, the point where the branch debouched from the stockade was not wide enough to permit a free passage of ordure. After a heavy rain, the lower portion of the bottom was "overflowed by a solution of excrement," and when the water subsided and the swamp was exposed to the Georgia sun, the stench was horrible. (31)

Following Lt. Col. D. T. Chandler's inspection of the prison in early August and the submission to the War Department of his critical report, (32) prison authorities sought to relocate the sinks over the section of the stream near the east front of the stockade, and to provide access walkways. This would make the sinks more inviting. Currently, those desiring to use them were compelled to wade through mud and feces. After the sinks had been improved, to discourage the practice of not using them, the sentries were

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31. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 525.

32. Chandler had tendered his resignation as a major on the retired list in the United States Army in December 1862, and he had been notified that it would take effect on Christmas Eve. On February 9, 1863, while attempting to cross the Potomac into Virginia to attend to private business, he was taken into custody and placed in confinement in Washington. After nine months, he secured his release by promising to travel to Richmond to effect the release of Andrew Johnson's nephew. His offer was accepted, and he proceeded to discharge his mission. Chandler remained in Richmond for several months, and in February 1864 an appointment was offered him as a lieutenant colonel in the Adjutant General's Department.

As he was liable to conscription, he accepted the commission. Ibid., pp. 527-28. Chandler reached Andersonville on July 29 from Richmond and left on August 5.

ordered to shoot at prisoners committing a nuisance in any other place than the sinks. (33)

Although there was some improvement in the situation, Dr. Joseph Jones, when he was at the stockade in late August, saw that the sinks over the lower portion of Stockade Branch were imperfect in plan and structure, and "the excrements were in large measure deposited so near the borders of the stream as not to be washed away, or else accumulated upon the low boggy ground." (34) Unfortunately, the flow of water was insufficient to wash away the feces, which collected in the stream near the eastern face of the stockade. (35)

In September, after thousands of prisoners had been transferred, a frame privy, about 120 by 20 feet, was erected south of Stockade Branch. (36) All prisoners, except the sick, used this "humid cesspool of excrementitious matter." The sick continued to dig small holes near their hovels. (37)

#### F. Water for Washing, Drinking, and Cooking

##### 1. That Supplied by Stockade Branch

The water of Stockade Branch above the stockade was "pure, with the exception of . . . minute traces of

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33. Ibid., p. 559.

34. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 598. Jones, a surgeon in the Confederate army, spent several weeks at Andersonville in August and September studying the "nature and causes of the prevailing diseases."

35. Ibid., p. 599.

36. Ibid., p. 830.

37. Ibid., p. 831.



vegetable matters." This water was used by the prisoners for drinking, washing, and cooking. It was tested and found to contain traces of sulphates, chlorides, lime, magnesia, and iron.(38) When he inspected the post, Colonel Chandler saw that the camps of several regiments of the guard, as well as the combination bake and cookhouse, were on the drainage west of the stockade. He protested that they "helped make the water all but unfit for use before it entered the inclosure."(39) Dr. Jones, who was at the prison four weeks later, disagreed with Colonel Chandler as to the amount of pollution these Confederate facilities added to the water. He held that they were "too far distant to sensibly affect the constant flowing waters."(40) It should be noted, however, that in August, the cooking facilities had been relocated in the new cookhouse, and grease was no longer dumped into the branch.

Stockade Branch, where it entered the enclosure, was normally about four feet wide and four inches deep. Just below the west deadline, prisoners had scraped out a pool about eight feet wide by 20 feet long, and two feet in depth. An effort was made to keep the pool clean for drinking water. This was futile, however, as it was polluted by the Confederate camps and bakehouse. Below this pool there were a number of circular puddles, ten to 12 feet in diameter and two feet deep in the middle, to wash in. Although many of the men did not believe in bathing or washing their clothing, these puddles were crowded from dawn to dark.

Below the washing puddles were the sinks. More than 30,000 men, many of them suffering from diarrhea, used these sinks in July and August. Gradually the filth clogged the opening in the stockade, through which the stream debouched, making a dam. As the feces accumulated

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38. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, pp. 592-93.

39. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 546-47, 558.

40. Ibid., pp. 592-93.

it rose and spread over the banks, until it was several feet deep, and backing up, it created a horrible pool 75 yards in length and 40 feet across. (41)

Below the stockade, as to be expected, the stream was "contaminated by the excrements, filth, and offal" of the prisoners, and contained "not only these matters, and various salts resulting from their decomposition, but also numerous maggots, animalculae, and cryptogamous plants." As the water meandered through the swamp to the east, it emitted "an intolerable and most sickening stench." (42)

## 2. That Obtained from Springs

It is therefore not surprising, despite Dr. Jones' comments, that most of the prisoners sought to secure water from springs or wells. A number of springs were found in the bottom south of Stockade Branch. Water obtained from these was brackish but better than that drawn from the creek. (43)

## 3. Providence Spring Gushes Forth

After the flood had subsided on August 13, a new spring bubbled forth. It was between the deadline and the stockade, about midway between the North Gate and the stream. It was expected that as soon as the water table dropped, the spring would cease flowing. But it did not. Men tied their cups or buckets to tent poles, reached

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41. Vaughter, Prison Life in Dixie, pp. 55-57, 65-67. After the August flood subsided, the lake of filth was gone. A sandbar, two or three feet in depth, had formed where part of it had been. The stream at this point had been diverted into a new channel, and the next day the morass, where the sand had been deposited, looked bright and clear.

42. O. R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 593.

43. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 546-47, 558; Wirz Trial, Kellogg's Testimony, p. 66.

over the deadline, dipped, and drank the most refreshing water they could recall. Subsequently, a "v" trough was fashioned and fixed into the spring. Water thus brought across the deadline, provided the prisoners with between eight and ten gallons of "pure, sweet water" per minute. (44)

Many prisoners, recalling Biblical stories, ascribed the appearance of the spring to divine intervention, and it was called, "Providence Spring." Long-time residents of the area, however, recalled that a spring had been located at this point, and when the area had been pine forest, the spring had been a "favorite resort of deer." When the stockade was under construction, workmen excavating the ditch had covered the spring with spoil, so that the water oozed through the sand to the creek below, without rising to the surface. The flood had swept the palisade away at this point, washed the earth from the spring, and it "burst out clear and strong as of old." (45)

#### 4. That Obtained from Wells

Before Providence Spring gushed forth, many prisoners dug wells. In digging wells, a number of men, usually from the same mess, would undertake the project. Spoons, half canteens, mess plates, and shovels borrowed from the camp police were used. Many of the wells were as much as six feet in diameter, with the average about three feet. As dictated by topography, the wells on the hillside south of the branch were not as deep as those on the opposite slope, some of which were as much as 100 feet. Many of the wells were cribbed with barrels supplied by

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44. Vaughter, Prison Life in Dixie, pp. 65-67; Wirz Trial, Harris' Testimony, pp. 589, 599. The spring was between six and eight feet from the deadline and about 100 feet north of Stockade Branch. The trough and reservoir were built after the prisoners were sent south of the stream.

45. Benjamin F. Gue, "The Story of Andersonville," The Palimpsest, Vol. 47, No. 6, pp. 235-36.

Sergt. James W. Duncan.(46) Most of the wells were covered. The covering was usually canvas, with a small hole left in the center for drawing water. Ropes attached to buckets, cups, or boots were used to bail the water. Men having no interest in the wells were usually charged a chew of tobacco for each cup of water.(47)

Statements as to the number of wells inside the enclosure vary. George W. Fechtner of the 1st Kentucky Mounted Infantry (Union) testified at the Wirz Trial that there were about 50, Frederick Guscetti put the number at 105, while W. D. Hammack of the 55th Georgia recalled that there were a good many.(48) L. M. Park of Wirz's staff, writing a decade afterwards, reported that the prisoners dug about 200 wells, and he had never drank "purer, sweeter, colder water."(49) Colonel Chandler disagreed with Park on the temperature of the water. Sipping some drawn from wells on the hillsides, he found

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46. Frederick Guscetti, of the 47th New York Infantry, testified at the Wirz Trial that the wells on the south side of the branch averaged 25 feet in depth and those on the north slope 50 to 55 feet. Albert H. Shatzel noted in his diary that he and his comrades struck water at 58 feet on July 7, and the next day they drew their first pail of water. Shatzel's well was on the hill north of the branch. "Imprisonment at Andersonville: The Diary of Albert Harry Shatzel May 5, 1864--September 12, 1864," Nebraska History, Vol. 38, pp. 109-10.

47. Six buckets were issued to each ninety. Wirz Trial, Kellogg's, Chandler's, Wilson's, Guscetti's, Fechtner's & Harris' Testimony, pp. 66, 248-49, 521, 572, 599.

48. Ibid., Hammack's, Guscetti's, and Fechtner's Testimony, pp. 501, 521, 572.

49. Park, "The 'Rebel Prison Pen' at Andersonville, Ga.," reprinted in Confederate View of Prisoners, p. 163. In addition to the hillside wells, there were a number of shallow wells in the bottom. The water in these, being filtered through sand, was believed by the inmates to be purer than the water in the branch.

that it tasted good, although it was warm. Taking cognizance of the number of wells, he recorded that there was no scarcity of water in the stockade.(50) These wells were a godsend, because Stockade Branch did not have sufficient flow to supply more than 5,000 men, about one-sixth of those confined in the enclosure in July and August 1864.(51)

#### G. Tunnels

Many prisoners banded together to dig escape tunnels. Some provided labor and others capital to purchase candles from the sutler. Selecting a site near the palisade, the men went to work with their tools--shovels, knives, spoons, and canteen halves. From their perches the sentries were unable to tell whether the prisoners were working on a tunnel or a well. After the shaft had reached a depth of from 10 to 25 feet, the associates would start a tunnel aimed at passing under the stockade. Men worked in shifts. The spoil was removed in flour sacks, blouses, shirts, or haversacks, and, under the cover of night, either dumped in the sinks or spread about the enclosure so it would not draw attention. After they were certain that they had passed under the palisade, the tunnel was drifted to within a few feet of the surface, and on a dark night they would break through and attempt to reach the Union lines.(52)

Many of those engaged in drifting tunnels under the stockade were betrayed to the authorities by fellow prisoners for extra rations. Whenever an escape tunnel was discovered, Captain Wirz had it backfilled, employing either Georgia Reserves or blacks.(53)

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50. Wirz Trial, Chandler's Testimony, pp. 248-49.

51. *Ibid.*, Wilson's Testimony, pp. 270-71.

52. Wirz Trial, Merton's, Adler's, Guscetti's, & Fechtner's Testimony, pp. 176, 183, 513, 521, 558.

53. *Ibid.*, Merton's, Adler's, and Guscetti's Testimony, pp. 176, 183, 513. Joseph Adler was a prisoner at Andersonville from mid-March until September 8, 1864.

By August 1, 1864, the guards had discovered and closed off 83 tunnels, some more than 20 feet under the ground, and varying in length from ten to 140 feet. As far as Captain Wirz knew, only one man escaping through a tunnel had eluded his pursuers and gained the Union lines. All other successful escapees had slipped away from guards while at work outside the enclosure. (54)

To make tunnel escapes more difficult, prior to the construction of the middle stockade, the Confederates at night kindled pitch-pine fires in the cleared ground beyond the enclosure. These fires lighted the area, and made it hard for prisoners to creep across this area on emerging from a tunnel. From these fires arose columns of dense smoke, "which in the sultry air of a midsummer night hung like a pall over the stockade." (55)

#### H. Fuel for Camp Fires

When the first prisoners reached Andersonville there were a few trees still standing in the stockade, along with hundreds of stumps. Within six weeks, the prisoners to cook their rations, to secure fuel for camp fires, and timber for sinks had felled all these trees but two in the southwest corner of the enclosure and had grubbed out the stumps. (56)

It then became necessary to issue the prisoners wood for fuel, because the combination bake- and cookhouse was unable to provide sufficient cooked rations for the thousands of

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54. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 522.

55. John L. Maile, Prison Life in Andersonville (Los Angeles, 1912), p. 33.

56. Wirz Trial, Walsh's Testimony, p. 274; N. P. Chipman, The Tragedy of Andersonville: Trial of Captain Henry Wirz, The Prison Keeper (San Francisco, 1911), p. 457; John H. Stibbs, "Andersonville and the Trial of Henry Wirz," The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. 9, p. 10.

prisoners. To secure fuel, prisoners were detailed and sent under guard into the nearby forest to cut wood. It was the practice of the camp administration, one of the prisoners recalled, to issue three logs, four feet long by two inches in diameter, to each 270-man division. This issue was made at three-day intervals. (57)

To supplement their fuel supply, many prisoners grubbed in the swamp. Colonel Chandler had seen this and called attention to this practice in his report. When asked to comment on this, Captain Wirz in August protested that to his 31,000 prisoners there were daily issued 8,000 uncooked rations. Those issued uncooked rations, received either their meat or cornbread in a cooked condition, leaving only the one or the other to cook for themselves. To do their cooking, the prisoners were daily issued ten cords of wood, which was divided among the detachments by sergeants appointed from their own numbers. In addition, the prisoners had been given over 1,000 posts, each 23 feet long, when the stockade was enlarged. General Winder swore that at the time of Colonel Chandler's visit, there were over "50 wood yards" in the stockade, and the prisoners lent "wood one to the other by the stick or other quantity." The man whom Colonel Chandler had seen grubbing for wood in the morass, Winder explained, was undoubtedly securing it to sell "to cake bakers and restaurant keepers, who, drawing their rations cooked, had no wood issued to them, and, in order to carry on their business, were obliged to buy wood from whom they might." (58)

Col. J. H. Fannin of the 1st Georgia Reserves agreed with Winder and Wirz that there was no shortage of fuel in the stockade. From his quarters, which commanded a view of the enclosure, he nightly saw many camp fires burning inside the prison pen. It had been his duty, while in command of troops assigned to the post, to detail daily 100 men as a guard for prisoners collecting fuel to be used in the compound. This was an easy task because of the abundance scattered on the

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57. Wirz Trial, Pond's Testimony, p. 196. L.S. Pond, a prisoner, had served in the 2d New York Heavy Artillery.

58. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 759.

ground nearby. After the stockade was enlarged, however, the wood details were dispensed with for about six weeks. The reason for this action was the belief that the dismantling of the old north front of the palisade, along with the large quantity of felled timber scattered about the ten acres added to the enclosure, provided the prisoners with sufficient fuel. (59)

## I. Other Structures and Enclosure Details

### 1. Bridges

There was a footbridge spanning Stockade Branch. Built of timbers, with a board flooring, it was positioned near the west deadline. Many prisoners used the bridge to kneel on and dip water for drinking and cooking from a pool in the branch. (60)

### 2. Letter Box

There was a letter box, one-foot square, at the South Gate. Here the men posted mail to be picked up by camp authorities. (61)

### 3. Barber Shops

There were a number of barbers in the prison, who gave hair cuts to those who had money. (62)

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59. Ibid., p. 761.

60. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 227; Wirz Trial, Belcher's Testimony, pp. 139-40. O.S. Belcher of the 16th Illinois Infantry was a prisoner at Andersonville from March 8, to September 8, 1864.

61. Wirz Trial, Burrowes' and Fechtler's Testimony, pp. 78, 562.

62. Ibid., Corbett's Testimony, p. 76.



#### 4. Police Details

Two 25-man squads were daily detailed and supplied with shovels and given the task of removing from the encampment all offal. The "combustible portion" was burned, and the remainder thrown into Stockade Branch. (63)

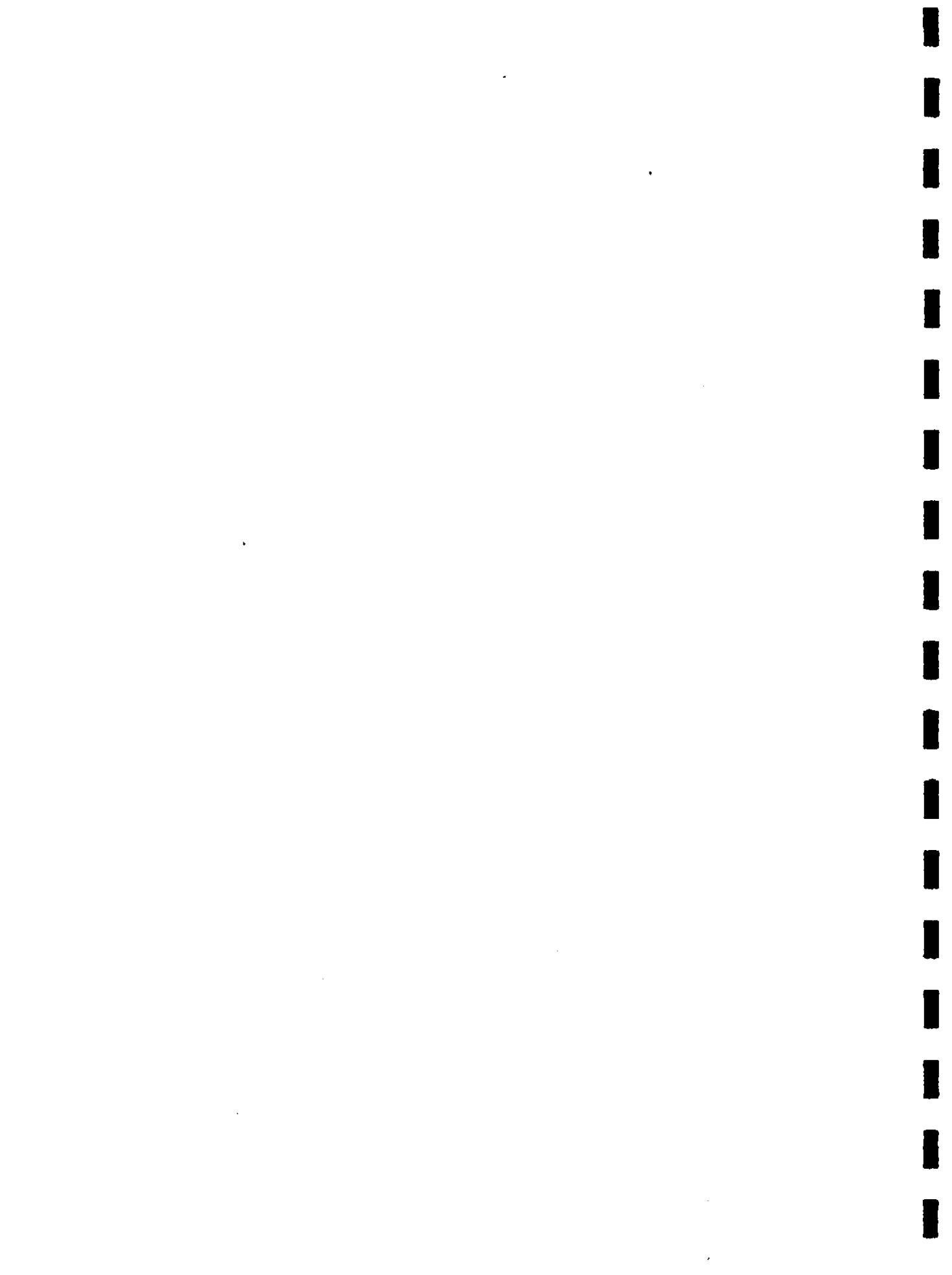
#### 5. The Masons' Tent

Located in the southwest corner of the stockade was the "Masons' Tent." Here the "brethren of the ancient craft held together in a spirit of helpfulness not limited to the needs of their own number." Nearby were camped the blacks of Maj. Archibald Bogle's command. (64)

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63. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, p. 137.

64. Dedication of the Monuments at Andersonville, 5. The only officers confined in the Andersonville prison pen were those who had commanded blacks. White officers of black units were denied the privileges accorded officers of white units.



## V. FEEDING THE PRISONERS

### A. Captain Winder's Responsibility

#### 1. The Difficulties Involved--An Overview

Capt. Dick Winder, as post quartermaster, would be responsible for feeding the prisoners to be confined at Andersonville. Although southwest Georgia had not been visited by Union raiders, rations to feed the prisoners and their guards would have to be brought in by rail, because the area in the immediate vicinity of Andersonville did not produce an agricultural surplus. This should not have constituted too great a problem for the post quartermaster, as the railroad, which passed within 1,600 feet of the prison pen, connected with Americus and Albany to the south and the fertile Flint River Valley and Macon to the northeast. While there were no mills for grinding corn at Andersonville, there were several large ones at Americus and one or two smaller ones nearby.

Captain Winder to discharge his responsibility would have to make arrangements for securing, shipping in by rail, and stockpiling sufficient rations to feed an estimated 10,000 prisoners. This task had built into it a number of problems that would have taxed the abilities of abler men than Dick Winder. First, there was the rundown condition of the railroads of the Confederacy, compounded by the failure of the government to take them over and establish and enforce a system of priorities. Then there was the opposition by many people to the impressment law and the tax in kind. Also, the region had to provide much of the food consumed by Gen. Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.

As the day for the arrival of the first contingent of prisoners neared, Captain Winder found himself engulfed by problems. He had been directed by Quartermaster General Alexander R. Lawton to purchase in southwestern Georgia and in north Florida the beef to ration his charges. But having no drivers and no means of getting any, he called on Col. Charles J. Harris at the Macon Conscript Camp for help. (1) Further instructions from

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1. O.R., Series II, Vol. 6, pp. 885-86.

General Lawton had stipulated that he call upon the nearest commissary of subsistence for rations, and this was Maj. A. M. Allen in Columbus, 50 miles to the northwest. Allen's agent in Americus, Uriah B. Harrold, delivered some beef and other supplies to Captain Winder. On learning that Harrold could not furnish him "with one-half what I shall need," Winder wrote Allen on February 3 to ascertain what quantities of rations the depot could provide. Cornmeal would not be a problem as it could be supplied locally by the Quartermaster's Department, but he needed beef, bacon, flour, sugar, molasses, rice, soap, candles, and the like. Major Allen could forward either bacon or beef. As for flour and sugar, only limited quantities were needed for use in the hospital.

As Winder expected to have responsibility for 10,000 prisoners, Major Allen could readily calculate the quantity of rations required. When the beef was turned over to him, it should not be stripped of tallow, because Winder planned to manufacture his own candles. (2)

The remoteness of Andersonville from foundries caused difficulties in securing cooking utensils. Winder in February was compelled to send an agent to Cartersville, in northwest Georgia, to secure 100-gallon kettles for boiling meat. (3) Procurement of cornmeal proved more troublesome than anticipated. Contracts were made with Drew's Mill at Adams Station and several mills in and around Americus to grind corn into meal for Andersonville. But bureaucratic inefficiency caused problems, because the Quartermaster Department had responsibility for turning over to the millers the corn they were expected to grind during the ensuing week. In February the assistant quartermasters in the Americus and Albany districts failed to issue necessary orders to their agents. To coordinate requisitions and deliveries, Captain Winder sent one of his agents, W. M. Pickett, to discuss procedures with Capt. C. H. Berry and J. F. Crafts, the officers in charge respectively of the

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2. Ibid., p. 914.

3. Ibid.

quartermaster depots at Albany and Americus. (4)

Despite this action, Winder and his successors as post commissaries could never be certain that the amount of corn delivered to the millers would be sufficient. A week before the first prisoners detained at Andersonville, Winder was imploring Captain Berry at Albany, "please forward all the provisions you can." To compound Winder's problems, the railroads of the Confederacy frequently failed to deliver on time items paid for and shipped. (5)

## 2. Time Runs Out

News that the first contingent of prisoners had left Richmond on February 18 found Captain Winder with insufficient rations on hand. Telegraphing Maj. P. W. White, the chief commissary purchasing agent in Florida, Winder, on the 20th, announced that the prisoners were scheduled to arrive that day. Please, he pled, "make some arrangement at once about my supply of bacon which will insure me against failure." So far he had received only 10,000 pounds of the bacon ordered to him, while Major White's agent at Americus had not more than 5,000 additional pounds on hand. Arrangements had been made to issue the prisoners Florida beef, but, although drovers had been detailed by Col. C. J. Harris of the State Guard, the cattle were in no condition to drive. Cornmeal, at the moment, was no problem. (6)

Captain Winder on the same day wrote his uncle, General Winder, to see if the latter could use his influence to help him. He had learned from "reliable" individuals that Major White had agents throughout Florida who had purchased large numbers of cattle, which they were driving to Quincy in the northwestern part of that state. Winder trusted his uncle would pull strings, and have White "turn over or sell" to him the beeves at

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4. Ibid., p. 972.

5. Futch, History of Andersonville Prison, p. 6.

6. O.R., Series II, Vol. 6, p. 977.

Quincy. (7) He had hoped to hire men exempted from conscription to drive the cattle up from Quincy, but he had promptly learned that it was "impossible to hire" them, because this class of people found speculation much too profitable. "Such as would be willing to perform this service are physically unable." (8)

On a visit to Savannah in early February, Captain Winder had suggested to Maj. J. L. Lock, chief purchasing commissary for Georgia, that he "would gladly feed any offal from the slaughter-houses in Albany that could not readily be kept on hand or forwarded to the army to the prisoners, thereby saving that much provision to the Government." Thus, as Dr. Ovid Futch has pointed out, Dick Winder was willing to issue substandard rations to the prisoners. (9)

But when Winder checked prices, he found that the slaughterhouses wanted two dollars apiece for "the luxury of beef tongues," one dollar for shanks, and fifty cents per pound for shank meat and pickled hearts. (10) He accordingly dropped the subject, although Pickett had already made some purchases at these prices. He thereupon contacted Capt. W. H. Brotherton, the Albany quartermaster, and complained that he would either submit Brotherton's prices to higher authority for review, or he would hold the shipment which he had received subject to his order. In any case, he did not want any more offal. (11)

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7. Ibid., pp. 976-77.

8. Ibid., p. 977.

9. Ibid., p. 985; Futch, History of Andersonville Prison, p. 7.

10. O.R., Series II, Vol. 6, p. 985.

11. Ibid.

B. Captain Armstrong Takes Over as Post Commissary

1. The Confederate Congress Rescues Dick Winder

In February 1864 the Confederate Congress enacted legislation relieving the Quartermaster Department of the responsibility of feeding prisoners of war and transferring that task to the Commissary Department. But it was five weeks after the first prisoners were received before the Commissary Department was geared to accept the task.

Captain Winder, after the collapse of the Confederacy and while the United States was searching for those responsible for Andersonville, announced that from the fourth week of February until the beginning of April he had rationed the prisoners. He had received no complaints, and, as sweet potatoes were plentiful, the daily ration had consisted of one pound of meal, one pound of potatoes, and one pound of beef or one-half pound of bacon. The small quantity of flour on hand had been reserved for those on sick call. After April 1, when the number of prisoners confined in the stockade began to be rapidly increased and problems in feeding them developed, Winder had nothing to do with their rations, except to provide transportation for them from the commissary storehouse to the bake- and cookhouse, and then into the stockade and hospital. (12)

Orders that the responsibility for feeding the prisoners had been shifted was received by Captain Winder on February 27. (13) This administrative change made Major Allen of the Commissary Department responsible for rationing the prisoners and guards. Captain Winder accordingly notified General Winder on February 29 that the Commissary Department would have to provide a butcher and a second baker. He was in need, however, of cooking and baking pans. The pans, along with nails and padlocks for prison doors, window glass, and a platform scales,

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12. O.R., Series II, Vol. 8, pp. 730-31.

13. O.R., Series II, Vol. 6, p. 996.

should be shipped to Andersonville as soon as possible. (14)

Winder was glad to be relieved of the task of providing rations for the prisoners, but he planned to co-operate closely with Major Allen and his assistant, Capt. James W. Armstrong. He, however, saw certain difficulties. One problem was the absence of produce markets at Andersonville, where his labor force could purchase food. They were compelled to pay "exorbitant" prices for their rations. In addition, there were no boarding houses. When notified of this situation, Quartermaster General Lawton had authorized Winder to sell to these people at government rates the provisions they needed. He also wanted to know who would ration his black laborers and Yankee prisoners on detail, who were authorized double rations. Winder trusted the Commissary Department would provide "rations to my negro laborers, sell provisions to my employes, and fix the matter so as to issue the extra rations to prisoners." If so, this problem would be solved. (15) The difficulty was promptly resolved, and the Commissary Department directed to meet Winder's requests.

## 2. The Construction of Storehouses and Shops

### a. Work on the Commissary Storehouse Begins

Winder's carpenters and laborers were soon at work building a large commissary storehouse for Major Allen. The structure was located on the west side of the railroad track, opposite the depot. If Captain Armstrong, whom Allen had sent to represent him at Andersonville, could provide the necessary fixtures (window lights and door fastenings) the storehouse would be completed by April 1. (16) Problems developed when Winder was unable to get sufficient lumber "to do my own work." He accordingly notified Allen that he must furnish his own materials. Winder was willing to pay for them, "but not at the price of

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14. Ibid., p. 1000.

15. Ibid., pp. 1017-18.

16. Ibid., p. 1018.



\$100 per thousand, which was the price that Captain Armstrong informed me he could purchase lumber." If Allen had authority to impress the necessary mills, he should come to Andersonville at once, or delegate the authority to Winder or Armstrong. (17)

b. The Power to Impress Has Limitations

The lumber problem had not been resolved on March 15, when Winder wrote to assure Major Allen that "I will do anything that I can to facilitate you in your department at this post." His people were working on the commissary storehouse, but they were slowed by lack of lumber and fixtures. As a quartermaster storehouse was nearly completed, Winder was prepared to release to Allen the Primitive Baptist Church he was using for storage of quartermaster supplies. He promised to let Allen have the church no later than Monday, March 21. If Secretary of War Seddon would give authority to impress sawmills all their building material problems would vanish. (18)

The situation improved in mid-March. Authority to impress lumber was received, and Lt. Col. Alexander W. Persons, who was in charge of the prison, agreed to permit Captain Winder to detail from the stockade "such men as he may require to work upon different buildings at the post." (19) But Winder and Allen were still plagued by a transportation bottleneck. Captain Winder in February had secured authority to impress wagons and teams, and he had called on the sheriff of Lee County to take four four-mule teams and wagons from the plantations best able to spare them for 30 days. (20) Such stopgap measures were only symptomatic of the problem, however. The major difficulty came from

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17. Ibid., p. 1043.

18. Ibid., pp. 1054-55.

19. Ibid., p. 1028.

20. Ibid., p. 1015.

officials of the Southwestern Railroad. They insisted that their rapidly deteriorating rolling stock would suffer a total breakdown, if Winder were allowed to impress all sawmills in the area. Quartermaster General Lawton therefore modified his grant of authority, and Winder was to impress only those mills not required by the railroad. The mills accordingly made contracts with the railroad for small quantities, did what they pleased with the rest, and Winder was compelled to do without. In addition, he had to pay Georgia schedules--\$50 per 1,000 feet, while the navy works at Albany and the hospital departments were paying \$75 to \$80 per 1,000. (21)

In the second week of April, Winder learned that a trainload of lumber had been waiting for transportation at Gordon for 12 days. He wrote the quartermaster at Macon begging him "to exercise your official authority in placing it here at the earliest possible moment," as it is needed to meet the great emergency existing at the prison. So acute was the shortage that the dead were being buried without coffins. If the lumber were not received in a reasonable period, Winder would be compelled to bring the subject to the attention of General Lawton in Richmond. (22)

c. Other Shortages and Problems

The authority to impress lumber, even if there had been no transportation difficulties, had only partially solved the construction problem. Captain Winder had trouble procuring tools and nails. (23) Indeed, the only item needed to insure the success of the construction program that was readily available was cheap labor.

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21. O.R., Series II, Vol. 8, p. 732.

22. Ibid., p. 40.

23. Ibid., p. 89.

Winder's construction superintendent was S. Hay, "a practical mechanic." Hay had argued that the storehouses, offices, and barracks could be built of plank more rapidly and with less expense than logs. By the end of February, with the 60 days for which the black work gangs had been detailed about up, Captain Winder determined to adopt Hay's suggestion and employ planks rather than logs in his construction program, provided General Winder was agreeable. The general was, and he canceled his instructions requiring that all buildings be log. (24)

To expedite the program and to reduce his dependence on the railroad, a Mr. Stewart, at Winder's instigation, erected a saw and gristmill within four miles of the camp. As railroad ties were six by eight inches, Winder agreed to have Stewart sell him the slabs left over after ties had been sawed. This would be advantageous to the government, because both he and the railroad would be provided with lumber without injury to the other. (25)

A confusing chain of command also caused Captain Winder a few headaches. By February 17 the soldiers detailed to him as artisans, mechanics, and teamsters were complaining that they had not been paid their per diem for January. Although Winder explained to them that conflicting instructions as to the proper rate from General Winder and Major Lock was causing the delay, this did not boost the men's morale. (26)

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24. O.R., Series II, Vol. 6, p. 965. Within the past several days, 54 slaves and five free blacks from Marion County had reached Andersonville. After they had completed their work at the camp, Winder would send them to Savannah to finish out the term of labor for which they had been impressed.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

d. The Commissary Department Moves In

Despite these difficulties and harassments, the commissary storehouse was completed by March 31, when Captain Armstrong assumed responsibility as post commissary of subsistence. The 1 1/2-story log building, with slab roof, was 130 feet long and 30 feet wide. At first, Armstrong shared space with Captain Winder and had use of a 70 by 30-foot room. In October the quartermaster moved out and the commissary department was able to occupy the entire structure. (27)

e. The Quartermaster Storehouse and Workshops

Captain Winder, at an early date, had appropriated space in the depot for quartermaster stores. He, however, allocated to his department one room in the commissary storehouse. This was used for stores as well as an office. After Captain Winder was transferred to Camp Lawton on September 30, 1864, his successor as camp quartermaster, Capt. J. H. Wright, moved the office and the last of the quartermaster stores into the depot. (28)

The quartermaster workshops, some housed in plank structures and others in tents, were west of the railroad. Here were found the camp blacksmith shop, the carpenter shop, a small lumber yard, cobbler

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27. Wirz Trial, Fairbanks', Wilson's, Armstrong's, and Bates', Testimony, pp. 154, 270, 659, 662. Oliver B. Fairbanks had served in the 9th New York. General Wilson reported that the Commissary Storehouse was a "stockade building formed of logs." Dr. Bates recalled that the Quartermaster Department occupied as offices about one-third of the building. Fairbanks reported that the commissary storehouse was "a large log building" of about a story and one half.

28. Ibid., Richardson's & Crandall's Testimony, pp. 206 & 259. Edward Richardson was a civilian from Albany, Ge., while W. W. Crandall of the 4th Iowa was detailed to clerk for Captain Armstrong on Nov. 1, 1864. Captain Wright, of the 55th Georgia, had been quartermaster for the units assigned to guard the prison.

shop, several small storehouses, and brickyard. (29)

C. Captain Armstrong's Mode of Operations

The commissary storehouse was west of and parallel to the track, which was doubled at this point, so cars were spotted and unloaded into the building. Here were stored the rations that were issued to the prisoners and their guards. These rations consisted principally of sacks of cornmeal, peas, rice, and flour; boxes of bacon; and barrels of syrup. At the time of Colonel Chandler's inspection in the first week of August, he reported that the storehouse contained "worm-eaten peas, a few boxes of bacon, a little rice, and meal." Dr. Bates recalled at Wirz's trial that he had never seen the storehouse more than one-third full. (30)

According to the schedule worked out by the authorities, Captain Wirz, or, if he were on leave, Lieutenant Davis, would daily forward to Captain Armstrong, by 11:30 a.m., a requisition listing the number of rations required to feed the prisoners the next day. A working party was turned to, and by late afternoon the rations were collected and loaded into wagons sent by Captain Winder and hauled to the bake-and cookhouse. Before the completion of the bakehouse, the rations were taken directly to the stockade. Normally, Captain Armstrong was unable to stockpile more than enough rations to last two or three days. In July he daily issued rations for from 36,000 to 37,000 prisoners and more than 3,000 guards. (31)

Captain Armstrong, except for an 18-week period beginning August 1 and ending on December 10 when he was on sick leave, served as post commissary from March 31, 1864, until the

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29. Ibid., Chandler's, Wilson's & Walker's Testimony, pp. 246-47, 270, 350. John B. Walker had served in Company G, 141st Pennsylvania.

30. Ibid., Testimony of Colonel Chandler, pp. 246-47; Davidson, p. 141; Fairbanks, p. 154; Richardson, p. 208; and Dr. Bates, p. 662.

31. Ibid., Testimony of Captain Armstrong, p. 659.

prison was closed in April 1865. (32) Although Armstrong was absent because of poor health at the time of Colonel Chandler's inspection, Chandler saw enough of his operations to judge him to be "a very inefficient officer and entirely incompetent for the discharge of the duties of his position." (33)

D. Bureaucratic Disputes Cloud the Situation

The inability of the Commissary Department to stockpile rations worried General Winder in the days following Maj. Gen. Lovell Rousseau's raid on the Montgomery & West Point Railroad. He complained to Adjutant General Samuel Cooper on July 25 that there were at Andersonville 29,400 prisoners, 2,650 troops, and 500 Negroes and other laborers and no rations. He believed the situation explosive, and had ordered that at least ten days' rations be kept on hand, but this had not been done. (34)

General Cooper referred Winder's complaint to the irritable and inefficient Commissary-General, Lucius B. Northrop, who informed Cooper that his department and not Winder was responsible for subsisting the prisoners. If General Winder thought the prisoners were likely to attempt a mass escape because of short rations or that if anything related to subsistence stores was not as it should be, it was "his duty to report his views to the Commissary-General." Northrop had delegated responsibility for rationing the prisoners to Major Allen and his assistant Captain Armstrong. Allen, the factious Northrop pointed out, was under orders from him to give priority to stores bound for General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Had Allen or Armstrong attempted to comply with Winder's instructions to stockpile at Andersonville rations for ten days' for 32,000 men, Northrop would have countermanded them. His reason for taking this position had been reinforced by Rousseau's raid. Another two

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32. Maj. George L. Proctor served as post commissary during Armstrong's absence. Ibid.; Compiled Service Records of Confederate General & Staff officers & Nonregimented Enlisted Men, NA, Microcopy 330.

33. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, p. 550.

34. Ibid., p. 499.

to three weeks would be required to again get the trains running between Montgomery and West Point. Until that time both the Armies of Northern Virginia and Tennessee would have to look to Georgia for corn. (35)

Northrop could not support General Winder's position that the prisoners have ten days' rations on hand, while the Army of Northern Virginia was restricted to a day's. (36)

Employing bureaucratic language, of which he was a past master, Northrop observed:

If General Winder thinks that the subsistence of prisoners has been or is critical, and he is anxious about their remaining quiet or in good condition, he can communicate with the Commissary-General on the subject if he pleases, and he will bring to his mind appropriate considerations which may satisfy his anxiety about them, or if he prefers to communicate with the Quartermaster-General, who is responsible for their custody, the latter will receive from the Commissary-General such information which will satisfy him that the prisoners will be duly cared for and not suffer until the army is pinched. (37)

#### E. Facilities for Feeding the Prisoners

##### 1. The Bakehouse

##### a. Construction of the Bakehouse

From the time the first prisoners were received in the fourth week of February 1864 until late April, there were no facilities for baking or cooking rations for the prisoners. During this period, the inmates were issued uncooked rations which they prepared. At that time there was ample wood in the stockade for fuel, but many Federals lacked cooking

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35. Ibid. Until the Rousseau Raid, the Army of Tennessee had drawn its corn from the Alabama Black Belt.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., pp. 499-500.

utensils, which their guards could not provide.

The bakehouse for the prison pen was located by Captain Dick Winder near the left bank of Stockade Branch, about two rods west of the palisade. It was to be built of rough boards, to contain two rooms, and to have two 4- by 7-foot brick ovens. (A plan of the bakehouse accompanies this report.) There were also several kettles set in brickwork for boiling meat, peas, and rice. The lumber shortage, which plagued the camp administration, delayed completion of the single-story bakehouse until late April. (38)

When Dr. E. J. Eldridge of the Georgia Reserves visited Andersonville with General Cobb in the first week of May, he reported that the recently completed bakehouse would be the means of "furnishing better prepared food, particularly [corn] bread, the half-cooked condition of which has doubtless contributed to the continuance of the bowel affections." (39) Chief Surgeon White agreed that "the bakery and other culinary arrangements" would improve the health of those prisoners having trouble with their bowels. (40)

Commandant Wirz, however, was unimpressed with the quality of the cornbread prepared in the bakehouse for issue to his prisoners. On June 6 he complained to Colonel Persons that it was of inferior quality, "consisting fully of one-sixth of husk" unfit for use. He believed it was responsible for the high incidence of dysentery and other bowel complaints among his charges. In the future, the meal was to be bolted before it left the Commissary Storehouse.

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38. Hamlin, Martyria, p. 20; Wirz Trial, Dr. Bates' Testimony p. 41; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 271. Within the bake-house there were a 15-foot kneading trough, office, and pan rack.

39. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, p. 121.

40. Ibid., p. 125.



There was also a shortage of buckets. This was troublesome, because rice, beans, vinegar, and molasses could not be issued to the inmates without them. (41)

b. Operation of the Bakehouse

Although it was called a bakehouse, all other rations requiring preparation were cooked there from late April until the completion of the cookhouse in mid-August. As the population of the stockade soared in late spring, the authorities took steps to expand the cooking and baking facilities, but "the impossibility of procuring the necessary material" slowed their efforts. When General Winder sought to secure sheet iron to fabricate baking-pans, he was unsuccessful. Somebody suggested he use tin, but, he protested, tin was too expensive and would burn out after several weeks of continuous use. (42)

When Colonel Chandler inspected the prison in early August, he observed that with more than 30,000 prisoners in the stockade, the bakehouse, although two 12-hour shifts were employed, was unable to provide all the inmates with cooked rations. Consequently, "raw rations" were issued "to a very large proportion who are entirely unprovided with proper utensils and furnished so limited a supply of fuel they are compelled to dig with their hands in the filthy marsh . . . for roots." (43)

At the bakehouse Chandler saw that, despite Wirz's complaints, unbolted cornmeal was being used. The police of the house and grounds was good. (44)

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41. Ibid., p. 207.

42. Ibid., p. 222. To manufacture the pans, Winder needed 240 sheets of 1/16-inch iron, 30 inches x 10 inches, and two coils of No. 8 wire.

43. Ibid., p. 548.

44. Wirz Trial, Colonel Chandler's Testimony, pp. 247-48.

Except for the man in charge, Sergt. James Duncan of Maryland, the two shifts employed in the bakehouse were paroled prisoners. One of these was Jasper Culver of the 1st Wisconsin Cavalry. His duties were to unload the cornmeal from the wagons on its arrival from the Commissary Storehouse, and to load the cornbread into the wagon in which Sergt. W. J. Humes hauled it into the stockade.

The meal was prepared for baking by first pouring it into the kneading trough. A little salt was added, then sufficient water poured in to "make it of the proper consistency," and the batter stirred with paddles. The batter was baked in sheet-tin pans, 18 x 10 inches in surface and 2 inches deep. Ten of these loaves or "cards" were daily issued to each 270-man detachment. This allowed each man a pone of ten to 12 ounces, which would be his daily ration of bread. (45)

Each relief consisted of 13 men with a "boss baker" in charge. In addition, there were four or five supernumeraries assigned to each shift.

To facilitate removal of grease and slop, a ditch was dug leading from the bakehouse to the stream. This was done in accordance with Sergeant Duncan's orders. The situation improved in mid-August when the cooking facilities were removed from the bakehouse. Thereafter, the only garbage flushed into the branch were the sweepings from the bakehouse floor. (46) Water for use in the bakehouse, both for washing utensils and mixing batter, was taken from Stockade Branch. Nearby were a well and a spring.

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45. Ibid., Testimony of Culver, pp. 302, 305; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 272. There was also a limited number of larger pans, which baked loaves 2 1/2 feet long by 15 inches wide by 2 inches thick. Four to 4 1/2 of these loaves were the daily ration of each detachment.

46. Wirz Trial, Burrowes' Testimony, pp. 49, 57. Captain Wirz, on learning of the prisoners' complaints about flushing the slop into the branch, told Sergeant Duncan to have it poured into barrels and have it hauled away. This sensible scheme had to be abandoned when Capt. Dick Winder was unable to provide the necessary teams.

The water in the well tasted bad, so the bakehouse staff got their drinking water from the spring, which also provided water for flushing the refuse into Stockade Branch. (47)

Maj. Gen. James H. Wilson, who was at Andersonville in May 1865, told the commission trying Captain Wirz that the bakehouse "was probably the only thing that assimilated to any accommodation for the prisoners." It appeared to him as if it were "intended to give the prisoners the comfort that it was necessary for them to have." But, he conditioned, "it was a good place for 2,000 but a very bad one for 33,000." (48)

2. The Cookhouse

a. Shortages Delay Construction

Because of a shortage of brick and a lack of initiative on the part of Captain Dick Winder, it was mid-August before the cookhouse was completed and in operation. Critical weeks passed while Winder called for bricks for ovens which never arrived, and the death rate soared. He finally requisitioned kettles as a substitute, but he was unable to secure lime until after the cookhouse had been completed. As a stopgap measure, he had "set kettles in the clay, and also put up a bake-oven with the same material." In building bake-ovens, three more of which were needed, great difficulty had been encountered in securing castings. Patterns for doors had been forwarded to Macon for casting in mid-July, but the foundry notified Captain Wirz that he would have to provide coke, which could be obtained in Montgomery, Alabama. By the end of the third week of September no coke had

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47. Ibid. When the bakehouse also served as a cookhouse, offal was placed in barrels and then dumped.

48. Wirz Trial, Testimony of General Wilson, p. 273.

been received; consequently, Wirz's people were unable to set the additional bake-ovens. (49)

b. Location and Description

The cookhouse was on the plateau 200 yards north of the inner stockade. It was a "plain one-story shed, built of rough boards, 100 feet in length and less than 50 feet in width." Cooking was done by paroled prisoners. At first, they used a dozen large potash kettles set in brick work; later they employed two medium-sized ranges and four boilers of 50-gallon capacity each. Water for the cookhouse was secured from a nearby deep well. (50)

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49. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 759-60. Maj. F. W. Dillard, the Quartermaster at Columbus, when called on to provide sheet-iron for pans, had replied that "sheet-iron should be used for our army, and not for Yankees."

50. Hamlin, Martyria, pp. 20, 62; Wirz Trial, Colonel Chandler's Testimony, p. 248; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 271.

## VI. GUARDING THE PRISONERS

### A. Thousands of Prisoners are Sent to Andersonville

Although the stockade was only half completed, Captain Sid Winder was notified, in the third week of February, that it was no longer possible to feed the prisoners at Richmond and that they must be sent to Andersonville immediately. The first detachment, 500 men from Belle Isle, left Richmond on February 18 and detrained at Andersonville on Thursday, the 25th. When they entered the stockade, they found themselves confronted by Confederate cannon where the palisade had gaps. (1)

When the prisoners left Richmond, they traveled by way of Raleigh and Columbia. They were usually sent off in 400-man detachments, at daily intervals. Each contingent was accompanied by a 60-man guard detail consisting of three officers, seven non-commissioned officers, and 50 privates. The guard was relieved at two points--Gaston and Augusta. Officers were posted at Charlotte and Augusta "to procure, cook, and distribute the rations to the prisoners." (2)

By March 20 Capt. F. T. Miles, the officer in charge of the guard detachments, reported that to date he had receipted for 6,488 prisoners. Of this number, 12 had escaped, 117 had been left sick en route, and two had died. Six of those who had escaped had done so on the night of February 27 between Millen and Macon, Georgia, through a hole cut in the end of the boxcar. Miles blamed the escapes on overcrowding. As many as 70 men were assigned to a car with no lighting. The other half dozen had cut a hole in the floor of a car on the night of March 20 near Windsor Station, South Carolina. Both of the deceased had passed away near Macon. Most of the sick had been hospitalized at Augusta. (3)

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1. O.R., Series II, Vol. 8, p. 731; Georgia State Historical Marker, at the entrance to Andersonville Prison Park from Georgia State Highway 49.

2. O.R., Series II, Vol. 6, pp. 925-26.

3. Ibid., pp. 1091-92.

The transfer of prisoners from the Richmond area to Andersonville ceased in the third week of March, but was resumed on April 13, 1864. (4) To complicate the situation, it was now determined to close the prison pens at Tallahassee, Florida, and Cahaba, Alabama, and transfer the inmates to Andersonville. The guard detachment from the Alabama camp was to accompany the prisoners from Cahaba and to take post at the Georgia stockade. (5)

The savage combat that began in Virginia on May 5 with the battle of the Wilderness and continued without respite through the fight for the Jerusalem Plank Road in the fourth week of June resulted in the capture of thousands of Federals. These, along with those captured at Plymouth, North Carolina, in May, were transported to Andersonville. Those sent from Richmond were routed by way of Lynchburg and Danville. While the struggle in northwest Georgia between Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's "army group" and the Army of Tennessee was not as bloody as the Virginia fighting, hundreds of Federals were captured and sent to Andersonville. After Gen. John B. Hood replaced Gen. Joseph E. Johnston as commander of the Army of Tennessee on July 18, the combat on the approaches to Atlanta became savage. In the battle of Atlanta, on July 22, hundreds of Yankees were captured and they, along with the Stoneman raiders, were soon at Andersonville.

In the fourth week of July, with Sherman's "army group" threatening Atlanta, the War Department realized that Andersonville would prove a magnet for raiding columns intent on freeing the prisoners. Orders were accordingly issued not to send any more prisoners there. This decision came too late to stop the departure of a train which left Charlotte on the morning of July 23 with 500 enlisted men destined for the Georgia camp. (6)

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4. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 36.

5. Ibid., pp. 57-76, 110. The only prisoners to remain at Cahaba were the sick.

6. Ibid., pp. 490-91.

B. Colonel Persons Takes Charge

1. Persons Proves Himself

Eighteen days before the first prisoners reached the stockade, Adjutant General Cooper had notified the commander of the Georgia State Guard, Maj. Gen. Howell Cobb, that the War Department was about to establish a prison camp at Andersonville for the "safe-keeping" of the 10,000 to 12,000 Union prisoners confined in and around Richmond. As yet, no commander for the camp had been selected, but it was only just that he be a Georgian, "in order . . . to allay any sectional prejudices" which might arise. Any officer Cobb might nominate should hold the rank of brigadier general or colonel, and be currently unassigned because of wounds or other disability. Col. William J. Magill of the 1st Georgia Regulars had applied for the position, but General Cooper had vetoed him because of a record indicating that he could not cope with so responsible a command. The guard detachment would consist of Georgia and Florida units. (7)

Cobb's reply, if he made one, has been lost. General Cooper on February 26, the day after the first prisoners detained, ordered Lt. Col. Alexander W. Persons of the 55th Georgia to take command at Andersonville. Persons, who called nearby Fort Valley his home, had reached Andersonville in the third week of February with 100 men of his regiment, many of whom were without firearms. (8) The 55th Georgia, except for men on furlough, detached service, and hospitalized, had been captured at Cumberland Gap on September 9, 1863. Colonel Persons, who had been on furlough, had organized the officers and men who had escaped the debacle into a

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7. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 6, p. 925.

8. Ibid., pp. 993, 1042; O.R., Series II, Vol. 8, p. 731. The battalion was issued Tower rifle-muskets, bayonets, bayonet scabbards, cap-pouches, cartridge-boxes, waist belts, and cartridge belts at Andersonville in the first week of March. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers from Georgia, 55th Georgia--NA, Microcopy 266.

three-company battalion. The presence of only five company officers complicated Persons' problem, pending the commissioning of replacements. To aggravate the situation, Persons now had to don another hat, and on February 29 he assumed his new duties, relieving Captain Sid Winder as post commandant. He was to hold this position until mid-June. (9)

Colonel Persons appears to have discharged his manifold duties creditably. Unlike his immediate successor, he was unable to get along with Col. Edward A. O'Neal of the 26th Alabama, while that regiment was assigned to guard duty at the prison. This was understandable, as O'Neal ranked Persons. In addition, Persons apparently was liked by the prisoners. The violent Confederatephobe Ambrose Spencer conceded that "as far as his [Persons'] knowledge and experience of the requirements of his position permitted, he expended all the facilities in his power to mitigate the condition in which his prisoners were placed." (10)

## 2. General Winder Becomes Exercised

Capt. Sid Winder had reported regularly to his father, General Winder, who was responsible for the Confederate prisoners. The general was troubled because Persons had been given no instructions to report to him. He therefore wrote Secretary of War Seddon for a definition of his relations with Colonel Persons. "It

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9. Ibid., Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who Served in Organizations from Georgia, 55th Georgia, NA Microcopy 266. Persons had been elected lieutenant colonel of the 55th Georgia on June 21, 1862. The 55th Georgia had been mustered into Confederate service at Camp Stephens, Georgia, on May 13, 1862. The regiment had participated in the Kentucky Campaign in August-October 1862, where it had been engaged at Perryville. Following its return from Kentucky, the 55th Georgia had operated in East Tennessee until its capture at Cumberland Gap. The casualties had reported to Colonel Persons at Fort Valley in the second week of February 1864. Reminiscences of William D. Hammack, Company G, 55th Georgia, U.D.C. "Reminiscences of Confederate Soldiers," Vol. 12, pp. 306-310, Georgia State Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

10. Spencer, A Narrative of Andersonville, pp. 25-26.



would be embarrassing" for him to neglect to issue orders when he ought to. Secretary Seddon forwarded Winder's letter to Adjutant General Cooper, who saw no difficulty in this case. General Winder, as a veteran officer, must know that the commander of a post is in charge of everything which appertains to it, "whether there be prisoners at the post or not, and we cannot make a divided responsibility." If Winder had no confidence in Colonel Persons, he was authorized to designate a replacement.

Winder replied that he had been misunderstood, and he had no desire to raise the issue, but that Persons' orders assigning him to command at Andersonville had failed to designate to whom he was to report. (11) As Dr. Ovid Futch has pointed out in his excellent monograph, History of Andersonville Prison, this was "typical of the trivia which commanded the attentions and absorbed the energies of those responsible for the administration of Andersonville Prison." (12)

C. The Guard is Increased

1. Combat Ready Units Rush to Andersonville

The Georgia State Guard was disbanded in the late winter of 1863-64 to be replaced by the newly authorized Reserve Corps of Georgia. A Special Order was issued by Secretary Seddon, dated March 30, assigning General Cobb to command the Reserve force in Georgia. His headquarters would be at Macon. (13) Within three weeks, Cobb was receiving requests from Andersonville for soldiers, cannon, and ammunition. The guard detachment had been reinforced in March by the combat-ready 26th Alabama Infantry. This regiment had been surrendered at Fort Donelson, and, after being exchanged, it had distinguished itself in the Army of Northern Virginia.

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11. O.R., Series II, Vol. 6, pp. 1041-43.

12. Futch, History of Andersonville Prison, p. 13.

13. Special Order No. 75, March 30, 1864, Howell Cobb Papers, Special Collections Division, University of Georgia Library, Athens, Ga.

The Alabamans had been employed as guards on a number of trains bringing the prisoners to Andersonville. Hard-boiled Colonel O'Neal, although Colonel Persons was in charge of the post, had taken the initiative in calling on Cobb for reinforcements. To underscore his point, O'Neal pointed out that the 300-man guard detail was responsible for 7,000 prisoners, and that another regiment was needed. (14)

O'Neal's urgent request caught Cobb unprepared. On April 16 he notified O'Neal that at the moment he had no troops, but as soon as the first regiment of Reserves was organized, he would help. As he had no authority to organize artillery, Cobb suggested that O'Neal carry his plea to Richmond. In an effort to locate troops that could be spared for Andersonville, Cobb contacted Brig. Gen. Hugh W. Mercer at Savannah. If Mercer rushed a regiment to Andersonville, Cobb promised to relieve this unit as soon as he could form and arm his first regiment. Unless there were some unexpected developments, he felt that he could do very little to assist Colonel O'Neal before May 1. To stress the gravity of the situation at the prison, Cobb observed, "my opinion is that with the present guard . . . , it is not safe." (15)

In response to Cobb's plea, General Mercer recalled the 57th Georgia Infantry from outpost duty on the nearby South Carolina coast. The troops entrained at Savannah on April 22 and reached Andersonville the next day. (16)

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14. Cobb to O'Neal, April 16, and Cobb to Gilmer, April 17, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55. Maj. Gen. Jeremy F. Gilmer was the Confederate Chief Engineer.

15. Cobb to Gilmer, April 18, Cobb to Mercer, April 19, 23, and 26, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

16. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who Served in Organizations from Georgia, 57th Georgia--NA, Microcopy 266. The 57th Georgia had served in the Vicksburg Campaign, where it suffered heavy casualties at Champion Hill on May 16, 1863. The regiment, after being paroled, marched out of Vicksburg on July 12 and reached Enterprise, Mississippi, on the 20th. There the officers and men were furloughed for 30 days. They had rendezvoused at Macon, where they were declared exchanged on September 12. The regiment was then ordered to Savannah.

The Leon Florida Artillery, a four-gun battery, stationed at Camp Milton, Florida, received its marching orders. The artillerists and their cannon reached Andersonville by rail from Albany on May 3. By nightfall the redlegs had unlimbered their guns to sweep the interior of the enclosure. (17)

2. General Cobb Encounters Difficulties

a. Governor Brown Interferes

It was April 27 before General Cobb received orders from Secretary of War Seddon to "furnish without delay to the Commandant of prisons at . . . Andersonville such guards, from the Local Reserves" as necessary for "the perfect security of the prisoners." His Reserves were to relieve the troops on duty there. (18)

Despite Cobb's promise to "send the first regiment organized to Andersonville," his recruiters were harassed by Georgia's Governor Joseph Brown. According to a War Department directive, the commandants of Camps of Instruction were to order all men between 17 and 18 and 45 and 50 to rendezvous on April 16 at the enrolling headquarters of the Congressional Districts in which they resided. They would then, under the supervision of the district enrolling officers, proceed to organize themselves into companies and to elect officers. (19) Governor Brown's policies, however, caused serious delays and embarrassments. Large numbers of men were exempted because they held county and state offices. Cobb engaged in a lengthy verbal duel with his political enemy Brown. He urged upon the Governor the need for men and complained of the "sweeping exemption of all civil and military officers of the state." Writing

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17. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who Served in Organizations from Florida, NA, Microcopy 266, Dykes' Florida Battery; Ranson, Andersonville Diary, p. 76.

18. S.O. 98, April 27, 1864, Cobb Papers.

19. G.O. 28, April 7, 1864, Cobb Papers.

Adjutant General Cooper, Cobb blamed Brown for the fact that the Reserve Corps would not be as large as predicted. (20)

b. Cobb Visits Andersonville

While anxiously waiting to muster in his first regiment, General Cobb on May 4 made an official visit to Andersonville. At least one of the prisoners was unimpressed with Cobb's personal appearance. A diarist noted that Cobb was a "large and pompous looking man." After inspecting the prison and examining the returns, Cobb found that the guard numbered 1,193, counting the Florida battery and its four cannon--two rifled 10-pounders and a section of 12-pounder Napoleons. The number of men detailed for guard duty each day was 303, exclusive of artillerists. The guard was posted as follows: one man in each sentry box, 40 men at each gate by day and 80 by night. The remainder were posted in a line around and 50 yards from the stockade. Reliefs, not on duty, were required to remain near their posts. One section of artillery was unlimbered on the crest of the north slope within close range and commanding the South Gate and the south slope of the compound; the other section was emplaced in a similar manner on the opposite crest and commanded the North Gate and north slope of the prison enclosure. (21)

General Cobb, on learning that there were 12,000 prisoners in the stockade, urged Colonel Persons to enlarge the enclosure. To do this, Persons needed Negro work gangs. Cobb accordingly contacted T. M. Furlow, a prominent Sumter County planter and politician, pointing out that until the stockade was enlarged, he could not regard the prison as safe. He urged Furlow to employ his influence with the planter class to get them to send their blacks "promptly and

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20. Cobb to Brown, April 24, May 12 & 23, 1864; Cobb to Cooper, April 23, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

21. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, pp. 137-38; Ransom, Andersonville Diary, p. 76. The guard consisted of the 57th Georgia Infantry, detachments from the 55th Georgia and 26th Alabama, and the Leon Florida Artillery.

voluntarily" to accomplish this task, rather than hazard a mass escape by the prisoners. (22)

Taking cognizance of the friction between Colonels Persons and O'Neal, Cobb suggested to Adjutant General Cooper that he assign Brig. Gen. S. R. Anderson of Tennessee to command at Andersonville. He was certain that security of the prison required the presence of an officer of Anderson's rank and efficiency, because the number of prisoners was daily increasing, and the guard was about to be reinforced with men who had "never seen service and strict discipline by efficient officers." (23)

3. The Georgia Reserves Reach Andersonville

a. Two Veteran Regiments are Relieved

With the day that the Union armies were to take the offensive at hand, the War Department began to press Cobb to get his Reserves organized and sent off to Andersonville to relieve veteran regiments on duty. On May 3 he was notified that two regiments of Reserves were to be rushed to Andersonville. (24) To organize these units, General Cobb looked to Lucius J. Gartrell, who hoped to be rewarded for his efforts with a commission as brigadier general of Georgia Reserves. Gartrell had to work hard because of a number of factors. First, there was the failure by the enrolling officers to forward many recruits, and then he had to circumvent Governor Brown's roadblocks. Arms and accoutrements were difficult to come by, while there were no uniforms for the officers and men.

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22. Cobb to Furlow, May 26, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

23. Cobb to Cooper, May 2, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

24. Bragg to Cobb, May 3, 1864, Cobb Papers. Gen. Braxton Bragg, since his November resignation as commander of the Army of Tennessee, was serving as trusted advisor to President Davis.

Despite these difficulties, Gartrell by May 6 had organized and mustered in at the Atlanta Camp of Instruction the 1st and 2d Regiments of Georgia Reserves. General Cobb sent an officer to Atlanta to equip the soldiers with their arms--substandard caliber .69 converted flintlocks--and their accoutrements: bayonets, cartridge-boxes, waist belts, cartridge-box belts, canteens, canteen straps, and bayonet scabbards. (25)

The 1st Regiment Georgia Reserves reached Andersonville from Atlanta by way of Macon on the night of May 10. It was followed by the 2d Regiment on the 13th. As soon as the second of these regiments reported to him, Colonel Persons, in accordance with orders from General Cobb, relieved the 26th Alabama preparatory to starting it for northwest Georgia as a reinforcement for General Johnston's Army of Tennessee, which was contesting the advance of General Sherman's "army group" toward Atlanta. (26) The Alabamans had made many friends locally during their tour of duty at the prison. The citizens accordingly determined to give them a community picnic. It was held on the 14th, and the

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25. Cobb to Gartrell, May 6, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55; Gartrell to Cobb, May 27, 1864, Cobb Papers. Before entraining at Atlanta, the Reserves were provided with ammunition and three days' rations. Gartrell had been colonel of the 7th Georgia in 1861 and had fought at First Manassas. When the regiment was reorganized, in the spring of 1862, Gartrell was not re-elected and had resigned his commission to enter the Confederate Congress.

26. Cobb to Persons, May 9, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55; Gartrell to Cobb, May 10, 1864, Cobb Papers. The 2d Regiment left Atlanta for Andersonville at 5 a.m. on the 12th. The 1st and 2d Georgia Reserves, as well as the 4th, were rushed to Andersonville before all the companies had reached their authorized strength. General Cobb had warned the regimental commanders that he could not forward the muster rolls to the War Department until each company had 64 privates on its returns. After the regiments were ordered into the field, the empty billets slowly filled, but by June 23 the three regiments still needed between 300 and 400 men to bring them up to their authorized strength. Cobb to Seddon, June 23, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

band which came down from Macon for the festivities played "The Girl I Left Behind Me" as the regiment entrained. (27)

Three days later, on May 17, the 57th Georgia followed the 26th Alabama. General Cobb now learned that he had blundered in ordering these units to reinforce Johnston.

A War Department order dated May 16 now reached Macon directing him to rush these regiments, along with the 55th Georgia, to Richmond. This is an example of the effectiveness of General Grant's strategy in pressing the Confederates hard on two fronts. The troop movements had progressed too far to recall, and the transfer of these units from Andersonville to Johnston's Army of Tennessee was allowed to stand. (28) Moreover, it was decided that the three-company 55th Georgia was too understrength to be of any value at the front, and it would remain at Andersonville.

b. The Departure of the Veterans Causes Apprehensions

The 3d Regiment of Georgia Reserves reached Andersonville from Macon, where it was mustered in on May 11, during the period May 20-26. In moving down from Macon, soldiers of the 3d had been employed to guard incoming trains with Yankee prisoners. (29)

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27. Ransom, Andersonville Diary, pp. 80-81.

28. Wright to Cobb, May 18, 1864, Cobb Papers; Cobb to Persons, May 16, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55; S.O. 113, May 16, 1864, War Department.

29. Cobb to Persons, May 20, 23, & 24, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55. One company had arrived on the 20th; two on the 23d; three on the 24th; and the remainder of the regiment on the 26th. Before transferring to Andersonville, the 3d had been guarding the camp for Union officers at Macon. Reminiscences of J. M. Ball, 3d Ga. Reserves, "Reminiscences of Confederate Soldiers," U.D.C., Vol. 2, pp. 92-93, Georgia State Archives.

The Sumter County political power, T. M. Furlow, was disturbed that the security of the prison had been compromised by the replacement of veterans by the Reserves, and he protested to General Cobb. Replying, Cobb pointed out that he was "anxious to make Andersonville as secure as possible." Like Furlow he had questioned the wisdom of recalling the veterans, but he had been compelled to do so by the War Department. Since Furlow's visit to the prison, the guard had been reinforced by the 3d Regiment, and he expected to send the 4th Regiment on Saturday, the 28th. He felt that these additional units, with the force already there, if properly managed would make the prison secure. (30)

c. Cobb Cautions Colonel Persons

The previous day Cobb had telegraphed Gartrell at the Atlanta Camp of Instruction that he needed the 4th Regiment "very much" at Andersonville. (31) With Sherman's "army group" temporarily checkmated in front of New Hope Church, there was no need for the regiment with the army, and it entrained at Atlanta at 5 p.m. on the 27th. (32) Upon the arrival of the 4th at Andersonville on the 28th, Cobb cautioned Colonel Persons that it would be "difficult if not impracticable" to provide him with any more troops. He therefore warned Persons to adopt a policy of keeping the men in camp--furloughs should only be granted in cases of emergency. Officers were to remain with their units, as the men were undrilled and it would require "their presence to make them efficient soldiers in case of an outbreak or

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30. Cobb to Furlow, May 26, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

31. Cobb to Gartrell, May 25, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

32. Gartrell to Cobb, May 25 & 26, 1864, Cobb Papers. The organization of the 4th Regiment had been slowed by the occupation by the Federals of a number of northwestern Georgia counties, from which it had been expected that large numbers of recruits would come. Gartrell to Cobb, May 27, 1864, Cobb Papers.



mutiny." (33) To assist Persons and his officers in shaping up the Reserves, Cobb ordered a number of drill sergeants from the Macon Conscript Camp to Andersonville. (34)

D. Colonel Persons' Last Weeks as Post Commander

1. Furloughs and Shortages

Before the end of the first week of June, General Cobb and Colonel Persons found themselves bombarded by requests from Colonel Gartrell to furlough a number of Reserves to enable them to return to their farms to harvest the wheat crop. Cobb recognized the importance of food to the war effort, which had been underscored by Sherman's occupation of the wheat-producing northwest Georgia counties. He accordingly recommended that Persons, as far as practicable and consistent with the security of the prison, adopt a liberal policy of furloughing farmers for the wheat harvest. (35)

General Cobb was perturbed when the colonels of the Reserve regiments forwarded requests to his chief of ordnance for small-arms ammunition. As this was a serious problem, he contacted Colonel Persons to ascertain who was to shoulder this responsibility: he as commander of the Reserves or the Confederate Ordnance Department. If it were he, Cobb would have to secure orders allotting him ammunition from the War Department. Heretofore Cobb had believed that arrangements had been made whereby Persons was to be regularly supplied by the Ordnance Bureau. This problem was soon solved, but it

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33. Cobb to Persons, May 28, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

34. Cobb to Brown, June 1, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55. Col. W. M. Brown was commandant of the Macon Conscript Camp. The 4th Regiment of Georgia Reserves had been rushed to Andersonville without arms and accoutrements, and these were issued to them on May 20. Cobb to Persons, May 30, 1864, Cobb Letter Book No. 55, Compiled Service Records of Georgia Troops, 4th Regiment Reserves, NA, Microcopy 266.

35. Cobb to Persons, June 6, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

was symptomatic of the failure of the Confederate bureaucracy. (36)

## 2. Additional Cannon Arrive

On June 3, 1864, Cobb was able to forward by rail to Andersonville six 12-pounder howitzers. Colonel Persons was delighted to receive these cannon, because at short ranges, when charged with canister, they were the Civil War's most efficient killer. Emplaced to command the stockade, they discouraged thoughts of a riot or mass escape. In accordance with Cobb's suggestion, Persons determined to retain the eight cannon sent to the prison in February, provided the Ordnance Department did not request their return. While Sherman's "army group" was too far away to pose an immediate threat, there was the possibility of cavalry raids to guard against. It was determined to emplace the rifled guns to guard against this contingency. (37)

## E. General Winder Takes Command

### 1. Major Turner's Recommendation

Maj. Thomas P. Turner made an inspection of the prison for the War Department in late May. Like many others he was concerned about the guard situation. He observed that the Reserve officers, many of whom had seen previous service, were reliable. But he feared that a recently issued War Department order making them liable for conscription would leave the Reserve Corps a disorganized shell. New officers would have to be elected, "and there is scarcely one man out of a hundred who knows the manual of arms or who is capable of marching a company a square." Enforcement of this order would threaten the security of the prison. With the Florida line only 100 miles distant and Federal forces not much farther, Turner feared a Union column might suddenly appear in the vicinity. Should the prisoners

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36. Cobb to Persons, May 28, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55. Capt. George A. Cunningham of the 3d Regiment had been sent to Macon to draw ammunition, and this was how Cobb learned of this problem.

37. Cobb to Persons, June 3, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

then attempt a mass escape, the 2,000 to 3,000 undisciplined Reserves, if deprived of their officers, would probably panic. (38)

To cope with this situation, Major Turner urged the appointment of a chief administrator for all prisons, to prescribe general and comprehensive rules and regulations, establish order and system, and enforce discipline. His recommendation was not adopted. Instead, President Davis ordered to Andersonville the officer he believed most capable of dealing with the many problems that had arisen. The officer was Brig. Gen. John H. Winder. (39)

## 2. General Winder Travels to Georgia

Winder, a son of the ill-starred War of 1812 general whose militia stampeded at Bladensburg, had graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1820. He had fought with distinction in the first Seminole War and the war with Mexico. Having served many years in the South, he cast his lot with the Confederacy. He had resigned from the "old army" on April 20, 1861, and one month later he became colonel of the 1st North Carolina Infantry. In the third week of June, Winder was at the War Department in Richmond, where on June 21 he obtained a commission as brigadier general. President Davis soon appointed him to the position of provost marshal and commander of Federal prisons in Richmond. Here his thankless duties included returning absentees, stragglers, and deserters to their units; keeping order in the city; guarding Union prisoners; and aiding in their exchange. These duties had not enhanced his popularity, and when it was learned in Richmond that Winder had been given a new assignment, the editor of the Examiner informed his readers, "Thank God that Richmond is at last rid of old Winder; God have mercy upon those

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38. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, p. 192.

39. Ibid., p. 396.

to whom he has been sent." (40)

The 64-year-old Winder hurriedly wrapped up his business in Richmond and boarded a train for Georgia. Reaching Andersonville, he took command of the post from Colonel Persons on June 17, 1864. (41)

### 3. General Winder Calls for Reinforcements.

General Winder's nerves were tested and found wanting on the morning of June 22, five days after his arrival, when the guards located a tunnel 90 to 100 feet long and 14 feet beneath the pickets. (42) Two more tunnels were pinpointed during the next 48 hours. (43) This caused General Winder grave concern, as the guard consisted of 1,205 "very raw troops . . . , with the measles prevailing, badly armed and worse disciplined." He feared a mass break by his 24,000 prisoners, provided a Union raiding column could penetrate the area. To guard against such a disaster, he urged General Cobb to reinforce the guard and General Cooper to detail him several agents to investigate fifth column activity in Sumter and Macon counties. He also warned against sending any more prisoners to Andersonville. To insure that there was no underestimating the gravity of the situation, Winder had this message hand-carried to Richmond by a trusted member of his staff--Lt. S. Boyer Davis. (44)

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40. Futch, History of Andersonville Prison, pp. 27-28; Stibbs, "Andersonville and the Trial of Henry Wirz," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. 9, p. 20.

41. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 396.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., pp. 410-11.

44. Ibid; S. Boyer Davis, Escape of a Confederate Officer from Prison (Norfolk, 1892), pp. 15-16. It was rumored that General Sherman had sent an agent into Sumter County to contact disaffected persons and the prisoners.

General Cobb, on June 24, wrote President Davis seconding Winder's statement that it was unsafe to send any more prisoners to Andersonville. He reiterated a suggestion made previously that another prison be established. Union Springs, Alabama, was recommended as an ideal site. Taking cognizance of Winder's request for more troops, Cobb pointed out that he had sent four regiments of Reserves to Andersonville. These units had mustered about 2,000 officers and men, but sickness, details, and furloughs had sapped their strength. In addition to the Reserves, Winder had Persons' battalion of the 55th Georgia, and the Leon Florida Artillery. It was impossible for him at this time to send Winder any help. The only way to strengthen the guard would be to call on Governor Brown to reinforce Andersonville with several militia units called up to support General Johnston. (45)

Lieutenant Davis' mission was successful, and on July 6 the War Department authorized Winder to call on General Cobb for additional troops. Cobb was also to select a site in Alabama, Cahaba or Union Springs, to which a number of the Andersonville prisoners might be shifted. (46)

Winder moved to capitalize on this order. Writing Cobb on the 9th, he pointed out that he "must have reinforcements." Twelve of the Reserves had deserted with their arms the previous night, and there was great dissatisfaction in their camps with many more threatening to leave. Unless the government or people of Georgia promptly rallied to his relief, he would be unable to hold the Yankees, and "they must submit to see Georgia devastated by the prisoners." The panic-stricken general pled that there was not a moment to spare, and 24 hours might be too late. (47)

Simultaneously, Winder telegraphed Adjutant General Cooper, warning that there is "treason going on around

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45. Cobb to Davis, June 24, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

46. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, p. 445.

47. Winder to Cobb, July 9, 1864, Cobb Papers.

us, even to depositing arms in the adjacent counties to arm the prisoners." Unless he had experienced counter agents from his old Richmond command, he would have to commit the investigation to incompetents. To emphasize his difficulties, he also reported the 12 deserters to Cooper. (48)

Sending reinforcements was impossible, as Sherman's "army group" had flanked Johnston's Army of Tennessee out of its formidable position in front of Marietta and was about to cross the Chattahoochee. The urgency of Winder's appeals, however, determined Cobb to travel to Andersonville. He found all quiet and decided that Winder had magnified his difficulties. Cobb wrote his wife on July 11 that many of the Reserves were disgruntled, because they had not been given furloughs and were threatening to desert in an effort to pressure Winder into adopting a more liberal leave policy. Cobb spent the day at the post and made a 30-minute talk, designed to boost morale, to the guards. When he returned to Macon, he believed both officers and men were "perfectly content and satisfied." (49)

#### 4. The Guard's Shortcomings

##### a. Colonel Chandler's Evaluation and Recommendations

Other officers besides General Winder and Major Turner had harsh opinions of the Georgia Reserves. Capt. W. M. Hammond, who visited Andersonville in late June, described the Reserves as "poorly instructed and without discipline." (50) By the end

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48. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, p. 451.

49. Cobb to Wife, July 11, 1864, Cobb Papers.

50. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 392. The officer in charge of the guard at the time of Hammond's visit was Col. J. H. Fannin of the 1st Georgia Reserves.

of July, Winder's pleas for reinforcements, given emphasis by Rousseau's raid, had compelled the authorities to order Lt. Col. T. M. Furlow's Battalion, Georgia Militia, to Andersonville. This unit had been raised in southwest Georgia, and Colonel Furlow called Americus his home. The guard, with this increment, now mustered 3,950 of whom 647 were on sick report, 385 absent without leave, 277 on leave, 212 on detail, 185 on detached service, and 48 under arrest. Of these units, the Leon Florida artillery was the only one that was well drilled, disciplined, and officered. The battalion of the 55th Georgia was composed of soldiers who had been absent from their unit when it was captured at Cumberland Gap in September 1863. The battalion was described by Colonel Chandler as "thoroughly demoralized, mutinous, and entirely without discipline." He recommended that the battalion be transferred and its place taken by a more efficient unit. (51)

The four regiments of Georgia Reserves, Chandler found, were newly organized, and no effort had been made to assign the old men and striplings to different units. A number of men were between the ages of 18 and 45, and Chandler recommended that "a reliable conscript officer be sent among them." As the Reserves were undisciplined, it was suggested

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51. Ibid., p. 548. The soldiers of the 55th, the previous year, had removed Col. C. B. Harkie, although he was armed, from a railroad car and had marched him up and down a depot platform. Subsequently, they had escorted him from his tent, placed him on a stump, and compelled him to go through the manual of arms with a tent-pole. Next, they forced him to sign and forward his resignation to Secretary of War Seddon. Colonel Harkie had disavowed his resignation and had rejoined his unit at Andersonville, but he was afraid to give any orders.

that "one competent officer from the Invalid Corps be assigned to each regiment as drill officer and instructor." Many of Furlow's militia lacked arms, while none of them had bayonets or accoutrements. (52)

Checking with the officer-of-the-day, Colonel Chandler found that 784 men were required daily for guard and related duties. Positioned at strategic points around the stockade were the 52 "pigeon-roosts" manned by two officers and 176 enlisted men; there were 23 posts at the two hospitals, occupied by one officer and 73 enlisted men; 206 men were on picket duty to prevent escape by tunneling; outlying pickets and bridge guards required six officers and 43 enlisted men; and 125 men were assigned to guard the wood party and fatigue details. Chandler, on reviewing the returns, saw with over 600 men on sick call, 612 on leave or absent without leave, 297 on detail or detached service, and 48 in the guardhouse, that the remaining 2,280 officers and men were too few to divide into the usual three reliefs. He recommended to Adjutant General Cooper that the guard be increased by one thousand effectives to provide the soldiers with proper rest. (53)

An exhausted and hard-pressed Confederacy lacked resources to carry out Colonel Chandler's recommendations, and the battalion of the 55th Georgia was permitted to remain at Andersonville until the end of October, after most of the prisoners

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52. Ibid., pp. 548-49.

53. Ibid., pp. 480, 549. The breakdown of the guard as reported to Chandler was: day guard at stockade, 2 officers and 166 enlisted men; day reserve at stockade, 2 officers and 118 enlisted men; guards with stockade wood party, 1 officer and 100 enlisted men; guards at batteries, 36 enlisted men; provost guards, 4 officers and 85 enlisted men; outlying pickets, 46 enlisted men; bridge guards, 12 enlisted men; men on duty in stockade, 45 enlisted men; hospital guards, 1 officer and 73 enlisted men. There were four picket posts, located on roads, about 2 1/2 miles from the prison. The pickets went on daily scouts searching for deserters, escapees, and Union cavalry. Wirz Trial, Allen's Testimony, p. 407. Nazareth Allen served in the 1st Georgia Reserves.



had left, when it was transferred to the Camp Lawton stockade. (54) At the same time, with Sherman's "army group" before Atlanta and General Lee hard-pressed at Petersburg, it was impossible to send 50 reinforcements to Andersonville, let alone the 1,000 requested by Colonel Chandler.

b. Difficulties Between the Prisoners and Reserves

The prisoners, like the inspecting officers and General Winder, held the Georgia Reserves in low repute. After the departure of the veterans of the 26th Alabama and 57th Georgia and their replacement by the undisciplined reserves, relations, which had been correct, deteriorated rapidly. In defense of the Reserves, it should be pointed out that it was after their arrival that the prison became hopelessly overcrowded and the hot weather commenced. To make an impossible situation worse, June 1864 was an unusually wet month, with rain on 17 consecutive days. Pvt. Albert H. Shatzel, a Vermont cavalryman, noted in his diary:

We are under the Malisha & their ages range from 10 to 75 years & they are the Dambdst set of men I ever have had the Luck to fall in with yet. . . . God help the Prisoner when they fall into the hands of the Malisha. (55)

John L. Ransom recorded that "perched upon the stockade as guards" were "the worst looking scalawags . . . from boys just large enough to handle a gun, to old men who ought to have been dead years ago for the good of their country." (56)

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54. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who Served in Organizations from Georgia, 55th Georgia--NA, Microcopy 266.

55. "Imprisonment at Andersonville: The Diary of Albert Harry Shatzel, May 5, 1864-September 12, 1864," Nebraska History, Vol. 38, pp. 91-92.

56. Ransom, Andersonville Diary, p. 47.

David Kennedy, an Ohio horse soldier, believed the guards to be "the off scouring of the South," who acted "as though they were scared to death at the sight of a Yankee." (57) Sergt. Eugene Forbes saw sentries on duty in late July in the "pigeon roosts" who were barely able to peer over the stockade, "being 14 or 15 years old and very small." (58)

Pvt. James E. Anderson of the Georgia Reserves was so distressed by the frequent shootings at the deadline that he wrote President Davis. He complained:

We have many thoughtless boys here who think the killing of a Yankee will make them great men .... Every day or two there are prisoners shot. When the officer of the guard goes to the sentry stand, there is a dead or badly wounded man invariably within their own lines. The sentry, of course, says he was across the dead-line when he shot him . . . .Last Sabbath there were two shot in their tents at one shot. The boy said that he shot at one across the dead-line. Night before last there was one shot near me (I being on guard). The sentry said that the Yankee made one step across the line to avoid a mud hole. He shot him through the bowels, and when the officer of the guard got there he was lying inside their own lines. He (the sentry) as usual told him that he stepped across, but fell back inside. (59)

##### 5. The Parole System

To assist with work in and about the prison, the Confederates adopted a policy of paroling certain prisoners. Men willing to work as clerks, hospital stewards, cooks, bakers, gravediggers, carpenters, and

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57. David Kennedy Diary, May 25, 1864, typescript, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.

58. Eugene Forbes, Diary of a Soldier, and Prisoner of War in the Rebel Prisons (Trenton, 1865), p. 34.

59. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 403.

the like, were placed on parole. In exchange for their promise not to escape and for their work, they were given certain privileges--extra rations and release from close confinement in the stockade. (60)

There were in the last week of June about 300 Yankees on parole. A citizen, observing that many wandered about willy-nilly, bought vegetables, and traded with Confederate soldiers, complained to Governor Brown. These men, he wrote, had their own camp without guards. Brown's informant feared these men would do the Confederacy "an immense amount of mischief." By acting in concert with those in the stockade, they might be able to effect a mass escape. (61)

Governor Brown forwarded his informant's letter to the War Department for comment. When he reported on the situation, General Winder pointed out that the system of paroling men for work began with the arrival of the first prisoners from Belle Isle in February. This policy was dictated by expediency and necessity. While Winder was opposed to the system, he had been obliged by a manpower shortage to accept it. (62)

Learning that Colonel Furlow was a political enemy of Governor Brown, General Winder in mid-August determined to ascertain his thoughts on the subject. Colonel Furlow, during the four weeks he had been at Andersonville, had occupied quarters on the west side of the railroad cut from the camp and workshops occupied by the paroled men. He had accordingly watched them closely and found them quiet and orderly. He had seen nothing to arouse his "suspicion that any danger or evil would result from their parole." Fear of being returned to the compound helped insure good behavior. The only conversations they had had with blacks dealt invariably with the purchase of watermelons and peaches.

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60. Ibid., p. 437.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid., pp. 623-24.

Because of the labor shortage in Sumter County, the parolees were needed to insure the continuation of the camp construction program. Had the necessary labor been available for hire, it would have been at an enormous expense to the government, which the parole system obviated, because the prisoners received "no wages save a slight addition to their rations." Moreover, Furlow believed that he would encounter strong opposition from his troops, if they were required to provide details to attend the Yankee "sick and . . . dead," tasks now discharged by the parolees. (63)

F. Fortifications, Rifle-Pits, and Covered Ways

1. General Winder Panics

General Cobb had been called to Andersonville in the first week of May 1864 to inspect and report on measures taken by Colonel Persons to prevent a mass escape of the prisoners. What he saw satisfied him that the danger of such a break had been exaggerated. Arrangements were effected to send two regiments of Georgia Reserves to the prison within the week, which with Colonel Persons' detached companies would be sufficient infantry. He also made several suggestions for making the prison more secure, and if the tools could be had he urged Persons to have the stockade surrounded by fortifications. These could be erected by the troops, whose health would be improved by the work. (64)

With Sherman's "army group" several hundred miles away and General Johnston's Army of Tennessee braced to oppose his advance, the camp administration was unprepared to turn their troops to throwing up fortifications. What they were worried about was a mass uprising by the prisoners. They believed artillery emplaced on the high ground commanding the enclosure would suffice to cow the prisoners, after the officers had been removed from Castle Reid and transferred to Camp Oglethorpe at Macon.

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63. Ibid., pp. 601-02.

64. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, pp. 119-20.

Throughout the months of May and June, as the population of the prison soared, Sherman's armies slowly closed in on Atlanta. In the second week of July, the bluecoats crossed the Chattahoochee, the last natural barrier before Atlanta, and the following week found Union raiders under Maj. Gen. Lovell Rousseau wrecking the Montgomery and West Point Railroad, 85 miles northwest of Andersonville. Certain Confederate authorities mistakenly believed that the release of the prisoners was Rousseau's goal.

General Winder panicked, and on July 20 he turned out those soldiers not on guard duty and put them to work throwing up breastworks and redans. The prisoners were delighted to see the Georgia Reservés toiling and sweating under the hot Georgia sun. Rumors circulated that a raiding column was nearby, and one diarist noted that he would not be surprised to be "awakened tonight by a Yankee relief of the guard." (65) The next day, the Confederates toiling on the fortifications were reinforced by about 500 Negroes rushed to Andersonville by planters in response to a plea from General Winder. The blacks were organized into round-the-clock work gangs. (66)

## 2. Captain Moreno Takes Charge

No military engineer was assigned to Andersonville, so General Winder called for help. Capt. Theodore Moreno, who was in charge of obstructing the Chattahoochee River and the engineer depot at Columbus, was ordered to Andersonville to lay out the fortifications and oversee their construction. Moreno was not a trained military engineer, but he had learned the principles while serving as a clerk in the

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65. "The Diary of Albert Harry Shatzel, May 5, 1864September 12, 1864," Nebraska History, Vol. 38, p. 209; "A Vermonter in Andersonville: Diary of Charles Ross, 1864," edited by Charles M. Destler, Vermont History, Vol. 25, p. 235.

6. Ibid.

Engineering Department at the Pensacola Navy Yard before the war. (67)

Despite these measures it seemed to Winder that work was dragging. On July 27, the day that Maj. Gens. William T. Sherman and George Stoneman made plans for a raid to Macon and Andersonville to release the prisoners, Winder called on the citizens of Sumter and adjoining counties for more help. Captain Moreno had told him that 2,000 blacks, properly supplied with axes, spades, and picks, and supported by the requisite number of wagons and teams, could finish the defenses in ten days. Each owner, where practicable, was to send these implements with their slaves. As provisions and provender were scarce, the planters were to send food and forage with their hands and horses. If the slaveholders failed to respond, General Winder was prepared to employ his impressment authority. (68)

The response to this appeal was less enthusiastic than General Winder would have liked, but within three days a prison diarist recorded that 250 additional blacks were at work on the defenses. To secure timber for the additional stockades proposed by Captain Moreno, fatigue parties began felling timber in large quantities to the west of the prison. (69)

Before the defenses had been completed, the immediate crisis had passed. On July 30, two miles east of Macon, General Cobb with a motley force repulsed Stoneman, and the next day Brig. Gen. Alfred Iverson routed the main

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67. Compiled Service Records of Confederate General & Staff Officers & Nonregimented Enlisted Men, NA; Misc. Records of the Confederate Engineer Dept., NA, RG 109.

68. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 503-04; Wirz Trial, Fannin's and Wright's Testimony, pp. 436, 482.

69. "The Diary of Albert Harry Shatzel, May 5, 1864--September 12, 1864," Nebraska History, Vol. 38, pp. 114, 116; "A Vermonter in Andersonville: Diary of Charles Ross, 1864," Vermont History, Vol. 25, p. 236; Wirz Trial, Spring Testimony, p. 112. Andrew Spring had served in the 16th Connecticut Infantry.

raiding column at Hillsborough, capturing General Stoneman and 500 of his men.

3. A Description of the Earthworks

a. The Star Fort

The defenses consisted of seven redans, one redoubt, one fort, and a line of rifle-pits. The principal work, known as Star Fort, was laid out on the commanding ground 375 feet from the southwest corner of the prison pen. This work was well traced with a number of faces and angles, and fronted by a ditch. A large traverse divided the fort, and it contained two magazines and a deep well. The Star Fort was embrasured and had platforms to emplace 12 guns, although the maximum number mounted was nine field guns--6- and 12-pounders--five of which were trained by the Leon Florida Artillery on the slope of the enclosure north of Stockade Branch. (70)

b. The Redoubt

Eight hundred feet northwest of the North Gate was a redoubt. This work, which was embrasured and platformed for five guns, emplaced in August 1864 three field guns, all of which bore on the slope of the prison pen south of Stockade Branch. (71)

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70. O.R., Ser. II., Vol. 7, pp. 549, 590; Wirz Trial, Gibbs', Dyer's, & Fannin's Testimony, pp. 22, 408, 439; Davidson, Experience, Rebel Prisons, p. 257; "Sketch of Andersonville, Ga.," NA, RG 92. The completion of two magazines in Star Fort corrected one deficiency observed by Colonel Chandler. He had reported, in the first week of August, that the magazine had not been completed, and the ammunition was kept partly in the commissary storehouse and partly in a tent. In Rebel Prisons, p. 257; Dedication of the Monument at Anderson

71. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 257; "Sketch of Andersonville, Ga.," NA, RG 92.

c. The Redans

Six redans were positioned to cover approaches to the prison pen from the north, east, and southeast. Fronting the redans were ditches. General Winder was concerned about a riot in the stockade to coincide with an attack by Union cavalry so Captain Moreno had palisades erected across the redan gorges. Instead of providing gates for ingress and egress to the redans, Captain Moreno, taking a cue from the Iroquois, provided unusual entrances similar to those used in magazines. Through the wings of each palisade there was a passageway so restricted that only one man could pass at a time. (72)

A seventh redan was sited about 150 yards west of the prison pen, with its left flank near the road leading from the stockade to the depot. Extending northward from this redan to a point near the salient angle of the northwest redan were a line of rifle-pits. This redan and the rifle-pits guarded the approach to the stockade from the railroad station. (73)

d. The Covered Way

The space between the outer and middle stockade would constitute a covered way. Confederate soldiers in case of an emergency could move from redan to redan without being exposed to the fire of an attacking force or missiles hurled by rioting prisoners.

e. General Wilson's Evaluation of the Defenses

General Wilson was a trained engineer, and during the Vicksburg Campaign he had served General Grant as

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72. Ibid. Dr. Raymond Lewis, the foremost authority on 19th and 20th century North American fortifications, knows of no other mid-19th century defenses where such a scheme was used.

73. "Sketch of Andersonville, Ga.," NA, RG 92; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 257; "Map of the U.S. Prison Park Property, Andersonville, Ga., to Accompany the Report of E. G. Mitchell, C.E., March 20, 1914."



his chief topographical engineer. On visiting Andersonville, he was impressed with the defenses laid out by Captain Moreno. The fortifications were well designed to accomplish their twofold mission of defending the stockade against a relief column and preventing a mass escape by the prisoners. Standing in Star Fort, Wilson saw that the cannon were sighted to sweep with canister the enclosure. (74)

#### G. The Confederate Camps

The troops ordered to Andersonville for guard duty established their camps on the high ground west and southwest of the stockade. The first two units to arrive, Colonel Persons' battalion of the 55th Georgia and Colonel O'Neal's 26th Alabama, pitched their tents on the ridge southwest of the South Gate. Colonel O'Neal's sinks and camp drained into Stockade Branch, while Colonel Persons' flushed into Sweetwater Creek. (75)

When the Georgia Reserves arrived in May, Colonel Fannin's 1st Georgia occupied the camp of the 26th Alabama. It remained there until mid-June, when complaints of the men regarding the stench from the prison brought orders to move a short distance farther west. Within a few days, the regiment moved into what was to be its permanent camp on the high ground east of the railroad, between the two branches. The 2d Reserves and Failor's battalion camped on the south slope of the opposite ridge, while the 4th Reserves pitched their tents southwest of the depot. Colonel Harris' 3d Reserves, at first, camped a considerable distance from the stockade. Captain Wirz, however, decided that Harris' people were too far away in case of emergency, and Harris accordingly relocated his unit nearer the enclosure. (76)

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74. Wirz Trial, Wilson's Testimony, pp. 275-76.

75. Ibid., Spring's and Fannin's Testimony, pp. 111, 445. There was a large 75- to 100-acre cornfield on the south side of Sweetwater Creek, below the camp of the 55th Georgia.

76. Ibid., Bates', Burrowes', Allen's, Dillard's, & Fannin's Testimony, pp. 34, 49, 118, 125, 438. The drainage from the camps on the ridge, separating Stockade Branch and Sweetwater Creek, could go either way.

The sinks and camps being on high ground drained into Stockade Branch. As the ground was steep, heavy rains filled the sinks and flushed them into the branch. Colonel Chandler, at the time of his inspection, took cognizance of this situation and the complaints of the prisoners, and told General Winder that this was wrong. Winder promised to have it corrected, and before Chandler started back to Richmond, one of the regiments had moved its camp to a site less likely to pollute the branch, and others relocated their camps to face the branch, with their sinks "far off in the rear." Orders were now issued and enforced not to muddy the water or "defile it in any way." (77)

Because of the tent shortage, a number of the units constituting the guard erected huts. These were typical of the period, having walls of split pine logs, roofs of slabs or canvas, fireplaces of mud and sticks, and dirt floors. (78)

#### H. Andersonville Fades Away

##### 1. Most of the Andersonville Prisoners are Transferred

His experiences during the past several months satisfied General Cobb that the War Department had pushed his suggestion regarding the establishment of a prison pen in southwest Georgia too far. Learning from General Winder that plans were afoot to locate a prison camp at Millen, Georgia, to relieve overcrowding at Andersonville, Cobb on August 12, 1864, wrote Secretary of War Seddon urging him not to establish any more prison camps in Georgia. To reinforce his position, he pointed out that with Sherman before Atlanta all sections of the state were exposed to raids; and if camps were located in

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77. Ibid., Burrowes' and Chandler's Testimony, pp. 49, 242; Park, "The 'Rebel Prison Pen' at Andersonville, Ga.," reprinted in Confederate View of the Treatment of Prisoners, p. 163.

78. Wirz Trial, Wilson's & Wright's Testimony, pp. 270, 486; Park, "The 'Rebel Prison Pen' at Andersonville, Ga.," reprinted in Confederate View of the Treatment of Prisoners, p. 163. General Cobb had given instructions to Colonel Persons that as soon as the Reserves could be put in huts that their tents be turned in and sent to the post surgeon in Atlanta. Cobb to Persons, May 12, 23, & 28, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55; Gartrell to Cobb, May 27, 1864, Cobb Papers.

other states, Reserves from them could be detailed for guard duty. If the War Department multiplied the prisons in one state, it lost the use of Reserves from other states, and would be compelled to draw troops from the field. (79)

Plans had jelled too far to change. On September 2 when it was learned in Richmond that Sherman's troops had occupied Atlanta, the authorities realized that it was no longer safe to hold prisoners at Andersonville. Orders were accordingly issued on the 5th by Adjutant General Cooper for General Winder to immediately initiate measures for sending the Andersonville and Macon prisoners, able to be transported, to Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. (80)

On September 7 the first 18 detachments left Andersonville by rail, guarded by detachments from the battalion of the 55th Georgia, and the 1st and 3d Georgia Reserves. By the 12th, 7,000 of the Andersonville prisoners had reached Charleston, and plans were developed to forward them to Florence, where a stockade was under construction. The next day, the 13th, Secretary Seddon telegraphed General Winder to cease sending prisoners to Charleston, but to forward as many as possible to Millen, in south central Georgia. (81)

By the end of September, most of the prisoners and guards had left Andersonville. General Winder spent a good part of September at Millen, overseeing the construction of the stockade, designated Camp Lawton, which would be ready to receive prisoners on the 28th. He proposed to return to Andersonville on the 25th, preparatory to transferring his headquarters to Camp Lawton. Col. George C. Gibbs would be left in command at Andersonville with the prisoners too sick to be transferred. Already 11 of the Andersonville cannon had been moved to Millen, and plans made to bring the rest,

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79. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 585-86.

80. Ibid., p. 773.

81. Ibid., pp. 817, 821; Compiled Service Records of Georgia Troops, 1st and 3d Reserves--NA, Microcopy 266.

along with the 2d and 4th Georgia Reserves and the Leon Florida Artillery. (82)

## 2. Andersonville is all but Abandoned

General Winder made his scheduled trip to Andersonville, and soon after his return to Millen issued orders on October 9 assigning Colonel Gibbs to command at Andersonville. The same order specified that the prisoners and prison were to be Captain Wirz's responsibility, and no one was to enter the stockade without a pass from him. (83) By this time there were only 5,000 prisoners remaining at Andersonville, of whom 3,000 were too debilitated to travel. (84)

For as long as Sherman's "army group" retained possession of the Atlanta area, the Confederate authorities continued to ship the Andersonville inmates elsewhere. By mid-November, just before Sherman abandoned Atlanta and commenced his "march to the sea," the number of prisoners had slumped to 1,500. Captain Wirz now complained that security was so lax that prisoners escaped nightly, because he had no "guard left to guard Stockade and Hospital both." He urged that the remaining prisoners be transferred elsewhere. (85)

## 3. Andersonville Again Becomes Important

With Sherman's columns closing in on Savannah in mid-December, Camp Lawton was no longer secure and the prisoners confined there were sent elsewhere, many going to Thomasville. Fearful that hard-riding Brig. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick's bluecoated horse soldiers would

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82. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 869.

83. Ibid., p. 760. Capt. Dick Winder was transferred at the same time to Camp Lawton. Henceforth, Capt. James H. Wright of the 55th Georgia would be post quartermaster at Andersonville. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 733.

84. Ibid., p. 955.

85. Ibid., pp. 1144-45.

suddenly appear at Thomasville, Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard, commanding the Military Division of the West, directed Generals Winder and Cobb to transfer these prisoners to Andersonville. This was done, and several trains with about 3,500 prisoners reached Andersonville on Christmas Eve. (86)

General Sherman spent the last days of 1864 and the first weeks of 1865 in Savannah regrouping and resting his troops, preparatory to beginning his march through the Carolinas. Confederate officials at this time became concerned about the security of prison camps in those two states, and the pros and cons of removing the inmates to Andersonville were heatedly discussed. The problem was referred to President Davis, and he advised against sending more prisoners to Andersonville on the grounds that it was unprotected. (87)

Discipline weakened as the tide of war continued to run against the Confederacy. Pvt. I.R.S. Carroll of the 1st Georgia Reserves was arrested for bootlegging whiskey to the prisoners. When court martialed, he confessed his guilt and asserted that he had no idea that he was doing anything wrong. Prisoners were paroled as drummers and fifers for the 2d Georgia Reserves. Without Wirz's knowledge, the regiment, accompanied by these musicians, marched five miles from Andersonville to serenade a lady who had sewn a flag for the regiment. A Georgian who gave the name of Ann Williams reached Andersonville on the morning of January 15. Wirz on the 17th reported that without doubt she had had "sexual intercourse with at least seven prisoners." But she was not a prostitute, Wirz observed, because "on every occasion [she had] refused to take money, saying to them that she was a friend of theirs and had come for the purpose of seeing how she could help them." (88)

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86. Ibid., pp. 1238-39, 1286; Beauregard to Cobb, Dec. 17, and H. W. Fielder to Cobb, Dec. 22; and Lamar Cobb to George C. Gibbs, Dec. 19, 1864, Cobb Papers.

87. Futch, History of Andersonville Prison, p. 114.

88. Collected Confederate Records, Chapt. 9, Vol. 5, pp. 21, 23-26, 33-34, NA, RG 109.

#### 4. Exchanges are Resumed

In mid-March the exchange of prisoners was resumed, in accordance with an agreement entered into between General Grant and Colonel Ould. Captain Wirz immediately began paroling prisoners for exchange at Big Black Bridge in Mississippi. This was a long and complicated journey by rail and boat. Maj. Gen. Samuel Jones, who commanded the District of Florida, to simplify matters suggested sending the Andersonville prisoners to Jacksonville. Maj. Gen. Gideon J. Pillow, who had succeeded to the position of commissary general of prisoners after General Winder's death on February 6, 1865, agreed and contacted the Union commander at Jacksonville, Brig. Gen. E. P. Scammon, to see if he would accept them. (89) Scammon on March 29 notified the Confederates that he would not "hesitate to receive the prisoners." (90)

Colonel Gibbs moved promptly to consummate the exchange. Eleven hundred prisoners were entrained at Andersonville on April 4 and sent to Albany, to be followed by 1,200 on the 5th, and the remainder on the 6th. The only Federals left at the prison were 20 who were hospitalized and too sick to move. From Albany the prisoners were to be marched to Monticello, Florida, by way of Thomasville. (91)

The prisoners never got beyond Albany, however, because Scammon's immediate superior, Maj. Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore, squelched the exchange. He ordered Scammon to receive no prisoners until he had cleared the subject with General Grant. Consequently, the prisoners had to return to Andersonville. On April 17 three trainloads of

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89. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 427; Roy to Stout, March 25, 1865, Andersonville Letters, Georgia Department of Archives.

90. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 445.

91. Ibid., p. 471. Colonel Gibbs had urged that the prisoners be routed to Quincy, Florida, by way of Eufaula, Alabama, but General Jones had overruled him. General Pillow had ordered 30 blacks captured at Natural Bridge to Andersonville to serve as laborers.

prisoners were sent to Macon in the morning, but they were back in the stockade by dark. (92)

##### 5. The Last Act

A powerful Union column led by Maj. Gen. James H. Wilson captured Columbus, Georgia, on April 17, and within three weeks the last prisoner had been released and Captain Wirz was under arrest. On May 4 Colonel Gibbs reported from Andersonville that he had just returned from Baldwin, Florida, where he had paroled for exchange all prisoners for whom he was responsible. While he and his troops were absent, a force of ex-soldiers, their wives, and citizens of Sumter County on the night of May 3 had broken into the warehouses and made off with a small amount of military stores. In addition, they had stolen all the mules, commissary stores, and unused clothing and bedding. (93)

Several days later, after Colonel Gibbs had started for his home in Florida, Capt. Henry E. Noyes of General Wilson's staff reached Andersonville from Macon and placed Captain Wirz under arrest. Wirz was taken to Washington by Captain Noyes and lodged in the Old Capitol Prison. Tried as a war criminal by a Military Commission later in the year, Wirz was convicted and sentenced to death. The sentence was carried out on November 10, 1865.

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92. William F. Lyon, In and Out of Andersonville Prison (Detroit, 1907); Roy to Stout, April 13, 1865, Andersonville Letters, Georgia Department of Archives.

93. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 532.





## VII. ADMINISTRATION AND PUNISHMENT

### A. The Commandant of the Prison

#### 1. Captain Wirz's Arrival

Lt. Col. Alexander W. Persons on his arrival at Andersonville in late February 1864 with his battalion of the 55th Georgia reported to Capt. Sid Winder. He was to command the prison guard and take charge of the prisoners who had arrived on the 25th. On the last day of February, he replaced Winder as post commandant. Soon after Persons took charge, Capt. Henry A. Wirz reached Andersonville and reported to him with instructions from General Winder to take charge of the prisoners. The situation became confused when several days later Maj. Elias Griswold arrived with similar instructions. As his orders conflicted with Griswold's, Wirz yielded to his superior. After about two weeks, General Winder resolved the situation in Wirz's favor, and Griswold in late March was ordered to return to Richmond. (1)

Captain Wirz, a combat veteran of the 4th Louisiana Infantry, was assigned as commandant of the prison by Colonel Persons on March 27, 1864. Wirz held this position until the end of the war, except for a five-week period in the late summer of 1864, when he was on sick leave. His replacement during these weeks was Lt. S. Boyer Davis, an officer on General Winder's staff, who had served as commandant of the officers' prison camp at Macon for three weeks at the end of July and the beginning of August. When Wirz took sick, Davis was recalled from Macon by General Winder and took over as commandant at Andersonville, pending Wirz's return to duty. (2)

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1. Wirz Trial, Persons' Testimony, p. 455.

2. S. Boyer Davis, Escape of a Confederate Officer from Prison: What He Saw at Andersonville (Norfolk, 1892), pp. 15-16. Lieutenant Davis had reached Andersonville on June 20, three days after General Winder. On the 24th he started for Richmond with dispatches and was back at Andersonville on July 18.

Captain Wirz, whose name is more intimately associated with the prison than any other, was born November 25, 1823, in Zurich, Switzerland, the son of Hans C. Wirz, a tailor. He was educated in Zurich and the Kingdom of Sardinia. Although he wished to be a physician, his father objected and he entered the mercantile trade. In 1845 he married Emilie Oswald, who bore him two children. Running afoul of the law, he served a brief jail sentence, and, after divorcing his wife, he emigrated to the United States in 1849. Wirz worked for a while as a weaver in a factory in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and then headed west. In 1854 he was at Hopkinsville, Kentucky, where he became an assistant to Dr. Weber. At Cadiz, on May 28, he married a widow, Elizabeth Wolfe. From Cadiz he drifted to the Marshall plantation at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, where he secured employment as the "doctor" for Marshall's slaves. Wirz was mustered into the 4th Louisiana Infantry on June 16, 1861, as a sergeant. After being wounded at Seven Pines, he was promoted to captain and detailed as acting adjutant general to General Winder. (3)

One of the prisoners recalled that Wirz was not "a very prepossessing looking chap." He appeared to be between 35 and 40, "rather tall, and a little stoop shouldered." A pale complexion gave him "a white-livered look," which combined with thin lips gave him a "sneering sort of countenance." It made the diarist feel as if he would like to go up and "boot him." Wirz, whom he mistakenly judged to be a Swede, wore considerable jewelry on his person--a long watch chain and a diamond stick pin. He also wore patent leather boots. To the prisoners he was known as the "Flying Dutchman." (4)

In accordance with General Winder's decision, there were to be three separate and distinct commands at Andersonville: the officer in charge of the troops; the commandant of the prison, who was to be in charge of the prisoners; and the post commander. The prison commandant was to enforce discipline among his charges and would be

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3. Futch, History of Andersonville Prison, pp. 16-17.
  4. Ransom, Andersonville Diary, pp. 58-60.

in control of the men detailed as the day's guard, once the guard had been mounted. (5)

When he took charge of the stockade, Wirz found he had inherited a difficult situation. A shortage of axes, spades, and lumber prevented the erection of proper buildings. It was April 20 before a shipment of axes and spades was received from the Columbus, Georgia, Quartermaster Depot. (6)

## 2. Wirz's System of Control

Captain Wirz was a "firm and rigid" disciplinarian. Prior to his taking charge of the stockade, the prisoners had been divided into squads of 100 and each of these into four 25-man messes. Wirz determined to junk this system, and to afford tighter control, he divided the prisoners into 270-man detachments. The sergeant in charge of each had the duty to see that they fell in, and roll was called at 7 a.m. daily. If any were absent, the sergeant was required to report the fact and cause to Captain Wirz. Should he fail to do so, he would be severely punished. To facilitate distribution of rations, the 270-man detachments were subdivided into messes of 90 men each. Those detailed for work outside the stockade or sick in the hospital were entered on roll books. When they returned they rejoined their detachment. Persons missing roll call lost one day's rations. Minor offenses were punished by two hours' extra duty. After roll call the sergeants were required to march the men reporting sick to see the doctors. Prisoners were not allowed to trade with anyone except the sutler appointed by Colonel Persons. (7)

The officer-of-the-day alone had authority to pass persons inside the stockade, after first determining if the individual were entitled to enter, or had a pass from

5. Wirz Trial, Persons' Testimony, p. 99.

6. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 169.

7. Ibid., p. 137; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 227. At roll call, the prisoners were formed in four ranks by divisions and the detachments counted.

the post commander or Captain Wirz. Visitors entering were allowed to converse with prisoners only in the presence of the officer-of-the-day. He would likewise examine every wagon entering the stockade to see if it contained contraband. A prisoner who had escaped and was recaptured was required to wear a ball and chain. (8)

Rations, which were the same as those issued to Confederate soldiers in the field, were, following the completion of the bakehouse, issued to the detachments cooked. Sergeants in charge were responsible for rationing their men. A small supply of wood was provided the prisoners, so they could cook anything they might have of their own. (9)

B. Wirz's Headquarters and Quarters

1. His Headquarters

Captain Wirz's headquarters for much of the time he was commandant of the prison were in a log cabin on the high ground southwest of the stockade. One of the prisoners recalled that the cabin was raised off the ground, while a second remembered a sign above the door reading, "Commandant of the Interior Prison." (10) After the Star Fort was thrown up, Wirz established his headquarters in a tent, near Dr. White's. When he returned to duty in late September, Wirz moved his headquarters into a building near the Commissary Storehouse. (11)

2. His Quarters

Captain Wirz, his wife, and two daughters rented quarters in a house they shared with the Bosses. This

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8. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 137.

9. Ibid., p. 138.

10. Wirz Trial, Allen's, Hall's, Crouse's, Pasque's, Younker's, and Fannin's Testimony, pp. 119-20, 132, 219, 252, 317, 437.

11. Ibid., Corbett's, Chandler's, Roy's, and Proctor's Testimony, pp. 70, 245, 656-57, 669.

was on the road to Oglethorpe, a short distance north of the cemetery. (12)

C. Methods of Punishment

1. The Chain Gang

Prisoners who had been recaptured and were to be assigned to the chain gang were escorted by the provost marshal to the blacksmith. There were two types of chain gang; for one, two men were required. A 32-pound shot was shackled to the outside leg of each, with a 2-foot chain, and a 64-pound shot chained between them. The chains by which these balls were shackled to the legs were so short that they could be carried only by attaching a cord to the 32-pound ball, and lifting it by hand. The 64-pounder was supported by a stick when those being punished wished to "walk out." Prisoners referred to the balls and chains as "jewelry." (13)

A refinement upon the ball and chain practiced at Andersonville was to chain about 12 men together. The gang was chained together with short chains, about two feet in length, which were attached to iron collars riveted around their necks. Each man was thus chained to the individuals on his right and left, the 12 forming a circle. To one leg of each a 32-pound ball was chained, while a 64-pounder was secured to every four by the other leg. Men being punished in this fashion found it impossible to lie down, sit down, or stand with any degree of comfort. (14)

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12. Ibid., Noyes', Younker's, Fannin's, Roy's and Proctor's Testimony, pp. 19, 319, 437, 658, 669. Boss was a butcher and was employed by the post commissary. Dr. Roy recalled that in September, Captain Wirz was on sick leave and confined to his quarters. At that time there was a wreck on the railroad, one-half mile north of where Wirz was living; and Dr. Roy, while en route to examine the injured, stopped at Wirz's to get a drink of whiskey.

13. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 279; Wirz Trial, Burrowes' Testimony, p. 46.

14. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, pp. 279-80.

The chain gang was quartered under a tent fly pitched about 35 yards from the southwest corner of the inner stockade and east of Wirz's headquarters. Nearby was the prison guardhouse. (15)

## 2. Stocks

There were two types of stocks--the "spread-eagle" and "foot"--employed at Andersonville to punish prisoners. The former consisted of four upright posts, "strongly connected together at the top and bottom, so as to make a nearly square frame," about six feet in height. Upon the sides of this frame, near the top, were moveable bars, in which holes were cut the size of a man's wrists. Each of the bars was made to separate into two parts, for receiving the arm--the notches fitting closely around the wrists when the hands had been positioned. Above these bars, and at right angles to them, in the middle of the frame, were two parallel bars, containing a notch for the neck, which had a lateral and a vertical motion, the latter to enable them to be adjusted to the height of the man being punished. When the man was "put up," his feet were first fastened, then his arms extended on a line parallel with his shoulders, and finally his neck "shut in." (16)

The "foot" stocks were more comfortable and were used for first offenders. The prisoner's ankles were secured between two parallel, moveable bars, positioned about 12 inches above the ground. These bars were supported by posts and were notched to hold seven men. After being secured, the prisoner was left to lie down or sit up, as pleased him best. The stocks, like the chain gang's tent

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15. Wirz Trial, Hunneycutt's, Stearns', Pasque's, and Moesmer's Testimony, pp. 129, 193, 251, 542. Calvin Hunneycutt was a soldier in the 3d Georgia Reserves. D. H. Stearns, of the 1st U.S. Sharpshooters, John Pasque, of the U.S. Navy, and Augustus Moesmer, of the 16th Connecticut, were Andersonville prisoners.

16. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 278; Wirz Trial, Burrowes', Roy's, Allen's, and Crandall's Testimony, pp. 46, 84, 117, 262.

fly, were located between the stockade and Captain Wirz's headquarters. (17)

### 3. The Execution of the Andersonville Raiders

On July 11, 1864, six ring leaders of the notorious Andersonville Raiders, who had been preying on their fellow prisoners, were executed. They had been arrested by the guards, in accordance with Wirz's orders, on June 29. Convicted by a court of 24 sergeants organized by Wirz, the six Raiders were hanged by the prisoners. The gallows from which they were launched into eternity was built of lumber brought into the enclosure by the Confederates. When erected, the gallows was located near the South Gate. The best account of the capture, trial, and execution of the Andersonville Raiders is found in Dr. Futch's History of Andersonville Prison.

#### D. Use of Dogs in Catching Escapees

##### 1. Mode of Escapes

As in all wars where prisoners have been held in camps, much of the new arrival's time was spent devising plans for escape. Andersonville was so located that once a man had slipped away from the stockade, he still had a long and difficult route back to the Union lines. While escape tunnels have been publicized by writers, few successful escapes were made in this fashion. For example, in August 1864, 30 men escaped from Andersonville. Of these, 11 did so while on parole and engaged in working outside the stockade. A number of the others had escaped by bribing the sentinels with greenbacks; and some had simply walked off from the guard, as they returned from the place where the tools used in the stockade during the day were stored at night. About 25 more had escaped, but they had been recaptured

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17. Wirz Trial, Burrowes', Roy's, Allen's, Maddox's, Tracy's, Peebles', and Crandall's Testimony, pp. 46, 84, 117, 177, 214-15, 255, 258, 262. Dr. Roy recalled that there was a set of stocks outside the hospital gate. Frank Maddox had served in the 35th U.S. Colored Troops, while Prescott Tracy was a prisoner at Andersonville from June to August 17, 1864.

with the aid of dogs before the daily return was filed. (18)

To track and assist in catching escaping prisoners, the guards employed dogs. The huge size and vicious character of these dogs have been a popular theme of those incarcerated, as well as present day writers on the subject.

## 2. The Kennels and Hounds

On the road leading from the South Gate to the cemetery, in view of the stockade, was the log cabin where the hounds were kept. (19) The first pack of dogs kept at Andersonville to pursue escaping prisoners belonged to Benjamin Harris. An old man, Harris lived about five or six miles from Andersonville. His pack consisted of eight hounds and a "catchdog." The "catchdog" was a bull terrier, and the hounds were white, yellow, and spotted "plantation dogs, a mixture of hound, cur, and anything else." In May, Sergt. Edward C. Turner of Company G, 1st Georgia Reserves, reported to Andersonville. He brought with him from White County two packs of hounds, numbering about 15, which he used to run down escaping prisoners. (20)

## 3. Identity of Sergeant Turner

Many historians, as well as witnesses in the Wirz Trial, have confused Sergeant Turner with Wesley W. Turner, who owned the land on which most of the stockade was located. They are in error, however, because Wesley W. Turner died on May 1, 1864, about a week before Sergt. Edward Turner reached Andersonville. Wesley Turner was

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18. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 708.

19. Hamlin, Martyria, pp. 64-65. This cabin was about oneeighth mile from the enclosure.

20. Wirz Trial, Gibbs', Corbett's, Crandall's, Stone's, Fannin's, and Persons' Testimony, pp. 26, 74, 256, 320-21, 434, 471.



born in 1825 and would have been 39 at his death, while Sergeant Turner is described as about 50 and recalled as riding a mule when in pursuit of prisoners. (21) An investigation has disclosed that Edward Turner was 47 years old, and otherwise fits the description of Sergeant Turner.

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21. Ibid., Stone's Testimony, pp. 320-21; Claim of Isaac T. Turner, Congressional Jurisdictional Case 11496, NA, RG 125. James P. Stone had served in the 2d Vermont.



## VIII. CARE OF THE SICK

### A. Hospitals

#### 1. The Stockade Hospital

Dr. Isaiah H. White of Virginia was the first of three doctors to hold the position of chief surgeon at Andersonville. He was responsible for the health of the prisoners, as well as the guards. When he reported for duty on March 7, 1864, he found that he had to start from scratch to provide medical care for his charges. Shortages of medical supplies, medicines, and money would have compounded the problem, but Dr. White, as events were to prove, failed to measure up to administrative responsibilities which would have challenged a person of far greater talents.

The first hospital established by Dr. White for the care of prisoners was in the stockade, on high ground north of Stockade Branch. For administrative purposes the hospital was split into two divisions, with a surgeon in charge of each. One of the divisions was subdivided into three and the other into two wards. Each ward was under care of an assistant surgeon. Nurses and hospital stewards were detailed prisoners. The only shelter Dr. White was able to provide his patients were 35 tents.(1)

One of the prisoners recalled that each of the divisions occupied a space about eight rods in length and four rods in width. The tents were stretched in the "form of wedges, with the sharp edge uppermost." The tops of these A-tents, were elevated about five feet by poles, while the bottoms were fastened with pegs about six inches off the ground. The floors were naked earth. It seemed to many of the inmates that the Rebels had designed these quarters with the object of "baking the unfortunate victims of disease who might chance to crawl into them."(2)

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1. Wirz Trial, Belcher's Testimony, p. 139; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 137-39.

2. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 223.

In the period February 24-May 10, 1864, 4,588 prisoners had required hospitalization. Of these, 1,036 had died, and the death rate had increased as the weather became hotter and the stockade increasingly crowded. In the week ending May 8 there had been 131 deaths, for an average of nearly 19 per day, a sharp increase over the previous week.

The average number of patients confined to the prison hospital in the first week of May was 583. In addition to those hospitalized, there were about 500 others, for whom there were no facilities, on sick call. These people, although being prescribed for, remained with their detachments. (3)

When General Cobb visited Andersonville in the first days of May, he was accompanied by Dr. E. J. Eldridge of his staff. Dr. Eldridge, with the stockade's capacity taxed and with the hot summer months at hand, feared that 12,000 men would find 18 acres too confining. With the hospital inside the enclosure, it was impractical to properly administer to patients suffering from chronic diarrhea, because the special diet prepared for them was frequently stolen and eaten by the Andersonville Raiders. As there was a fine stream of water (Sweetwater Creek) within several hundred yards of the stockade, he recommended that a second enclosure, "with sufficient hospital buildings, two stories high, to accommodate from 800 to 1,000 patients" be erected. The fence enclosing the hospital compound, Eldridge suggested, should be of plank and ten feet high. (4)

Dr. White agreed with Surgeon Eldridge that it was impossible to "treat diseases with success with the present hospital accommodations." He pronounced its facilities, 35 badly worn tent flies, inadequate and its location objectionable. Camp fires, densely crowded around the hospital, produced "a contamination effluvia and prevented the circulation of air, so necessary for the treatment of disease." Drainage from the prison sinks, passing through the hospital grounds, was also objectionable. He therefore recommended to his superiors

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3. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 138-39.

4. Ibid., pp. 120-21.

that the hospital be relocated outside the stockade, and that he be provided with sufficient tents to house 1,000 patients. (5)

Capt. Walter Bowie of the Inspector General's Department on May 10 urged that Dr. White be given authority to relocate the hospital outside the enclosure, and that sufficient tents be provided to furnish him accommodation for 1,000 patients. He believed the "shady oak grove" 100 yards southeast of the stockade would be an excellent hospital site. (6)

## 2. The Prison Hospital

### a. The Site

Necessary authority having been secured, Dr. White on May 22, 1864, relocated the hospital outside the stockade at the site selected by Captain Bowie. The ground sloped gently toward the southeast. Here there were shade trees. Sweetwater Creek meandered through a dense swamp, several hundred feet south of the grounds. A ditch was dug to bring water for washing directly into the enclosure from the stream. Those paroled prisoners working as nurses and attendants were allowed to bathe in Sweetwater Creek below the hospital. Sinks were located "along the borders" of the ditch, and logs arranged upon which "the patients may sit and evacuate their bowels." Drinking water for the patients and staff was obtained from a deep well, with nearby springs providing a secondary source. (7)

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5. Ibid., p. 125.

6. Ibid., p. 139.

7. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 387; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 604; Wirz Trial, Bates' and Cain's Testimony, pp. 35, 196. John A. Cain, a prisoner, belonged to the California Cavalry Battalion. Except for its southern extension, the hospital was on ground sloping to the south. From the adjacent swamps there "arose putrid exhalations that were at times almost unbearable." O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 831.

b. The Layout

The new hospital was a five-acre parallelogram, with sides 260 by 340 feet. It was enclosed by a plank fence, closely guarded by Confederate soldiers. No prisoner, except paroled attendants, was allowed to leave the grounds, except by special permit by Captain Wirz or Lieutenant Davis. A man sent to the hospital from sick call was provided with a "ticket," signed by the surgeon who had examined him. This ticket listed the name, rank, company, and unit of the patient, along with his diagnosis. When the patient reached the hospital, he was laid on the ground near the gate, where he remained until the hospital stewards were free to place him in the ward to which he was assigned.

There was no deadline in the hospital. The main street ran north and south, with ten wards on the east side and nine on the west. The tents were pitched in rows or blocks to facilitate communication with the patients. (8)

At frequent intervals in the lanes between the tents, constituting the wards, wooden boxes were positioned for the reception of the excrements of patients unable to walk to the sinks. Usually these were not emptied until they were filled. (9)

c. Quarters

When the hospital was established, Dr. White had his hospital stewards pitch 209 tents, most of which were "small picket-tents and tent-flies" poorly adapted to hospital purposes. These tents were positioned to face north, were open at both ends, and supported by a ridge pole about five feet off the ground. Each of these small A-tents sheltered four or five patients. The tents were open at the sides.

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8. Kellogg, Life and Death, p. 257; "Diagram of Andersonville," found in Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 387; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 604.

9. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 605.

Dr. E. A. Flewellan of the staff recalled that to shelter the patients a heterogeneous variety of tents were employed, "some comparatively new, and some almost totally worn out." Within the hospital compound, he had seen "every style of tent." (10)

Initially, the new hospital had accommodations for 800 patients, but with the number of prisoners and sick increasing rapidly, Dr. White and his staff by June 20 were compelled to find space for 1,020. Wards were so crowded that it was necessary to refuse admission "to many cases who cannot be treated with success in the kind of Quarters occupied by inmates of the prison." To alleviate this situation, Surgeon White called on Capt. Dick Winder to provide him with 200 hospital tents. (11) Neither Captain Winder nor the Medical Director in Atlanta were able to provide the tents. In desperation General Winder telegraphed the War Department to see if he could secure the tents that had been occupied by the prisoners at Belle Isle prior to their transfer to Andersonville. No assistance was forthcoming from this source, so Dr. White turned to the Georgia Reserves and was able to secure some "old refuse tents." (These units, having erected huts, had turned their tents in to Quartermaster Winder, who in turn issued them to Dr. White.) By pitching these tents, enlarging the grounds, and overcrowding, Dr. White by July 31 had increased the capacity of the hospital to 1,400. But, to afford satisfactory accommodations for his patients, he still needed the 200 hospital tents or 500 wall tents. (12)

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10. Wirz Trial, Adler's & Flewellan's Testimony, pp. 184, 471-72; O.R., Ser. II. Vol. 7, p. 387; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 292; Kellogg, Life & Death, p. 253.

11. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 387.

12. Ibid., p. 524; Wirz Trial, Wright's Testimony, p. 478; Kellogg, Life & Death, pp. 252-53.

By August 6 there were 2,208 patients in the hospital and 317 attendants. Because of overcrowding, the hospital was "in a constant state of disorganization, and the efforts to make some provision for all" had resulted in leaving "all portions of the hospital in an unfinished state." (13)

d. The Deadhouse

The hospital deadhouse consisted of four posts set in the ground, upon which boards were nailed to a height of six feet. It was roofed with canvas, with an opening left in the west side for an entrance, and located in the southwest corner of the enclosure. When a patient died he was laid in the narrow street in front of his ward, until removed by blacks detailed to carry off the dead. If a patient expired at night, he lay on his pallet until morning. In the deadhouse, the bodies lay on the ground and were soon covered with vermin. (14)

e. Dissecting House

A dissecting house at which autopsies were performed by Dr. Joseph Jones, while at the prison, was between the southwest corner of the enclosure and Sweetwater Creek. It consisted of a framework, with plank siding, and canvas roofing. (15)

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13. O.R., Ser. II. Vol. 7, p. 558.

14. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 605; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 299. Dr. Bates testified at the Wirz Trial that in September 1864, the deadhouse consisted of "some boards put into kind of a shed." These boards soon disappeared, and after several weeks were replaced by a tent. Wirz Trial, Bates' Testimony, p. 36.

15. Wirz Trial, Hogan's Testimony, p. 88; Kellogg, Life & Death, p. 266. The dissecting house was about 50 feet southwest of the hospital. Martin E. Hogan of the 1st Indiana Cavalry reached Andersonville on August 6, 1864.



f. Dispensary

The dispensary was in a small log building, a short distance west of the hospital gate, and south of the road giving access to the enclosure. (16)

g. Commissary Storehouse

A small frame building used as a commissary storehouse was located on the road between Wirz's office and the hospital. Boxes forwarded to the prisoners were also stored in this building which was kept locked. One of the hospital stewards was entrusted with the key. (17)

3. The Shed Hospital

In October 1864 Dr. White was reassigned as chief surgeon of the prison pen at Camp Lawton. By this time, the situation at Andersonville had improved because of several factors: (a) the mass transfer of prisoners to Camp Lawton and South Carolina prison camps; and (b) the receipt of 45 wall tents on September 1, along with a number of spiders, mess pans, and camp kettles. Dr. White's successor as chief surgeon at Andersonville was Dr. R. Randolph Stevenson of Kentucky. (18)

Dr. Stevenson immediately announced plans to erect a number of sheds for the accommodation of his patients. The sheds would be 100 feet long, 22 feet wide, eight feet high at the eaves, with a brick chimney in the center. Posts would be set in the ground with a streamer running the length of the building, 12 inches from the eaves, to which would be attached an awning, to be raised or lowered at pleasure, cut from old tents. This would provide a ward with a capacity of 50 patients..

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16. Wirz Trial, Burrowes' Testimony, p. 54; Kellogg, Life & Death, p. 257.

17. Wirz Trial, Dilley's Testimony, p. 674. Benjamin F. Dilley had served in Company F, 54th Pennsylvania.

18. Compiled Service Records of Confederate General & Staff Officers & Nonregimented Enlisted Men--NA, Microcopy 331.

There would be 40 sheds, ten to a division, with a capacity of 500 patients to the division, or 2,000 for the hospital. A kitchen, bake-oven, and messhall were projected for each division, with a diet kitchen and laundry for the hospital. All structures were to be surrounded by a stockade. Outside the palisade would be erected a warehouse for the reception and storage of commissary supplies and medicines. (19)

Stevenson's shed hospital would be located west of the tent hospital, on the slope between the south face of the stockade and Sweetwater Creek. The enclosure was rectangular, with its east-west axis 925 feet and its north-south 400 feet. (20)

By October 4 Dr. Stevenson had a crew at work erecting "sheds and other suitable hospital buildings," and weather permitting, he hoped to have the project completed by the end of the month. (21) A shortage of tools and materials slowed construction, and it was the late winter of 1864-65 before all the patients were transferred from tents to sheds. (22)

As an interim measure, Drs. White and Stevenson had taken advantage of the mass transfer of prisoners to requisition for use by the Medical Department the sheds erected in August, near the north face of the stockade. These were utilized as "a receiving and distributing division," and enabled the chief surgeon and his staff to dispose of many cases on sick call without sending the men to the general hospital. Dr. Jones found at the time of his visit 2,000 sick within the stockade, "lying under four long sheds" built as barracks. These sheds were

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19. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 711; Wirz Trial, Wilson's Testimony, p. 276.

20. Hamlin, Martyria, plan opposite page 21; "Sketch of Andersonville, Ga.," NA, Rg 92.

21. O.R., Ser. II. Vol. 7, p. 923.

22. Wirz Trial, Thornburg's Testimony, p. 334.

two-story and open on all sides. The sick lay upon bare boards, or upon such "ragged blankets as they possessed, without . . . any bedding or even straw." Pits for reception of feces had been dug within a few feet of the lower floor, and "they were almost never unoccupied by those suffering with diarrhea." (23)

As rapidly as lumber and bricks could be stockpiled, hospital sheds and support facilities were erected. By the end of October, the storehouses were nearly ready for occupancy. Working parties were also turned to, and the buildings at the Confederate Camp Sumter Hospital renovated. (24)

Following the transfer of thousands of prisoners and the relief of Dr. Stevenson in January by Dr. H. H. Clayton, the number of sheds was reduced from the 40 proposed to 22. Like the tent hospital, the new facilities were enclosed by a fence, with a gate opening into the stockade from the west. Several wells were dug to provide drinking water for the patients and staff. (25)

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23. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, pp. 600, 603; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 1076.

24. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 1075-76. In October, with cooler weather and less crowded conditions, there was a marked improvement in the health of the prisoners and guard detachment. Even so, there were 1,611 deaths in the two hospitals during the month.

25. Hamlin, Martyria, plan opposite page 21; "Sketch of Andersonville, Ga.," NA, RG 92; Wirz Trial, Wilson's Testimony, p. 276. Although Dr. Stevenson was a more energetic administrator than Dr. White, his handling of funds aroused the suspicion of several of his staff. He refused to permit them to examine vouchers he had signed. Asst. Surg. G. G. Roy complained that Stevenson had placed a sign over the doors to his office, the dispensary, and commissary storeroom reading, "All persons not to enter unless on special business." Following Stevenson's departure, Dr. Clayton reviewed the books and found entries that led him to suspect fraud.

Informed of this, Medical Director S. H. Stout sent Surgs. E. A. Flewellan and E. S. Gaillard to investigate. What they

#### 4. The Smallpox Hospital

Smallpox was introduced into the stockade by some of the prisoners sent to Andersonville in the last days of February 1864. Men afflicted with this dread disease were isolated by being sent to a hospital established by Dr. White, two miles south of the village. Inoculations were resorted to, and the outbreak brought under control. Up until July 1, 1864, 151 cases had been treated at the smallpox hospital by Dr. E. Sheppard, the officer in charge, and 67 deaths were reported. This was a high incidence of mortality, but could be partially explained by the "debilitated condition" of the men at the time they were stricken. (26)

#### 5. The Camp Sumter Hospital

The Confederate hospital (officially designated Camp Sumter Hospital) was housed in two large, two-story frame structures, on a ridge several hundred yards southeast of the village. Erected in June 1864, this hospital, with accommodations for 120 patients, was commanded by Asst. Surg. W. B. Harrison. Prior to the completion of the hospital, Confederate sick, except those from the 3d Reserves, had been confined in tents. Those from the 3d

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found led them to believe that about \$100,000 had been embezzled. Flewellan wrote Stout that they had "no doubt created quite a sensation" at Andersonville, "and one which will be felt by others now absent from that post." The war ended before a court of inquiry could be held, but Dr. Roy concluded from talking with Drs. Flewellan and Gaillard that Stevenson was guilty of gross fraud. This came as a surprise to Roy, because he had always considered Stevenson "a quiet, easy, Gentleman--a poor medical man & no surgeon, but an energetic officer in trying to provide for the wants and comforts of the sick under his charge--but without the means afforded here to accomplish his desires." Roy to Stout, March 7, 1865, Andersonville Letters, Georgia State Archives; Flewellan to Stout, March 3, 1865, Stout Papers, Southern Historical Society Collection, University of North Carolina.

26. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 548, 758. The smallpox hospital was south of Sweetwater Creek on land owned by P. Suber. Sixty-four of those who died were buried there. These bodies were moved to the Andersonville National Cemetery in 1867.

were quartered in a small shelter, previously used by a preacher holding a revival.

The flooring consisted of planks one-inch thick and 12 inches wide. As they were cut from green lumber, they shrank, and the staff in an effort to compensate for the shrinkage put down weatherboarding to cover the cracks. This caused problems because the slop jars frequently upset, spilling their contents. There were no bunks, the patients lay on pallets filled with pine straw. Several of the doctors were of the opinion that Federal patients confined to tents were better off than sick men assigned to the lower floor of the Confederate hospital. (27)

#### B. Feeding the Patients

As at all general hospitals, the hospital ration had been commuted, and commissary stores for the subsistence and comfort of the sick purchased with hospital funds. Until the beginning of July, this practice enabled Dr. White and his staff to provide their patients with vegetables. But in July, the commissary was without funds, and the merchants and farmers refused to sell on credit. (28)

Vegetables, when available, were generally boiled in iron kettles in which meat had been previously prepared and served as soup. Many of the patients found the soup unappetizing. (29)

Dr. Stevenson, on taking over as chief surgeon, concluded that the cornbread was "most unhealthy," as it was made of coarse, unbolted meal. Even under the most favorable

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27. Wirz Trial, Drs. Flewellan's and F. G. Castlen's Testimony, pp. 452 & 472; Hamlin, Martyria, p. 21; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, pp. 417, 1076. The Camp Sumter Hospital was classified as a General Hospital, and the officer in charge issued furloughs to patients from the Armies of Northern Virginia and Tennessee; and recommended discharges for enlisted men and retirements for officers. T. A. Warren to Eldridge, March 2, 1865, Andersonville Letters, Georgia Archives. A deep well provided water for the hospital.

28. O.R., Ser. II. Vol. 7, p. 525.

29. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 293.

conditions, this bread was a "source of great irritation to the bowels." Scurvy, gangrene, and bowel troubles were commonplace. To combat these scourges, frequent issues of green corn, peas, molasses, vinegar, rice, flour, and sweet potatoes were instituted as soon as funds became available. (30)

The patients' food was prepared by paroled prisoners in large iron pots, similar to those used to boil sugar cane, and the patients were dependent to a great measure upon their own "miserable utensils." (31)

### C. Bunks and Bedding

Although it was summer, Dr. White found it was next to impossible to obtain straw for bedding, because very little grain was grown in this section of Georgia. As a war measure, a number of farmers were growing wheat, and plans were made to collect straw as soon as the crop was threshed. A shortage of transportation at the post, along with an unwillingness on the part of the farmers to hire their teams and wagons, threatened this plan. (32)

Dr. White, when questioned by Colonel Chandler, reported that all tents in the hospital at first had been outfitted with two-man bunks, but Quartermaster Winder had been unable to furnish planks to provide bunks for the expanded facilities. Pine straw had been used in lieu of corn straw for bedding, but it was necessary to renew the supply every two weeks, because of the prevalence of vermin. There were too few wagons to bring in pine straw and this practice had been abandoned. (33)

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30. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 832.

31. Ibid., p. 831; Wirz Trial, Thornburg's Testimony, p. 334; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 606.

32. O.R., Ser. II. Vol. 7, p. 524.

33. Ibid., p. 558. It would have required five wagons, constantly employed, to provide an adequate supply of pine straw for the hospital.

The usual method of building bunks was to drive forked sticks into the ground and to lay poles across. Dr. Thornburg of the staff had made repeated requests of the surgeon in charge for "bed sacks, sheets, &c." He had received some bed-sacks. But these soon became soiled, and when sent out to be laundered they were frequently never seen again. Only one of the wards, the 4th, had any bedding other than straw. (34)

D. Sick Call

1. Reasons For

From May 22, 1864, when the hospital was relocated southeast of the stockade, until September, when the sheds north of the branch were appropriated as wards, no medical attention was provided within the enclosure; although small quantities of medicines were issued to designated prisoners in each detachment. The sick were paraded by their sergeants at sick call to be examined by medical officers posted at the South Gate. The crowds were great, and it appeared to Colonel Chandler that "only the strongest can get access to the doctors, the weaker ones being unable to force their way through the press." (35)

Asked for an explanation as to why he and his staff did not visit the sick in their quarters, Dr. White explained that it was because of "their irregular arrangement and crowded condition." If he were to order his officers to do this, he would have to have ten times the number of medical officers currently reporting to him. (36)

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34. Wirz Trial, Adler's, Thornburg's, and Flewellan's Testimony, pp. 184, 333, 471-72. The typical ward housed between 75 and 100 patients.

35. O.R., Ser. II. Vol. 7, p. 547.

36. Ibid., p. 758.

## 2. Procedures

At 8 a.m. daily all staff doctors took post in booths (clerk-stands) at the South Gate. There were 12 of these little booths, six to the right and an equal number to the left of the gate's forecourt. The booths were fitted up with awnings, crude desks, and cabinets. Each doctor was assisted by a clerk, a paroled prisoner, to take down the name and complaint of the patient. About an hour earlier, inmates wanting to make sick call had been formed by the sergeants in charge of their detachments and either marched or assisted to the assembly area near the South Gate.

In July and August, when the population of the compound exceeded 30,000, the number assembled for sick call often numbered from 3,000 to 4,000. Two sentries watched to keep the men from crowding too close to the deadline. Each sergeant in turn called his men to attention and marched them through the gate. They halted inside the court, and the wicket in the great outer gate opened to allow them to pass. They then lined up in front of one of the stalls. (37)

The first to be seen by the surgeons were those "merely to be prescribed for without being admitted to the hospital." The number in this category was large. After the sergeant in charge had marched these men back to their quarters, the men likely to be hospitalized were examined. As many as could be accommodated in the hospital wards were sent there, while the remainder were returned to the stockade for the day, "to be brought out the following morning, or when the hospital accommodations" were such as to receive them. (38)

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37. Wirz Trial, Alden's Testimony, p. 385; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, pp. 282-84. J. Everett Alden had served in Company F, 4th Vermont Infantry.

38. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 760. Before reporting for duty (at his booth) each doctor was notified by the chief surgeon of the number of new admissions for which there was room in the hospital.



Because of the large number on sick call and the small staff, the doctors on occasion had to prescribe for as many as 500 patients in a day. To do so, they prescribed by formulas. Thirty prescriptions for various diseases had been given a common number. When he examined a patient that was not to be hospitalized, the physician called out the number of the prescription, and it was entered by the clerk opposite the prisoner's name. The man was then dismissed. After sick call was over, the clerks returned to the dispensary. Here they, assisted by hospital stewards, got out the required quantity of each formula. At 4 p.m. the clerks returned to their stands, where they issued to the sergeants, the medicines prescribed for their men at the morning's sick call. (39)

#### E. Petty Theft

The chief surgeon was plagued by inmates stealing hospital property and selling it to members of the guard, as well as frequent escapes. To put a stop to these, Dr. Clayton, after he took charge, asked Captain Wirz to replace the hospital fence with a palisade.

This was the second time that such a request had been communicated to Wirz. About four months before, General Winder had made a similar suggestion, but a shortage of teams and higher priority projects had compelled its deferral. The same difficulty still existed. The only solution would be to use logs felled in the autumn of 1864 for the outer stockade. This stockade had been planned as a covered way to enable the troops, in event of attack, to move from one redan to another. It, as well as the earthworks, had never been completed. Many of the logs were still lying on the ground. Wirz accordingly suggested that they be salvaged to erect a palisade around the hospital. If this were done, it would "prevent trading going on" at the hospital across a "plank fence, only six feet high." (40)

The Confederacy, however, collapsed before this project was undertaken.

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39. Ibid.; Wirz Trial, Thornburg's Testimony, p. 335; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 290. The clerks were then at liberty until 6 p.m., when they were required to report to the hospital, where they remained under guard until morning.

40. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 111.



## IX. INTERRING THE DEAD

### A. Stockade Deadhouse

The stockade deadhouse was erected about 50 yards west of the South Gate, in accordance with orders from Captain Wirz. It was about the size of the courtroom in which the Wirz Trial was held, and consisted of a framework of poles, roofed with pine boughs.

When a prisoner died within the enclosure, his remains were carried by his messmates to the South Gate and placed on the ground. Several times daily, all the bodies that had collected were passed through the gate and carried to the deadhouse. (1)

### B. Prison Cemetery

#### 1. Location

The area selected for burying the deceased was on land rented from Ben Dykes, about 3,000 feet northwest of the South Gate to the stockade. Here there was "a beautiful open glade, surrounded by a pine forest." (2) This glade had been used as a cemetery before the war by the local people. Dykes opposed the Confederate plan and filed an injunction in the Sumter County Court to prevent prison authorities from using his land for burials. The court, however, refused to intervene. (3)

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1. Wirz Trial, Bates', Fannin's, Terrell's, and Persons' Testimony, pp. 36, 172, 438-39, 459; O.R., Ser. II. Vol. 8, p. 500. The pine bough arbor had no flooring. The courtroom in which the Wirz Trial was held was large and well furnished. One end of the room was occupied by a long table, at which sat the members of the Military Commission, with the tables for the counsel and reporters; while in the other end of the room were a dozen very handsome lounge seats. There were two large windows that overlooked the park west of the capitol.

2. Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 302.

3. Wirz Trial, Hall's Testimony, p. 490.

## 2. Transportation of Bodies to the Cemetery

The bodies were hauled from the deadhouses at the stockade and hospital to the cemetery in either two-horse carts or four-mule army wagons. Corpses of the deceased were loaded into the carts and wagons like cordwood, heads foremost, and one body piled on another. (4)

## 3. The Burials

Captain Piggott, who was in charge of the cemetery, placed Sergeant Byron of the Georgia Reserves in charge of the 25 to 30 paroled prisoners assigned to dig burial trenches. An area from 100 to 200 feet long and seven feet in width was staked. Turning to with picks and shovels, the detail removed the dirt to a depth of about two and one-half feet. They then narrowed the trench by one foot, leaving a six-inch shoulder on each side, and deepened it another foot. Into these trenches the bodies were laid, side by side, on their backs. One of those detailed recalled that Sergeant Byron told them to "lay them in as straight as we could, and as close together as we could get them." (5)

At first, before the prison was overcrowded and while the death rate was low, the deceased were laid to rest in coffins. This practice was abandoned as the death rate soared and lumber ran short. Thereafter, except on days when the number of deaths was too great to cope with, puncheons were used to shield the bodies from the clay. Pine logs of the prescribed length were split, and the bottom of the trench floored. Bodies were then laid, side by side, on the puncheons; another row of puncheons were put down, their ends resting on the step; and the

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4. Wirz Trial, Bates', Huneycutts', & Davidson's Testimony, pp. 36, 128, 140; "Recollections of Andersonville Prison by Charles W. Homsher, 5th Indiana Calvary," Georgia Dept. of Archives and History.

5. Wirz Trial, Testimony of Huneycutt, Maddox, Richardson, Candall, & Younker pp. 128, 176-78, 257-58, 316. In August, when the death rate was at its height and many of the detail sick, the burial trenches became shallower.

trench filled with earth. When the death rate climbed to above 100 per day, the puncheons were dispensed with. (6)

Some of the dead were buried in their clothes, while others were laid to rest naked. Colonel Chandler, when he was at the prison, saw that many of the deceaseds' hands had been "mutilated with an ax in the removal of any finger rings they may have." (7)

Until September 1, 1864, the burial detail was paroled white soldiers. After that date it was composed of black prisoners. Also working in the cemetery was a squad of impressed slaves. Sergeant Byron refused to permit the two groups to fraternize. (8)

#### 4. Identifying the Graves

Each body was numbered on the hospital register of deaths kept by Dorence Atwater, and an identical number pinned to the deceased's clothing. They were interred "as their numbers called for, running from number one upward, and each body's number was branded deeply on his head board." (9)

#### C. Smallpox Cemetery

The 67 men who died at the smallpox hospital were buried there. (10)

6. Ibid., Maddox's & Crandall's Testimony, pp. 178-80, 257-58.

7. Ibid., Davidson's & Maddox's Testimony, pp. 143, 178-80; O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 604.

8. Wirz Trial, Maddox's Testimony, pp. 178-80.

9. O.R., Ser. II, Vol. 8, p. 732; Davidson, Experience in Rebel Prisons, p. 302. In the register, Atwater, a paroled prisoner, entered in addition to the man's rank and number, his company, regiment, and date and cause of death.

10. Wirz Trial, Moore's Testimony, pp. 314-15.

D. Confederate Cemetery

One-hundred and fifteen members of the guard detail who died were buried in the same field, about 150 feet west of the most northern Union burial trenches. A visitor to the cemetery in 1866 reported, "The mortality among them the [guard] appears also to have been great; and indeed one cannot conceive how it should be otherwise within the pestiferous influence of the prison atmosphere." (11)

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11. Wirz Trial, Hall's Testimony, p. 490; Trowbridge, The Desolate South, p. 252.

## X. OTHER STRUCTURES

### A. Office and BOQ

To the southwest of the stockade, on commanding ground overlooking Stockade Branch, was a two-story frame building which served as quarters and offices for the officers and clerks. (1)

### B. Castle Reed

On the north side of Stockade Branch, near the depot, was erected a stockade for the confinement of Union officers. It was built of hewn pine posts, extending 15 feet above the ground, and measured 195 feet by 108 feet. Inside the enclosure was a shed, 45 by 27 feet. Suspended on the outside of the palisade was a walkway for the use of sentries. (2)

From the last week in February until the first week of May, there were about 65 officers confined in Castle Reed. They were issued rations and did their own cooking. When the Confederates became concerned about security caused by overcrowding in the stockade, they transferred the Union officers to Macon, where they were lodged in Camp Oglethorpe. (3)

### C. Quartermaster Corral and Stables

The quartermaster corral and stables were located near the depot. The corral, one of the prisoners recalled, enclosed about two acres, while 1st Lt. John F. Heath of the Georgia Reserves thought it did not enclose more than one-half acre. Both the public mules and horses and the officers' mounts were kept in the corral. The stables, which stood on one side of the corral, could accommodate about 18 horses. One of the prisoners at Wirz's trial recalled taking care of Wirz's grey mare, in addition to mounts belonging to

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1. Hamlin, Martyria, pp. 19-21.
  2. Ibid., pp. 63-64; Wirz Trial, French's Testimony, pp. 383-84.
  3. Ibid.; Cobb to War Department, May 2, 1864, Cobb Letter Book, No. 55.

General Winder, Captains Piggot and White, and Lieutenant Davis. (4)

In March, after the prisoners started arriving, Captain Winder had four or five teams and wagons, less than half of what he should have. Lieutenant Heath recalled that, when the Georgia Reserves reached Andersonville in May, teams and wagons were still scarce. The brigade had four or five wagons and teams, but they were soon taken from the brigade quartermaster and turned over to Captain Winder. This measure, however, did not solve the problem, and when Major Proctor relieved Captain Armstrong as post commissary in August, he encountered difficulty in getting rations to the stockade. He called on Captain Winder for additional teams, but he received no satisfaction. Proctor then went to see General Winder, and told him that if he did not get the teams he would ask to be relieved. General Winder, cowed by this threat, signed a requisition, and Proctor's department was assigned eight teams. (5)

#### D. The Shoe Factory

The Quartermaster Department in April 1864 announced plans to establish a large facility for the manufacture of shoes for the army at Americus. Prisoners were to be paroled to work in the factory. Captain Winder would be in charge, and he was informed that Maj. F. W. Dillard at Columbus was to supply him with leather; Maj. G. W. Cunningham at Atlanta was to detail him an experienced man to assist in the organization of the shop; Maj. S. Hillyer at Selma was to forward tools; and the blockade runner Denbigh had docked at Mobile with "a large lot of shoemakers' tools and findings." These arrangements, his superiors wrote, would enable Winder to put into operation an efficient factory, as it was vital that the production of Army shoes be increased. (6)

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4. Wirz Trial, Davidson's, Heath's, Armstrong's, and Proctor's Testimony, pp. 144, 448, 450, 661, 668.

5. Ibid., Heath's, Persons', and Proctor's Testimony, pp. 448, 450, 458, 661.

6. O.R., Series II, Vol. 7, p. 56.



Trouble was encountered when Mr. Smoot, the man sent by Major Cunningham, was conscripted. His release was secured, but Captain Winder was plagued by a shortage of leather. By the end of May he had purchased enough to last 50 operators for three days, but he hesitated to begin production with so small a quantity on hand. Shoe pegs were also difficult to come by. He had learned, however, that there were two tanneries at Americus, the output of which could keep his people busy. If their output could be earmarked for his factory he would begin production, something he had hesitated to do until assured that he had tools, leather, and pegs. (7)

Captain Winder was neither forceful nor efficient, and it was the fourth week of June before he directed an assistant to select buildings in which to locate the factory. (8) Once again, difficulties, both real and imaginary, checkmated Winder, and in August he wrote his superiors of his plans to establish a "large government shoe-shop." He would have Captain Wirz detail from 500 to 1,000 shoemakers, and as Major Dillard was responsible for the leather, he would be glad for Dillard to take charge of the factory. (9)

With such a man in charge, it is easy to understand why the factory never commenced operations while Winder was the Andersonville quartermaster. After Captain Wright took over the office on October 1, a small shoe factory was established and the barefooted prisoners supplied with rough but comfortable shoes. A brewery was also established at this time, in accordance with a suggestion by General Imboden, and the prisoners suffering from scorbutic taint were issued corn beer. (10)

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7. Ibid., pp. 181-82.

8. Ibid., pp. 402-03. The man charged with this mission was Henry DeVeuve.

9. Ibid., p. 624.

10. Ashe, The Trial and Death of Henry Wirz, p. 12.



## XI. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY

### A. Private Atwater's Register

#### 1. Atwater Meets Major Breck

Pvt. Dorance Atwater of the 2d New York Cavalry was 18 years old when he was captured by Confederates at Hagerstown, Maryland, on July 7, 1863, and sent to Belle Isle. In 1864 he was transferred to Andersonville, where in May he reported at sick call and was ordered to the hospital. Following his recovery, he in mid-June, was paroled and detailed as a clerk to the Medical Department. Dr. Isaiah White took cognizance of Atwater's beautiful penmanship and placed him in charge of the books in which a daily record of the deaths of the prisoners was kept, along with each soldier's name, company, regiment, and cause of death. Atwater soon realized that these records would be invaluable to the deceased's loved ones. In August he began to secretly copy the death list.

When he was exchanged in March 1865, Atwater secreted this list, containing nearly 13,000 names, in the lining of his coat until after he had passed through the lines. From Annapolis, Maryland, he wrote Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, requesting a furlough of 30 days to permit him to make arrangements for the publication of his copy of the death register. On April 12 he received, in reply, a telegram directing him to report to the Secretary of War's office with his rolls. There he found Maj. Samuel Breck, with whom he was to arrange for a "suitable reward," absent. He left the rolls for safe-keeping with a clerk.

Breck, on returning, told Atwater, "we will give you \$300 for the rolls." Atwater explained that he did not wish to sell the rolls, as he believed they should be published for "the benefit of friends and relatives for whom they had been copied." The government could confiscate that register, Breck warned, if Atwater tried to publish the list without its sanction. He was given one day to make up his mind whether to accept Breck's offer. Atwater agreed to sell the rolls to the government for \$300, a clerkship in the War Department,

and the return of his register as soon as it was copied. (1)

## 2. Clara Barton Gets Involved

While waiting for the War Department to publish his rolls, Atwater read of Clara Barton's efforts to ascertain the whereabouts of soldiers listed as missing. He wrote her, describing his rolls. Miss Barton called him to her office and said, "Tell me the whole story." She listened as Atwater described the method practiced in burial of the dead, and examined the sketch he had made of the grounds. As he talked she became convinced of the possibility of identifying the graves by comparing the numbered post marking each man's position in the burial trenches, with the corresponding number listed by the name in Atwater's register. (2)

## B. Miss Barton Goes South

### 1. Miss Barton Calls on Secretary Stanton

With Atwater's drawing of the cemetery, Miss Barton called on Commissary-General of Prisoners Hoffman, and asked that an expedition be sent at once to Andersonville to identify, mark, and enclose the graves. This group, she continued, must be accompanied by Atwater and his register. General Hoffman was impressed by what Miss Barton was saying, and promised to bring the subject to Secretary of War Stanton's attention. The next day, at the Secretary's invitation, she called at the War Department. It took Miss Barton 20 minutes to gain Stanton's approval.

She was delighted when the Secretary announced that he had decided to invite her to accompany the Andersonville Expedition, so she could see that her

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1. Blanche Colton Williams, Clara Barton: Daughter of Destiny (New York, 1941), pp. 117-19; William E. Barton, The Life of Clara Barton: Founder of the American Red Cross, 2 vols. (Boston, 1922), Vol. 1, p. 317.

2. Ibid.; "Clara Barton to the People of the United States," New York Tribune, Feb. 14, 1866. Miss Barton's search for missing soldiers had the sanction of President Lincoln.

suggestions were carried out to her satisfaction. The officer in charge of the undertaking, he continued, would be given unlimited powers as quartermaster to draw upon all officers of the government in and around Andersonville for whatever was needed. A special boat would be made available, and they were to return only when the project had been satisfactorily accomplished. (3)

## 2. The Expedition Travels South

Secretary Stanton on June 30 accordingly directed Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs to detail Capt. James M. Moore to proceed to Andersonville with Miss Barton, Atwater, and such other assistants as necessary. There he was "to identify, as far as possible, the graves of Union soldiers buried there, placing over them suitable memorials, and also establishing a cemetery with suitable protection to guard the graves from desecration." (4)

To undertake the task, he was assigned 34 men (two clerks, one foreman, 12 carpenters, 12 letterers, and seven laborers) provided with materials for fencing and headboards, linseed oil, white lead, and paint brushes. (5) By July 8 preparations had been completed, and the expedition sailed from Washington for Savannah, aboard the steamer Virginia.

The ship docked at Savannah on the 12th, and the 40 members of the party disembarked. Captain Moore, on checking, learned that they would be delayed because of low water on the Savannah River; and that the Southwestern Railroad, between Macon and Albany, was not yet back in operation. Heavy rains at the beginning of the third week of July caused a rapid rise on the Savannah, and Captain Moore, on the 19th, had his party

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3. Barton, Life of Clara Barton, 1, p. 318; "Clara Barton to the People of the United States," New York Tribune, Feb. 14, 1866.

4. Stanton to Meigs, June 30, 1865, NA, RG 92, Office of the QMG, Consolidated Correspondence File.

5. Moore to Asst. Q. M., Office of QMG, July 5, 1865, NA, RG 92.

aboard a light-draft steamer bound for Augusta. From there they boarded a train for Atlanta. The rolling stock was miserable, the "road equally badly managed," and the locomotive seldom traveled more than 12 miles per hour. At Atlanta, the conductor refused to permit Moore's men to take seats in the coaches, claiming that they were required for passengers at the way stations. Captain Moore insisted his people should ride, and ordered them to take seats. (6)

At Macon, Captain Moore reported to Maj. Gen. James H. Wilson. The general received him kindly and drafted orders detaching two companies to assist the expedition in its work. In the days since they had landed in Savannah, service over the Southwestern Railroad to

Albany had been restored. Leaving Macon on the morning of July 25, they detrained at Andersonville at noon. (7)

C. The Expedition Identifies and Marks the Graves

1. Griffin's Accomplishments

They "found the prison grounds, stockade, hospital sheds, and the various minor structures, almost in the same condition in which they had been evacuated." General Wilson had taken steps, Miss Barton learned, to maintain the area as a historic monument "undisturbed, so long as the elements will spare" the structures.

When Miss Barton visited the cemetery, she found W. A. Griffin of Fort Valley, Georgia, and 20 Negroes with a few mules at work on the grounds. Griffin had passed through Andersonville on the railroad and had learned from one of the blacks that the bodies were "becoming exposed and were rooted up by animals." After verifying this story, he collected several blacks, "sank the exposed bodies, and covered them to a proper depth." Griffin then traveled to Macon and told General Wilson what he had done, and asked authority to take steps to protect the grounds.

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6. Moore to Meigs, July 30, 1865, NA, RG 92. The Macon and Western Central Railroad had recently been returned to its owners by the military.

7. Ibid.; "Clara Barton to the People of the United States," New York Tribune, Feb. 14, 1866.

On visiting Andersonville, General Wilson, on June 1, 1865, named Griffin temporary superintendent, and afforded him such limited resources as could be provided "in that destitute country." It was determined to enclose a 50-acre square. At the time of Miss Barton's arrival, Griffin and his men had erected about one-third of the fence, using salvaged lumber. He had also established a brick kiln, and was burning brick for drains "to conduct the water away from the graves, and protect and strengthen the soil against the action" of the southwestern Georgia downpours.

As Miss Barton walked about, she saw nine acres of graves placed "side by side in close continuous rows," divided into three unequal lots by two roads which intersected each other nearly at right angles." The northwest quadrant had been used as a burial ground for Confederate soldiers. (8)

## 2. The Task

Captain Moore turned his crew out to push forward the work so well commenced. The enclosure was completed and headboards lettered, painted, and positioned. It was confirmed that the dead had been interred in successive trenches, "capable of containing from 100 to 150 bodies each, thickly set with little posts or boards, with numbers in regular order carved upon them." It was necessary to compare the numbers upon each post with that opposite the name on the register, and replace the post with "a more substantial, uniform and comely tablet, bearing not only the original number, but the name, company and regiment, and date of death" of the soldier who rested beneath. (9)

The number of graves marked was 12,920, and the record books seized at Andersonville by General Wilson enabled them to identify and mark about 10,500. One book was missing, but Miss Barton was able to identify more than 2,000 additional graves by reference to Atwater's

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8. "Clara Barton to the People of the United States," New York Tribune, Feb. 14, 1866. The Negroes, it was understood, were paid by Griffin and rationed by General Wilson.

9. Ibid.

rolls. Interspersed through the Death Registers were more than 400 numbers alongside which was marked, "unknown." So scattered among the identified graves were 460 headboards, bearing only a number and the inscription, "Unknown Union Soldier." (10)

### 3. Sickness Takes a Toll

While marking the graves, the expedition camped 100 yards northwest of the stockade. Captain Moore was soon disenchanted with the area. He described the soil as "sandy, sterile, and unfit for cultivation." He was told that Andersonville was the most unhealthy locality in Georgia, and that the reason it had been selected as a prison was because of the deadly malaria arising from nearby swamps. By the time his party had been at Andersonville five days, sickness had felled two of his best letterers and ten of the soldiers detailed by General Wilson. Miss Barton took charge of the sick and was "unremitting in her attention" to them. All the men recovered, except Edward Watts, a clerk, who died of typhoid fever on August 16. (11)

### 4. Miss Barton Hoists the Stars and Stripes

By mid-August, the expedition had completed its mission. Besides enclosing the grounds and identifying and marking the graves, the men had placed "some appropriate mottoes at the gates and along the spaces designed for walks," and had erected a flagstaff in the center of the cemetery. Miss Barton was given the honor of hoisting the first United States flag to fly above the sacred ground. (12)

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10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.; Moore to Meigs, July 30, 1865, NA, RG 92. Captain Moore's tent was within a short distance of the kennels. Watts' remains were sent to his parents in Georgetown, D. C., for burial.

12. Barton, Life of Clara Barton, Vol. 1, p. 321; "Clara Barton to the People of the United States," New York Tribune, Feb. 14, 1866.



5. Private Atwater Runs Afoul of the Bureaucracy

Before sailing from Washington for Savannah on July 8, 1865, Atwater had learned that General Wilson had been unable to locate all the registers. Miss Barton then suggested that he bring along his rolls. On his return from the South, Major Breck inquired as to the whereabouts of his rolls, as the copy made from them for the War Department had been blurred.

Atwater told Breck that they were in his trunk. Breck, despite their agreement, told Atwater that either the \$300 must be refunded or the rolls returned. Atwater disagreed, and explained that after the rolls had been copied, they were legally his and he was duty bound to have them published. Major Breck had him arrested and sent a force to search his room and trunk. They were unable to locate the rolls, as Atwater had entrusted them to Clara Barton. After two days in the guardhouse, Atwater was charged with larceny and conduct prejudicial to good military discipline and court-martialed. Convicted, he was given a dishonorable discharge, with loss of all pay and allowances, with a fine of \$300 and confinement at hard labor for 18 months. He was sent to Auburn Prison, September 26, 1865, and had served two months, when he was released by one of President Andrew Johnson's many amnesties.

After Atwater returned to his home in New Haven, he learned that his record still had not been published. Through the intervention of Miss Barton, the register was finally published by Horace Greeley's New York Tribune in February 1866. (13) Atwater lived to see the stigma removed, as Clara Barton fought for public exoneration. In 1898 Congress finally acted, and, cancelling the court-martial, awarded Atwater an honorable discharge. (14)

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13. Williams, Clara Barton, pp. 119-22. The 80-page List of Union Soldiers Buried at Andersonville sold for 25 cents a copy.

14. Ibid.

6. Miss Barton Urges the Area Be Designated a National Shrine

Prior to the departure of the expedition from Andersonville for Washington, on August 17, Captain Moore confirmed General Wilson's appointment of Griffin as cemetery superintendent. He also told Griffin that the structures erected by the Rebels, particularly the stockades, were not to be removed, as it was the wish of the government that they "remain as they are, so the north will be enabled to witness Andersonville as it was and judge the care the so called Confederate Government bestowed upon their prisoners of war." (15)

Soon after her return to Washington, Miss Barton undertook a campaign to have Andersonville designated a National Cemetery. She maintained that the area was susceptible to internal improvements. There was water for irrigation, while the climate would "produce nearly all the flora of the temperate zones." She urged the erection of "a suitable monument within the cemetery, where, if desirable, may be preserved in durable form the names of the martyrs." As the land on which the cemetery, stockade, and hospitals stood was privately owned, she urged that the cemetery and its immediate surroundings become the property of the United States. She believed a square mile would embrace "all points of general and historic interest." (16)

Prior to Miss Barton's trip to Georgia, local Negroes had avoided the cemetery, because while Andersonville was a prison it had been a punishable offense for them "to feed, shelter, aid, or . . . converse with the prisoners on parole." But when they learned of the presence of Captain Moore's party, they forgot their fears and began visiting the cemetery and Miss Barton by the score. When Miss Barton opened her tent in the morning, she frequently found a group standing in front, who had walked 15 or 20 miles to see the "Yankee lady." They

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15. Moore to Meigs, July 30, 1865, NA, RG 92.

16. "Clara Barton to the People of the United States," New York Tribune, Feb. 14, 1866. Miss Barton urged that Andersonville be made a central National Cemetery for the interment of Union soldiers buried in temporary plots throughout Georgia.

wished to know whether Abraham Lincoln was dead; if they were free; "how Massa Lincoln's great paper read"; what they ought to do; and would tell her how the "poor Yankee prisoners" ran before the dogs, "like us." (17)

D. The Quartermaster General Proposes a National Shrine

1. Dykes Tells His Troubles to the Quartermaster General

Ben Dykes, who had rented the land on which the cemetery was located to the Confederate Quartermaster Department, wrote Quartermaster General Meigs in October 1865 that the Confederate government had "never bought, rented, or leased his property, having held possession by force." Superintendent Griffin had reportedly told Dykes that as a citizen he could admit his title and claim, but as an agent of the United States could not. To add insult to injury, Griffin warned Dykes to stay out of the cemetery and away from the stockade.

Dykes was willing to deed the United States 50 acres for the cemetery, upon condition that it would release "its pretended claim upon the balance" of his property. If the government desired, he would sell his land and at a fair price. His price for his entire 990 acres was \$5,000.

Superintendent Griffin, following his arrival in Andersonville, had announced that he was to take charge of all public property belonging to the Confederate quartermaster and commissary departments. In discharging his mission, Griffin had seized two houses, a two-story mill, stable, school, storehouse, grocery store, and blacksmith shop, all of which had belonged to Dykes before the war. In addition, Griffin had compelled two

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17. Ibid.

persons, W. M. Whitlawn and Mrs. Warner, who were living in houses belonging to Dykes, to pay rent to the government on threat of eviction. Seven other families living in structures built by the Confederacy were being charged rent by Griffin. (18)

In an effort to win sympathy, Dykes explained that he was a crippled noncombatant who had been imposed on, and he wanted nothing but his rights as a citizen. (19)

## 2. A Daring Proposal

Dykes' communication was referred to Captain Moore for comment. Personally, Moore knew little about Dykes. While he had been at Andersonville, Dykes had been pointed out to him as the owner of the ground now used by the government as a National Cemetery. He had also been told that Dykes owned part of the stockade site, as well as land on which "numerous wooden structures, used during the war by the Rebels, as Hospitals, officers' quarters, Commissary, and Quartermaster buildings" had been erected.

In Moore's opinion, the United States did not need more than the 50 acres in the cemetery, but he believed it the wish of the "loyal people of this country, that the stockade, and the surrounding buildings be preserved." As the timber in the stockade would total about 1,340,000 feet, it with the buildings would be a valuable windfall for Dykes, who a few months before had had a reputation as a "most violent enemy of the Government." In May, Dykes had proposed to turn the cemetery into a vineyard, remarking that "grapes would grow finely in such ground." If the United States determined to purchase any of Dykes' property, five dollars per acre would be a fair valuation. (20)

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18. These families were: Mrs. L. G. Suber, Wiley Capes, C. Ramsey, A. Scarborough, Mrs. Register, Mr. Johnson, and a Mr. Duckworth.

19. Dykes to Meigs, Oct. 15, 1865, NA, RG 92.

20. Moore to Meigs, Nov. 14, 1865, NA, RG 92.

When the correspondence was reviewed in Meigs' office, it was determined that Moore's assessment of Dykes' character was valid. It was suggested that a program be initiated to secure not only the 50 acres in the cemetery, but the ground on which the stockade and the adjacent buildings were located. This, it was hoped, would insure the area's preservation as a memorial. (21) Congress and the nation were not ready to underwrite a program of historic preservation, and the proposal to preserve the Andersonville structures as a historic shrine was soon dropped.

### 3. Dykes Makes a Deal

Dykes, unable to get a favorable response from General Meigs, on February 1, 1866, wrote Secretary of War Stanton, advising him that he was owner of some of the land on which the prison pen was located. During the war, he had served as depot agent and postmaster at Andersonville, and had received a pardon, dated September 25, 1865. Besides desiring the return of his property, he wished to petition for the appointment as cemetery superintendent. (22)

As to be expected, Dykes' proposal was pigeonholed by Stanton. Dykes' claim for either the return of his land or for payment for the same was not resolved until 1875. On February 9 of that year Benjamin and Elizabeth Dykes relinquished to the United States for \$3,300 their title to 120 acres in Sumter and Macon counties, Georgia, "which had been entered upon and appropriated" by the Federal government "as suitable and necessary for the purpose of a National Cemetery." (23)

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21. Card to Meigs, Nov. 15, 1865, NA, RG 92.

22. Dykes to Stanton, Feb. 1, 1866, NA, RG 92.

23. Sumter County Deed Book Q, pp. 293-94. The tract conveyed included all ground then enclosed in the National Cemetery, and in addition thereto all land located within the following limits: between a line 1,970 feet in length paralleling the east cemetery wall, at a distance of 300 feet, and extending 300 feet beyond the northeast and southeast corners of said wall. From the terminal point at the northeast angle, the north line paralleled the north wall at a distance of 300 feet to the right-of-way of

Before the end of February orders were issued by the Quartermaster General directing that the lands held by the United States at Andersonville and not included in the tract appropriated for the National Cemetery be relinquished. On March 30, 1875, the United States accordingly returned to Dykes and the Turner heirs the land at Andersonville held by the Quartermaster General in the years since the collapse of the Confederacy. (24)

E. The First Superintendents have their Troubles

1. Wilson Gets Griffin Fired

Superintendent Griffin did not hold his position very long. On November 20, 1865, General Wilson, on hearing that he was stealing commissary stores and selling whiskey in government buildings, fired him and named H. B. Wilton to the post of acting superintendent. When this was reported to Quartermaster General Meigs, whose office was responsible for National Cemeteries, he called on Captain Moore for information regarding Griffin and Wilton.

What he had seen while at Andersonville had satisfied Moore that Griffin possessed ability and was a Union man. While there he had had sufficient experience with Wilton to convince him that he was an immoral man. Captain Moore was satisfied that Wilton had told false stories about Griffin in a successful effort to get the superintendency. Orders were accordingly issued on February 15, 1866, reconfirming Griffin as superintendent of Andersonville National Cemetery.

General Wilson, who was in Washington in mid-March 1866, discussed the subject with Meigs. He told the Quartermaster General that his investigations had disclosed that either Griffin or his brother had served

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the Southwestern Railroad. The south line ran from the terminal point at the southeast angle west to the railroad right-of-way, paralleling the south cemetery wall at a distance of 300 feet. The west line abutted on the railroad right-of-way.

24. Hoyt to Rockwell, March 2, 1875, Claim of Isaac Turner, Congressional Jurisdiction Case 11496, NA, RG 125. Capt. A. F. Rockwell was an officer in the Quartermaster Department, as was Lt. G. S. Hoyt.

as a colonel in the Rebel army. Between them they had taken over at Andersonville, and visitors had been "shocked and offended" to find a "rebel in authority over the bodies of their relatives." Unlike Captain Moore, he had confidence in Wilton, who had suffered imprisonment as a Union man in Atlanta. (25)

Meigs now received a letter from Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, enclosing one from a constituent, complaining about Griffin's conduct and championing Wilton for the superintendency. Once again, Meigs called on Captain Moore for a report. Moore could find nothing to cause him to change his opinion of the two men. But as Griffin was likely to continue to be a target for "envious rivals," Moore recommended the appointment as superintendent of a "high toned discharged officer or soldier."

For the position of superintendent, Captain Moore recommended E. J. Dowling, a veteran currently employed as a clerk in the Quartermaster Department. He, however, was overruled, and the position was given to another veteran with stronger political credentials, C. A. Van Deuerson, a nephew of former governor William A. Newell of New Jersey. (26)

## 2. Wilton Goes After Van Deuerson

Wilton, as to be expected, lost no time in zeroing in on Van Deuerson. On June 11, 1866, he wrote an officer at headquarters for the District of Georgia that the Rebels were "persevering in their determination to own and controle [sic] Andersonville." In their efforts they were aided by whiskey, to which Van Deuerson was addicted. He had been told that "the position of Supt. was procured for the . . . incumbent to get him away from city influences." Former enemies of the government, Wilton charged, had taken advantage of Van Deuerson's intemperate habits to secure employment in the cemetery.

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25. Meigs to Stanton, March 26, 1866, and Meigs' Memo of March 22, 1866, NA, RG 92.

26. Moore to Meigs, March 26, 1866, and Meigs to Stanton, March 26, 1866, NA, RG 92.

He had heard that the justice of the peace who had sent him to jail had formed an alliance with "a sharper & whiskey bottler by the name of Gilbert" to purchase the Dykes and Turner land, "for the purpose of carrying out my plan of forming an association to build a monument and make other improvements here." (27) This was a sham, however, and all they wished to do was "humbug" the government out of the land and buildings, "so they can drive us union people out in the cold, break up the cold. church and prevent me from proceeding with the School which A. S. Eberhart ordered me to open here."

While he did not seek the position, Wilton trusted Col. A. von Schroader would use his influence to have "the next Supt. a man who is neither a Sot, rebel or copperhead." (28)

### 3. Captain Greene Exonerates Van Deuerson

As to be expected, Wilton's letter led to an investigation by Capt. S. C. Greene, the Acting Assistant Inspector General for the Department of the South. Captain Greene spent several days at Andersonville in July 1866, and found that the maintenance force consisted of Superintendent Van Deuerson and ten laborers, seven of whom were blacks and three Confederate veterans. (29) When he discussed the superintendent's "alleged intemperate habits" with local citizens, Captain Greene found no evidence supporting Wilton's complaint that he frequently became so intoxicated as to be unable to attend to his duties. (30)

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27. Wilton to Schroader, June 11, 1866, NA, RG 92. Colonel von Schroader was assigned to the Military Division of Tennessee.

28. Ibid.

29. Greene to Nininger, July 13, 1866, NA, RG 92. Capt. A. Ramsey Nininger was Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the South. The superintendent was paid \$60 per month and allowed one ration, while the laborers each received \$20 per month and one ration.

30. Ibid.



4. Captain Greene Describes the Cemeteries

Visiting the cemetery, Captain Greene found that it was enclosed by a good substantial, whitewashed picket fence, six feet in height. Care had been taken to prevent damage to the fence by erosion. On the north and east sides there was scant open ground between the fence and forest. To guard against fire, a firebreak, 16 feet in width, had been cleared. There were three gates, two large ones at the north and south entrances and a small one at the west entrance. Plans had been made to replace the small entrance with a large gateway, and to open and grade an avenue from the railroad into the cemetery. The gate had been completed, but funds were needed to hire a mechanic to continue this project. (31)

The graves and walkways were in good condition, no grass having been permitted to grow upon them. The six-foot walkways paralleled the foot of the graves, with the headboards facing toward them. Except on the north side of the cemetery and in the southeast corner, where there were groves of pine and oak, there were few trees in the central portion of the cemetery. A number of small trees had been transplanted from the forest into the cemetery during the spring, but "owing to the different nature of the soil from which they had been taken, and that into which they were transplanted, nearly half the number" had died. (32)

Within the cemetery, in the northwest quadrant, were the graves of 117 Confederate soldiers and five citizens. These graves received the same care as those of the Federal dead. Greene also visited the 67 Union graves located at the former smallpox hospital. While these graves were marked by headboards, they were not enclosed. (33)

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31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

5. Captain Greene Describes the Andersonville Buildings

In and about Andersonville there were 16 buildings erected by the Rebel government that had been appropriated by the United States. Fourteen of these structures were occupied: one as an office and storeroom, one as a shop, five as employees quarters, and seven by citizens. The latter had been occupied by authority granted by either Superintendent Griffin or Quartermaster William A. Rankin. No rent was paid by the occupants. Captain Greene, on examining the structures, saw that they were built of "plank, upright, nailed to a frame, and mostly battened, and covered with a roof of clapboard." In addition, there were a number of log huts that had been erected as quarters by Rebel units assigned to guard the prisoners. Some of these were occupied by black employees of the government, but the majority constituted a nuisance, "being a receptacle and rendezvous for such stray and idle freedmen as prefer to congregate about towns and villages rather than seek or accept employment." Captain Greene recommended the demolition of these huts.

In addition to these structures, there were a number of "sheds, consisting of posts set into the ground, upon which a frame has been erected for the roof, which consists of clapboards." These sheds were either in the stockade or hospital enclosure. (34)

Captain Greene found that Andersonville contained one store and no hotel. The store stocked drygoods, groceries, and whiskey. The whiskey was sold under a license from the civil authorities of Sumter County. (35)

F. Renewed Efforts to Preserve Andersonville as a Historic Site Fail

1. General Howard Becomes Interested

Brig. Gen. C. H. Howard of the Freedman's Bureau and a friend of Senator Wilson of Massachusetts stopped at Andersonville in December 1865. Wilton, who was acting Superintendent at this time, sold Howard on the idea of

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4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

the government purchasing the land on which the stockade and its dependencies were located as a memorial to the heroism and sacrifice of the men imprisoned there and a monument to the infamy of the Rebels. Already local diehards had tried, but failed, to burn the stockade. When he urged this project on Senator Wilson, Howard pointed out that Wilton was a landscape architect, and as such he would like to be in charge of the proposed park. (36)

Senator Wilson referred General Howard's letter to the War Department. Once again, Captain Moore was asked for comments. Without going into the merits of the proposal, Moore blasted Wilton. He had hired Wilton in July of the previous year to prepare a map of the area. When, after two months, he had produced nothing, Moore had fired him. Since then Wilton had subsisted on Griffin's charity. (37)

General Howard early in March called on Quartermaster General Meigs. To escape from the dilemma in which the Department found itself with Dykes clamoring for the return of his property and Howard's demand that the government purchase and develop the area as a memorial park, Meigs on March 3 recommended that the timber in the stockade be sold. This would prevent Dykes from realizing any profit. The previous autumn, the Department itself had been interested in maintaining the structures as memorials, but an investigation had disclosed that the cost of maintaining the stockade would be too expensive, because within a few years the timber would rot and have to be replaced. (38)

Brig. Gen. John M. Brannan, as commander of the Department of Georgia, would have the responsibility of disposing of the timber at public auction. (39) This decision, however, was unpopular and was rescinded.

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36. Howard to Wilson, Feb. 5, 1866, NA, RG 92.

37. Moore to Rucker, Feb. 28, 1866, NA, RG 92.

38. Meigs to Secretary of War, March 14, 1866, NA, RG 92.

39. Smith to Meigs, March 27, 1866, NA, RG 92.

## 2. Corliss' Proposal Gets No Consideration

The stockades were still standing in March 1868, when 1st Lt. A. W. Corliss was sent to Andersonville to direct projects undertaken to improve and beautify the National Cemetery. Not having received any instructions on the subject, Corliss inquired of Quartermaster General Meigs his intentions regarding preservation of the prison.

Corliss recommended the acquisition by the government of all land enclosed by a line beginning on the railroad right-of-way 4,000 feet north of the depot and running east to intersect a north-south line crossing Sweetwater Creek at its confluence with Stockade Branch, then ascending Sweetwater Creek to the railroad, and then north with the railroad right-of-way to the point of beginning. Situated on this ground were all "stockades, forts and places of interest connected with the history of Andersonville." With ordinary care, it would be possible to preserve these structures in the same condition as when the prison pen was an active installation. (40)

Historic preservation was a subject foreign to the government in 1868. Corliss' proposition accordingly suffered a fate similar to the others calling for the preservation and maintenance of Andersonville as a national shrine.

## 3. General Thomas Calls for Preservation of the Stockade

Cemetery Superintendent Henry Williams therefore found himself in an embarrassing situation following a visit to the area by Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas. Thomas had told Williams that he wanted the stockade preserved. Writing Quartermaster General Meigs on July 16, 1868, Williams pointed out that the palisades were "going to decay," and to carry out Thomas' orders he needed an allotment to hire additional laborers. The government also needed to acquire the land. (41)

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40. Corliss to Meigs, March 20, 1868, NA, RG 92.

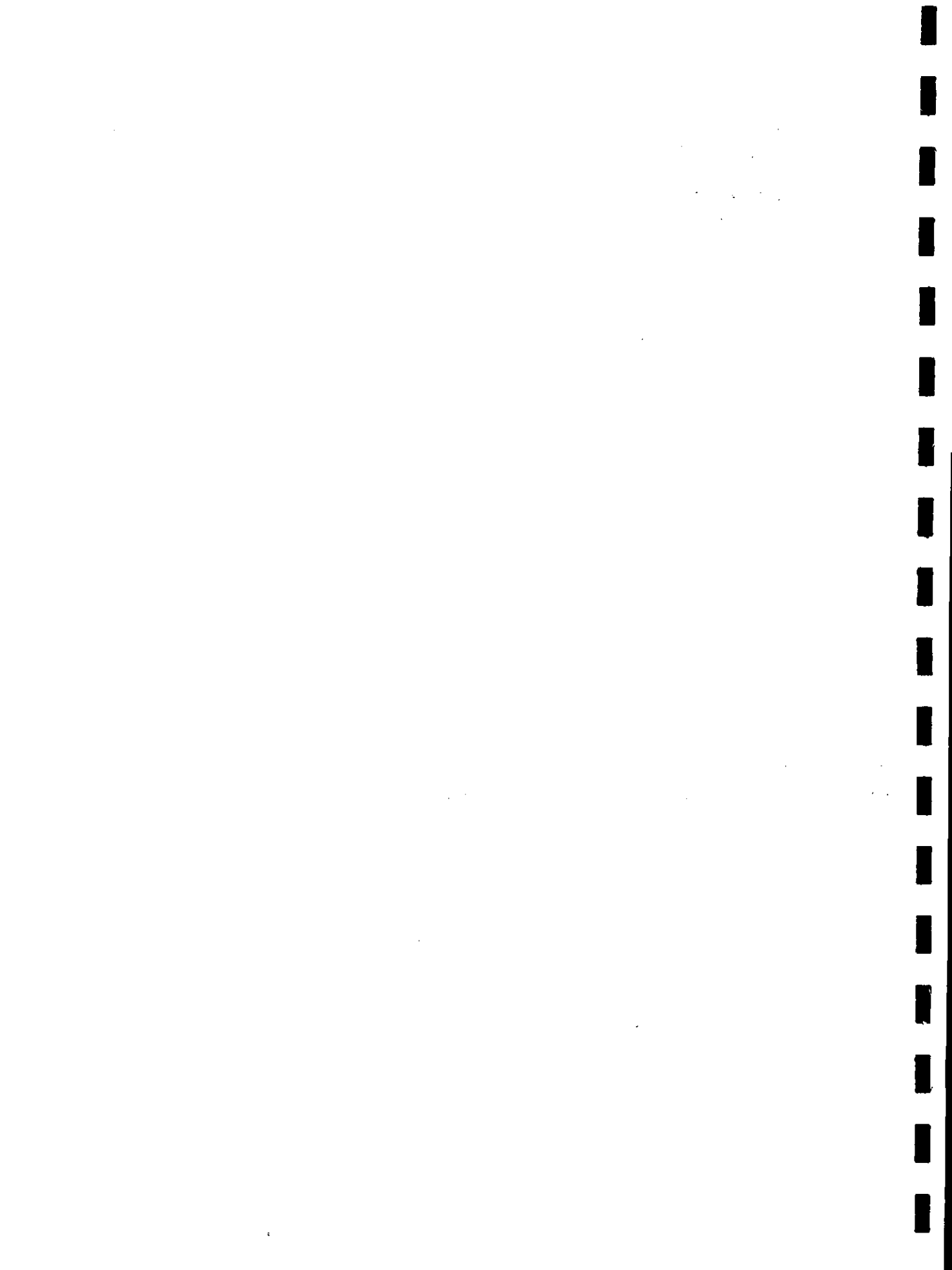
41. Williams to Meigs, July 16, 1868, NA, RG 92. Williams had been appointed superintendent on November 26, 1867.

Meigs, unless Congress acted, was not prepared to allot funds for preservation of the stockade or the acquisition of land on which it was located. Consequently, the prison structures continued to deteriorate. By May 22, 1869, an inspecting officer reported that

the prison buildings are dilapidated, & some of them have fallen down. The Stockade is rotting, and has fallen in a number of places. I found a large number of cattle grazing within the outer stockade. (42)

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42. Strong to Haines, May 22, 1869, NA, RG 92. Brig. Gen. T. J. Haines was acting chief quartermaster, Dept. of the South.



## XII. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRISON PARK, 1867-1900

### A. Miss Shearman's 1867 Visit to Andersonville

#### 1. The Freedman's School

Mary A. Shearman was at Andersonville in May 1867. When she detrained at the depot, she looked toward the east and saw a "small patch of ground, inclosed with a stockade," Castle Reed, and in the distance she saw a "more extensive enclosure." In reply to her question as to where she might obtain lodging, the stationmaster directed her down the tracks to the Freedman's School. She walked in the direction indicated, and leaving the right-of-way she followed a path a short distance through the pines and scrub oak, into a clearing. There she found two "large rough wooden buildings." She was invited into one by two teachers, who told her that the old Confederate Hospital had been converted into a Freedman's School. This building served as the teacherage and the other as the schoolhouse. As it was recess, a number of black children romped merrily in the yard.

The two ladies had arrived the previous October, and, denied all society except each other's, had established the school. Until February neither the teacherage nor the schoolhouse had glass in the windows. Lights and frames had then been secured for their quarters, but the schoolhouse still depended on wooden shutters. (1)

#### 2. She Sees the Stockade

When the heat of the day had abated, Miss Shearman, accompanied by three of the pupils, started for the stockade. The trail led along a ridge through scrub oak, which was springing up to replace pines felled three years before. Suddenly they came out into a clearing,

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1. Mary A. Shearman, "A Visit to Andersonville," Hours at Home: A Popular Monthly, Devoted to Religious and Useful Literature (New York, 1867), Vol. 5, pp. 410-11. The Andersonville Freedman's School had opened in 1866 under the auspices of the Congregational Society of Barrington, Rhode Island. In March 1867 there were two teachers, and 91 students--42 male and 49 female.

and before them was a wooden wall. She shuddered as the children led her toward the West Gate. They did not attempt to "swing the ugly doors on their hinges, but crept through, by the favor of a loose plank." She and her guides found themselves in between two palisades. What especially attracted her about the inner stockade were the sentry boxes. They, she recalled, were "rough wooden stands, raised to a level with the top of the stockade, and roofed over with shingles, the ascent to them being by a flight of steps." (2)

Immediately inside the inner stockade were five sheds, each one of which might have "sheltered 100 men." Within the enclosure, and near its foot, was "a tolerably deep ditch, while portions of the dead-line" still remained. The ditch was grown up in flowers and ferns. Everywhere the ground was "strewed with rags, old shoes, and bits of leather, washed into the soil by the rain and trampled in by feet." All that remained of the caves dug by many of the prisoners were little hillocks or holes, heavy rains having eroded the light sandy soil of the south slope. Roofs of sticks and mud, "curiously woven together," to protect shebangs had resisted the weather to a remarkable degree. She saw a number of chimneys and hearths, moulded by prisoners' bare hands.

On the north slope the ground appeared "one mass of excavations: scarcely an inch of soil . . . had not been worked." A number of these holes she found to be wells. In the northeast corner of the enclosure she saw a patch of corn. A black man, whose family occupied one of the log guardhouses, told her it was his patch. (3)

### 3. She Visits the Cemetery

Miss Shearman had seen Arlington, but it did not affect her as Andersonville. She likened one to the "pleasant precincts of Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn," and the other to the "crowded alleys of London." Here 13,000 were buried so close together that "the arm of one man is said to fall over the body of his neighbor." The

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2. Ibid., p. 411.

3. Ibid., pp. 412-13.



headboards erected by Clara Barton's party were barely wide enough to hold the number, name, unit, and date of death of the soldier. The cemetery had a dreary look, as the soil refused to grow grass. Here and there a mimosa and some young oaks were springing up.

Most of the employees were black, but it made Miss Shearman's blood boil to learn that the superintendent had employed one of Wesley Turner's sons. She was familiar with the Wirz Trial, so she mistakenly assumed that Wesley Turner and Sergeant Turner, the keeper of the hounds, were identical. She was delighted to learn that Turner had been fired, but was disappointed to hear that he still prowled the neighborhood. (4)

B. A Correspondent's 1868 Trip to Andersonville

1. The Cemetery in March 1868

A correspondent for the Boston Spectator & Weekly Advertiser spent March 24, 1868, at Andersonville. When he walked out to the cemetery, he approached it via the south entrance--the termination of the road leading to the depot. Here were two signs. One read, "National Cemetery Andersonville," and the other contained a stanza from the "Bivouac of the Dead":

On Fame's eternal camping ground  
Their silent tents are spread;  
And Glory guards with solemn round  
The bivouac of the dead.

When he passed through the gate, he saw a 40-foot wide avenue extending northward. To the right and left were rows of headboards. North of these sections, each of which had ten rows of graves parallel with the avenue, was a cross avenue extending from east to west. In the northeast quadrant were the graves of more soldiers who had died at Andersonville, while in the northwest section were graves of soldiers who had died elsewhere during and since the war. These men's bodies had been disinterred and brought to Andersonville.

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4. Ibid., pp. 414-15.

Examining the headboards, he found grave No. 1, a man who died February 27, 1864, located in the southeast corner of the cemetery. On the eastern side of the northeast section was an unfinished row of graves, and at its extremity was grave No. 12,848, a man who died April 28, 1865. He counted more than 400 headboards reading, "Unknown U.S. Soldier," while at the end of one of the rows was one inscribed, "Unknown Lady, died April 6, 1864." He was told by Superintendent Williams that this woman was a Union soldier, and that her sex was unknown to her fellow prisoners until she died. In the open space between the northeast and southeast sections were the graves of the six Andersonville Raiders. (5)

At the cross avenues, there were four more boards on which had been painted additional stanzas from "The Bivouac of the Dead." The correspondent, knowing that the author of these lines had served in the Rebel army, trusted that Congress would make an appropriation "to have these doggerel verses removed and buried very deep." Surely, he reasoned, it was hard enough to die in prison, but the living had compounded the situation by permitting "such rhymes as . . . these to stand over these graves." (6)

## 2. The Prison in 1868

When he visited the stockade, he saw it must soon disappear, for without a guard it would be impossible to prevent the freedmen from tearing it down for fuel. Erosion had taken its toll, as after each rain the gullies deepened. The structures had deteriorated, and the banks of Stockade Branch were growing up in underbrush. Lieutenant Corliss spoke to the correspondent of plans to mark the corners of the main stockade with granite posts. (7)

Within the village, the chief points of interest were the office Captain Wirz had used in 1865, currently occupied by Lieutenant Corliss as headquarters, and the one-story dwelling in which General Winder had had his quarters. The latter was now occupied by a family employed at the cemetery. (8)

5. W. D., Boston Spectator & Weekly Advertiser, April 9, 1868.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

C. The Websters' 1873 Tour

1. The Cemetery in 1873

Albert Webster and his wife on their trip to Andersonville in 1873 spent the night at Dykes' Hotel. The next morning they started down "a very red road," crossed the railroad tracks, and walked to the National Cemetery. There they were greeted by Superintendent Sullivan, at the door of his "pretty, white, verandaed cottage, surrounded by a paling, inclosing a cultivated flower-garden." Beyond the cottage was a carriage gateway, with wickets at either side, from which ran, in either direction, a strong and substantial white fence. Behind the fence were the broad squares with their 13,000 graves. (9)

They entered the cemetery through one of the wickets. From the gate led a broad avenue directly across the grounds to the other side of the enclosure. It was crossed at right angles, midway in its length, by another equally broad roadway. Where the roadways crossed was a diamond-shaped lot, in the centre of which stood a lofty flagstaff. To the visitors' left on entering was a grove of oaks, which shaded 117 Confederate graves. The headboards of the Union dead were 2 1/2 feet in height, were painted white, with black lettering. Since Miss Shearman's visit of six years before, the cemetery had been planted in Bermuda, which produced a "thick and well-woven mat of grass." (10)

The avenues were lined with double rows of live oak. On a rise near the middle of the cemetery were the graves of the six Andersonville Raiders. Here and there about the area were copses of thick-leaved trees, and "their fresh, dark shadows give a rich variety to the strange landscape."

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9. Albert Webster, "A Jaunt in the South," Appleton's Journal Vol. 10, No. 234, Sept. 13, 1873, p. 323. The carriage gateway, on the west side of the cemetery, had been built in 1868.

10. Ibid., p. 323.

## 2. The Stockade in 1873

They left the cemetery by the south gate, and the trail across to the stockade led through a growth of small pines and bushes. As the Websters debouched into a glade, they sighted "the wooden walls" of the stockade. To their right was a redan, its ditch still deep, though overgrown with weeds. Its red parapets had eroded, but they were "still lofty." Within the work were decayed and rotten wooden gun platforms. To their left could be seen a second earthwork. After passing through a gap in the outer stockade, they crossed an intervening space, and came up against the principal palisade. Most of it was standing, though it was possible to enter at almost any point, as poles had rotted and blown down. As the prevailing winds were from the west, most of the poles that had toppled had fallen toward the east. (11)

By 1873 the interior of the enclosure was grown up in underbrush, and where there had been "a dreary desert, there is now a wild and luxuriant garden." As the Websters walked down the slope, their guide cautioned them to watch out for wells. Several deep wells were examined. Beside one several "strong trees" were already growing. To keep cattle from falling in, the owners had surrounded a number with rude barriers, made of material from the deadline.

When they dug for artifacts, they found the soil strewn with broken and half-decayed bones, scraps of leather, fragments of tin vessels, old buckles, buttons, and straps. In searching the area, they were cautioned to look out for rattlesnakes. At the North Gate, they found a portal of tall logs that had swayed out of line. When they examined the gate posts, they saw the rude mortises where the bar was dropped. The edges were worn, giving evidence of heavy use. (12)

Providence Spring had been cared for in a haphazard fashion. Upon a forked stick beside it hung a gourd, and

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11. Ibid., p. 324.

12. Ibid., p. 325.

a wooden basin had been sunk to shield the spring. A curtain of plants had grown out from the bank above. (13)

The Stockade Branch bottom had grown up in trees, some of which in eight years had reached a height of 30 feet. Where the bridge had crossed the stream, its remains could be seen. (14)

D. The Freedman's School is Abandoned

Lt. George S. Hoyt, in June 1874, visited Andersonville and inspected the two buildings used by the Freedman's Bureau. They were 90 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 16 feet high. Both structures were in bad condition, and in his opinion not worth the cost of moving. As the land on which they stood was to be relinquished, it was determined to abandon the buildings and drop them from the inventory. (15)

E. J. L. Ball's 1881 Visit to Andersonville

J. L. Ball of Iowa stopped off at Andersonville in the late winter of 1881. The village at this time consisted of a post office, express office, and depot, all housed in the same building; three stores; one school; one church; a blacksmith shop; mill with a circular saw and one set of burrs for grinding corn; and a cotton press.

When Ball visited the stockade, he found that the greater part of the enclosure north of the branch had grown up in trees and underbrush. The owner told Ball that he was farming the south slope, and in 1880 he had planted it in cotton and in 1879 it had been in corn. He told Ball that the cemetery superintendent had asked him not to farm the ground, but as he had to pay taxes on the property, he could not afford to let it lie fallow.

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13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., p. 325.

15. Hoyt to Ekin, June 29, 1874, NA, RG 92.

Most of the stockade logs, Ball saw, had rotted down, and were "a rotten mess." A few, however, still stood erect. (16)

F. Bryant Recalls the Stockade as it Appeared in 1883

When Jerus Bryant arrived at Andersonville in 1883 to take charge as cemetery superintendent, George W. Kennedy, a black, was renting the prison tract from the Turner heirs for 50 cents per acre. There were still a few stockade poles standing, but they were rapidly disappearing as Kennedy felled them and turned them into fence rails or material from which relics, principally canes, were carved. According to what he heard, Kennedy, since occupying the tract, had found this to be a profitable business, and much of the stockade had disappeared in this manner since 1875. (17)

G. Ben F. Gue's 1884 Visit

Benjamin F. Gue of Iowa was at Andersonville in May 1884. Visiting the site of the prison pen, he traced the "three stockade walls by the continuous ridges of decaying palisades that mark the line they occupied." On the west side many of the poles had been cut down and split into rails, "while most of the others have rolled off and lie in decaying masses on the ground." Here and there, Gue saw a "fire blackened sentinel" standing where it had been positioned in 1864. On the east side, much of the inner stockade still stood, "showing the height and strength of this formidable wooden wall." (18)

The ditch surrounding the stockade was still identifiable on the south, west, and east, "although in places it is nearly filled by washing and caving in." To the north and south, the stockade timbers had been removed in clearing fields for planting. At the time of his trip, two blacks, each with a mule, were planting cotton on the slope to the

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16. Ball to Rich & Maris, found in West Branch Local Record, March 10, 1881.

17. Bryant's Deposition, Oct. 13, 1905, Claim of Turner Heirs, Cong. Jurisdiction, Case 11496, NA, RG 125.

18. Benjamin F. Gue, "The Story of Andersonville," The Palimpsest, Vol. 47, p. 233.

south of Stockade Branch. On the slope north of the stream, Gue counted 20 wells, ranging in depth from ten to 30 feet. Where not cultivated, a thick growth of pines, oaks, and blackberry bushes had grown up. All that remained of the caves dug by the prisoners were mounds and depressions. The massive gates to the inner stockade had fallen, and Kennedy, the tenant, was working the timbers into canes to be sold as relics. (19)

With his guide, Dr. William B. Harrison, leading the way, Gue located the foundations of the bake ovens and was able to pinpoint the old corduroy road over which rations had been hauled from the commissary storehouse to the bakehouse. (20)

#### H. Creelman's 1889 Visit to the Site

In September 1889, 16 months before the Georgia Department of the Grand Army of the Republic acquired most of the stockade, S. Creelman, who had been a prisoner in 1864, returned to Andersonville. The village now consisted of eight or ten dwellings and a hotel.

A Negro guide was hired to take him and his party to the prison. The ground, they found, was now owned by two blacks, and a cotton field covered much of its "once repulsive surface." All surface remains of the prison had disappeared, except for a small shed covering Providence Spring. The only evidence of the inner stockade was stumps of logs which enabled them to trace its outline, and the old wells. Nothing remained of the bakehouse, cookhouse, deadhouse, or Captain Wirz's headquarters. The earthworks from which Rebel artillery had commanded the pen were well preserved. The bottom of Stockade Branch had grown up in underbrush. (21)

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19. Ibid., pp. 233-34.

20. Ibid., p. 234

21. S. Creelman, Collections of a Coffee Cooler . . . .  
(Wilkinsburg, 1889), pp. 37-38.

## I. The Establishment of the Andersonville Prison Park

### 1. The Prison Park under the Georgia Department, G.A.R.

George W. Kennedy on January 28, 1891, sold to J. W. Stone and J. D. Crawford of the Grand Army of the Republic of Georgia for \$1,500 a 73 1/2-acre tract in Lot 380, in the 28th Land District, together with a right-of-way, 100 feet wide, leading toward the railroad depot. (22) Located on the land conveyed was the stockade site, except for the northwest corner and some of the earthworks. Improvements made by the Georgia Division in its first year of ownership cost an equal amount. These consisted of clearing the grounds of undergrowth, leaving the large trees standing; planting a hedge around the property, which proved a failure; planting hedges around the remaining 18 wells; grading a belt roadway around the outer limit of the purchase, and building two bridges; flushing the creek and driving piles at the upper end, to control washing; and grading a central avenue from the 100-foot right-of-way on the west property line across the grounds to the east line, and a roadway leading from it to Providence Spring. (23)

### 2. The Women's Relief Corps takes Charge

By 1896 it had become apparent to the Georgia Department that to properly develop the prison park more money was needed, and the officers offered the area to the National Women's Relief Corps, as an unencumbered gift. At the 14th Annual Convention of the Women's Relief Corps, a resolution was passed accepting the property. The title was examined, deeds drawn, executed, recorded, and placed in the hands of the president of the Relief Corps. When the women learned that the property acquired did not contain all the stockade area, they arranged with their attorneys to purchase the 14 1/2

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22. Macon County Deed Book D, pp. 555-57, County Clerk's Office, Oglethorpe, Ga. Kennedy had purchased Lot No. 380, along with Lot. No. 379 and 50 acres off the northwest corner of Lot. No. 342, in the 28th District, for \$1,300 from Barney Parker on Oct. 30, 1885.

23. James P. Averill, Andersonville Prison Park (Atlanta, 1898), pp. 9-10.



acres needed for \$326.25 from James Russell and Charles Catledge. The transaction was recorded at the Macon County Courthouse on August 19, 1897. (24)

In the year following their acquisition of the prison park, the Women's Relief Corps had the property enclosed with a Page wire fence, with convenient gates; erected a nine-room caretaker's residence and stable, and planted the area formerly enclosed by the stockade in Bermuda grass. In 1898 a 115-foot flagstaff was erected, and a memorial arch was built at the main entrance on the west boundary of the grounds. The arch bore the inscription, "Andersonville Prison Park," erected, "In Memory of the Unknown Dead at Andersonville." (25)

A veteran (Alonzo A. Turner) and his wife were employed as caretakers. In 1902 the Relief Corps arranged to have a granite pavilion erected over Providence Spring, while survivors of the prison donated a fountain. As an inducement to the states to erect memorials, the Women's Relief Corps voted to deed to any state free of cost, except for necessary legal fees for the deed and its recording, land on which to place memorials to their sons who had died at Andersonville. (26)

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24. Ibid., pp. 15-16; Macon County Deed Book H, p. 479.

25. Averill, Andersonville Prison Park, pp. 15-16.

26. Report of the Joint Committee on Erection of Rhode Island Monument at Andersonville, Ga. (Providence, 1903), p. 5. The Rhode Island Committee determined to erect their state memorial on the "old prison ground," and to have inscribed thereon the names of soldiers from that state who had died at Andersonville. The five-man Massachusetts Committee, two of whom had been imprisoned at Andersonville, determined to locate their state memorial, within "50 feet east and 50 feet south" of where Francis C. Curtis, a commission member, had spent his days in the prison pen. Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Report of Commission on Andersonville Monument (Boston, 1902), pp. 30-31.

J. John Gratz's 1918 Visit to Andersonville

Confederate veteran John Gratz was at Andersonville in 1918. He left the National Cemetery by the south gate and a five minute walk down a dirt road, covered with pine needles and overgrown with tall grass, brought him to the edge of the woods, and in the distance he saw the United States flag flying from a tall staff. He passed by the well preserved earthworks. They were covered with timber. Entering the stockade site, he saw that the palisades had been replaced by a row of pecan trees. The park about the monuments was well-kept. His attention was next drawn "to what appeared to be clumps of trees and bushes surrounded by wire fencing." On closer inspection, he found they were wells, around which vegetation was growing. Gratz counted a score of wells. (27)

Next, he followed the gravel road leading southward, which brought him to Providence Spring, sheltered by its stone pavilion. Beyond the spring he arrived at Stockade Branch. The bridge had collapsed, and as hogs had been using the area as a wallow, the remains were surrounded by mud. Gratz picked his way across the morass, and climbed the hill to "Star Fort." This section of the prison park had not been maintained and it presented "a forlorn appearance." There were no signs and the trail was grown up in grass and briars, as was the entire hillside. The fort was covered with "young pines, brushwood, and briar patches." Markers had disappeared, and painted on the posts were legends telling the visitor that here was Wirz headquarters, the officers' quarters, the fort well, and sally port. Posts had been driven into the ground to mark Confederate gun positions. The caretaker told Gratz that the markers had been removed by order of the Quartermaster General, because the texts could not be verified. (28)

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27. John Gratz, "The Andersonville Prison Park," Confederate Veteran, 29, 1921, pp. 91-92.

28. Ibid.

### XIII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

With the establishment by the 91st Congress of the Andersonville National Historic Site, the National Park Service on June 30, 1971, will assume responsibility for the administration, interpretation, and protection of the shrine. To insure that the area is properly interpreted and to assist management, high priority should be given to a number of research projects. Archeological investigations are needed to verify the location of the stockades, deadline, and other important structures. If any structures are to be reconstructed, archeology is needed to provide data for the historical architects to supplement that found in this report, and thus insure a faithful reconstruction and one that conforms to the guidelines found on page 23 of Administration Policies for Historical Areas of the National Park Service.

The Andersonville National Cemetery, because of its importance to the interpretation of the park story and the human interest associated with its establishment, merits a detailed historical study. Management will require, at an early date, an Administrative History of Andersonville Prison Park, 1891--1971. Such a document will provide management with vitally needed information on park development and administrative policies during these years.

A study of the memorials and the Providence Spring Pavilion is vital, because the Master Plan proposes the movement of the memorials within the confines of the stockade to a Memorial Park and the elimination of the Pavilion, replacing it with a "more natural setting." A study of the memorials will be aimed at: (a) ascertaining if there are any provisions in the articles of donation that prohibit their relocation; and (b) determining the rationale which motivated the State Commissions in selecting the sites. This is important as the respective commissions were composed of men who were imprisoned and suffered at Andersonville, and the Service should not impose current standards of esthetics on a previous generation, especially one that was intimately associated with the site. Similar arguments can be directed against the proposal to eliminate the Providence Spring Pavilion. Before management determines what to do with the Pavilion, a Historic Structures Report should be programmed, and after all the facts are in hand a decision on the fate of the structure can be made by management, Chief Environmental Planning and Design, and the Chief, Office of Archeology & Historic Preservation.

As the story to be interpreted at Andersonville is to focus on the unhappy fate and condition of prisoners held in military prison camps since the beginning of recorded history, a general background study on the origin and development of prison camps

will be given a high priority. In addition, a study of a typical Union prison pen, such as Point Lookout or Elmira, should be programmed. This will demonstrate, despite the notoriety given Andersonville by a novelist such as MacKinlay Kantor, that there was little difference in the way prisoners were treated by the belligerents.

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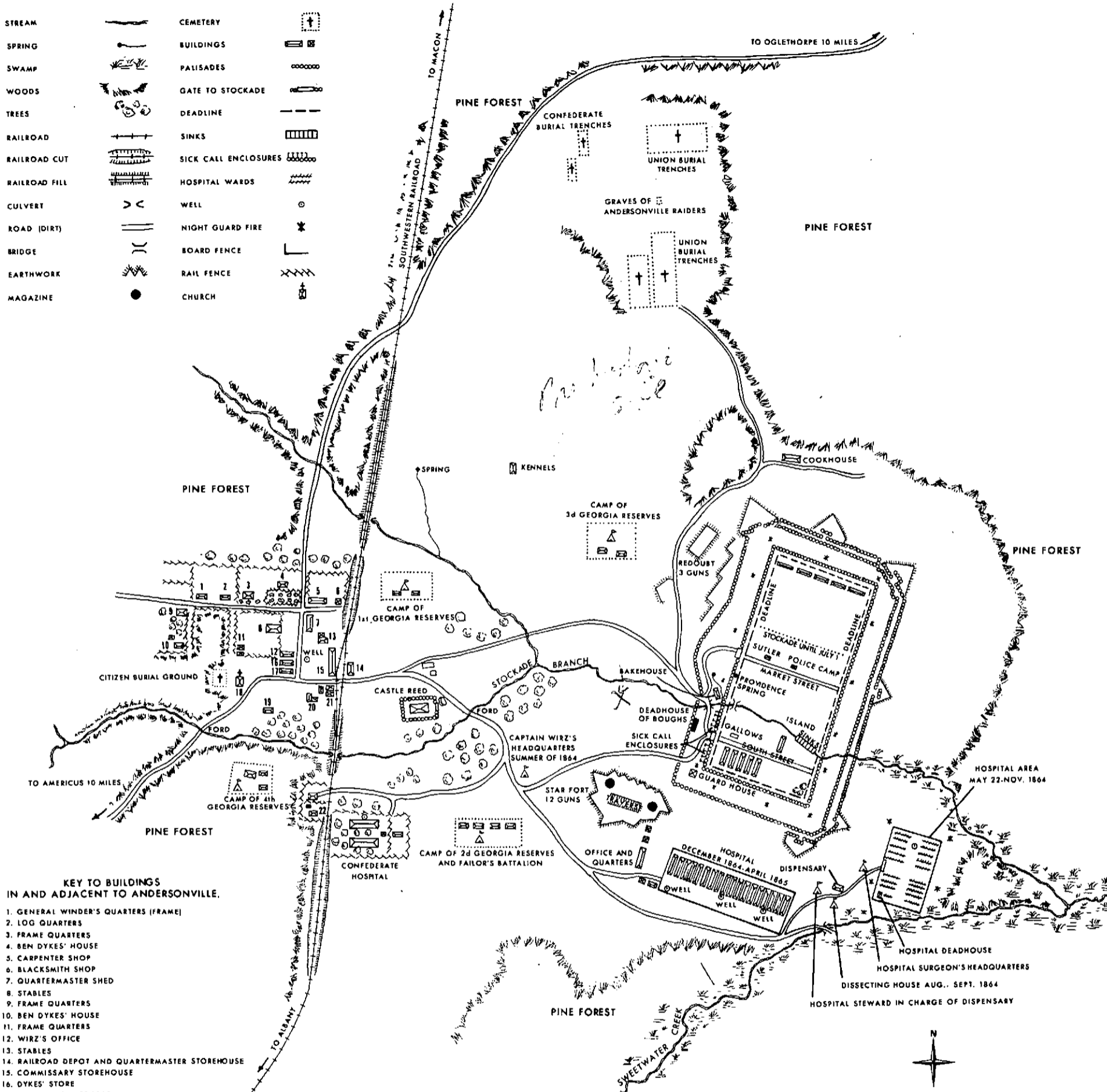


PLATE I

"Historical Base Map - Andersonville  
National Historic Site, 1864-1865,"  
compiled by E.C. Bearss and drawn by  
W. B. King, 1970.

LEGEND

STREAM		CEMETERY	
SPRING		BUILDINGS	
SWAMP		PALISADES	
WOODS		GATE TO STOCKADE	
TREES		DEADLINE	
RAILROAD		SINKS	
RAILROAD CUT		SICK CALL ENCLOSURES	
RAILROAD FILL		HOSPITAL WARDS	
CULVERT		WELL	
ROAD (DIRT)		NIGHT GUARD FIRE	
BRIDGE		BOARD FENCE	
EARTHWORK		RAIL FENCE	
MAGAZINE		CHURCH	



KEY TO BUILDINGS IN AND ADJACENT TO ANDERSONVILLE.

1. GENERAL WINDER'S QUARTERS (FRAME)
2. LOG QUARTERS
3. FRAME QUARTERS
4. BEN DYKES' HOUSE
5. CARPENTER SHOP
6. BLACKSMITH SHOP
7. QUARTERMASTER SHED
8. STABLES
9. FRAME QUARTERS
10. BEN DYKES' HOUSE
11. FRAME QUARTERS
12. WIRZ'S OFFICE
13. STABLES
14. RAILROAD DEPOT AND QUARTERMASTER STOREHOUSE
15. COMMISSARY STOREHOUSE
16. DYKES' STORE
17. WINDER'S OFFICE 1865
18. METHODIST CHURCH
19. LOG QUARTERS
20. LOG BUILDING OWNED BY DYKES
21. THREE SMALL BUILDINGS
22. RAILROAD HOUSE

**ANDERSONVILLE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE**  
**GEORGIA**  
**HISTORICAL BASE MAP**  
**1864-1865**

PLATE II

"Sketch of Andersonville, Georgia, and  
Vicinity," by James McCulloch, 1868,  
National Archives, RG 92.



Sketch  
of  
**ANDERSONVILLE CA.**

AND VICINITY

Area 470 Acres

Scale, 1/8" = 100' to the Inch

Surveyed by  
1864

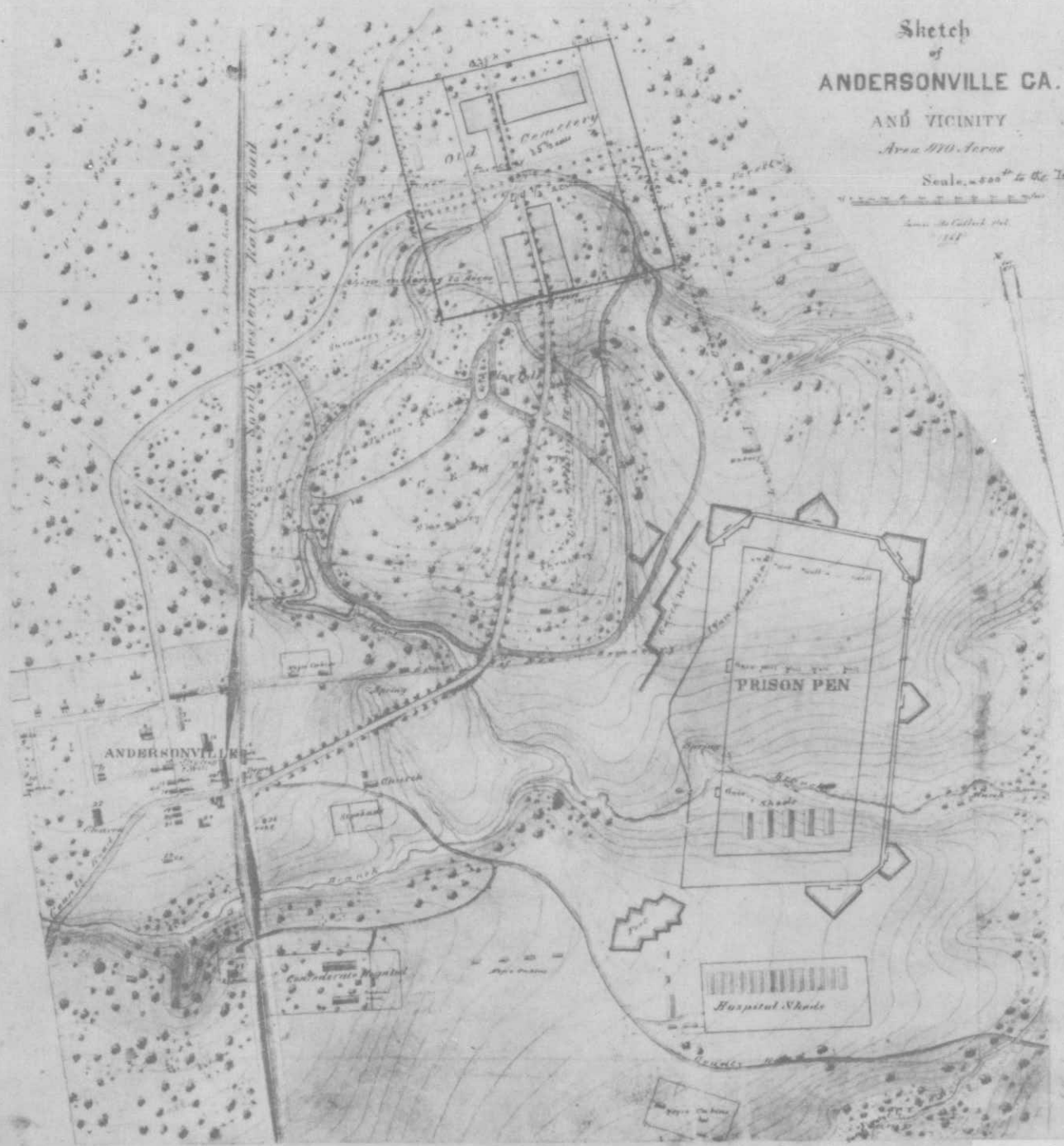


PLATE III

"National Cemetery Andersonville, Georgia,"  
Office of Q.M.G., U.S. Army, Aug. 27, 1872,  
National Archives, RG 92.

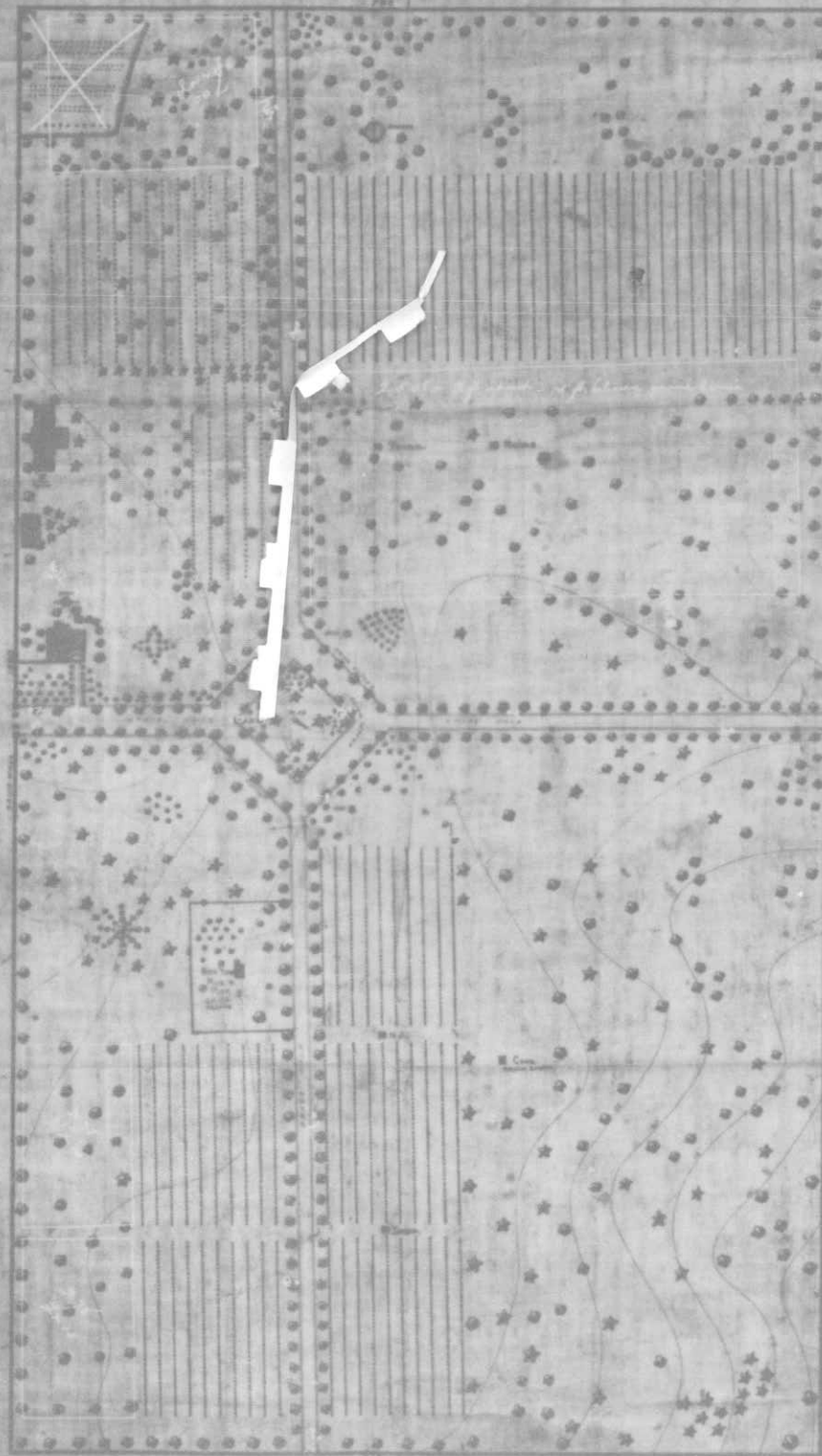
# NATIONAL CEMETERY ANDERSONVILLE, GA.



*Figures in Parentheses are as per deed,  
others are actual dimensions.*

*The ground forms a plateau, with ravines S.E., & S.W.*

- Deciduous tree.
- \* Evergreen tree.
- Headstones, 1ft. apart (trench interments)
- ..... Headstones, 4ft. apart (separate interments)

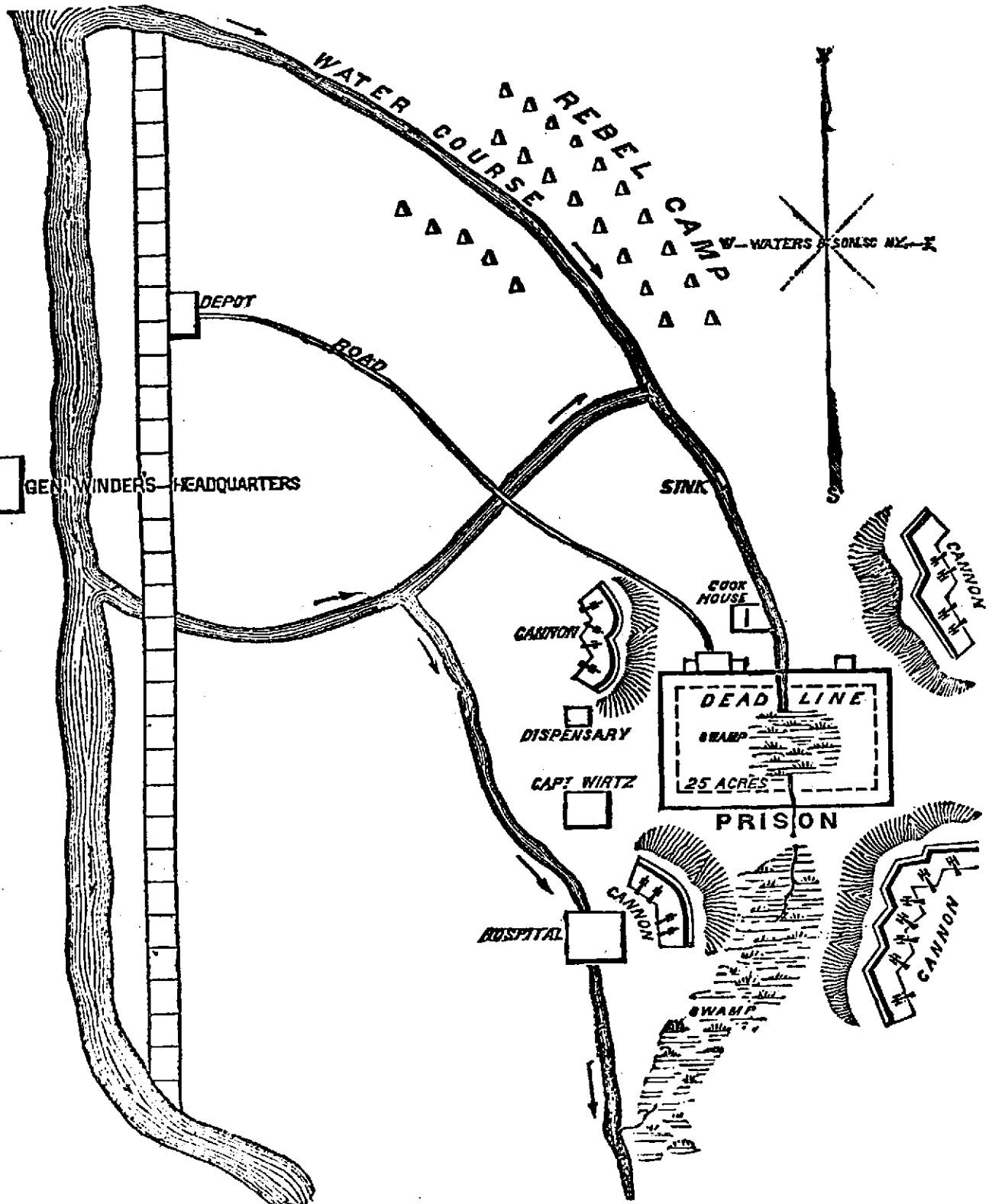


*Office of Q.M.G., U.S. Army, Aug. 27, 1892.*

PLATE IV

"Prison at Andersonville, Ga." found in  
Sanitary Commission Bulletin, Vol. I, No.  
21, 1864.

# PRISON AT ANDERSONVILLE, Ga.



(Sanitary Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 21.)

PLATE V

"Plan of Andersonville Stockade," as it  
appeared in the second week of August  
1864," found in Official Records, Series  
2, Vol. 7, p. 590.

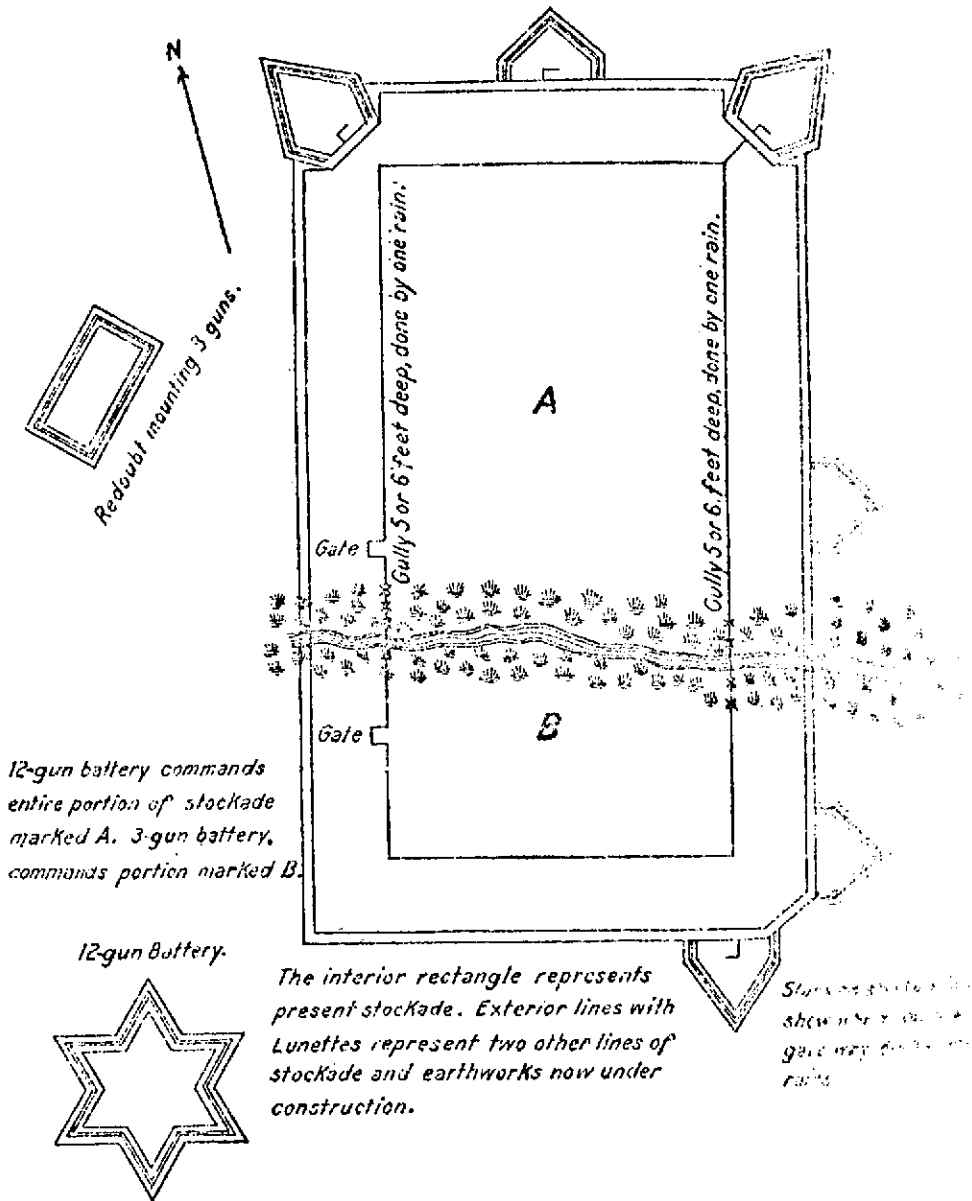
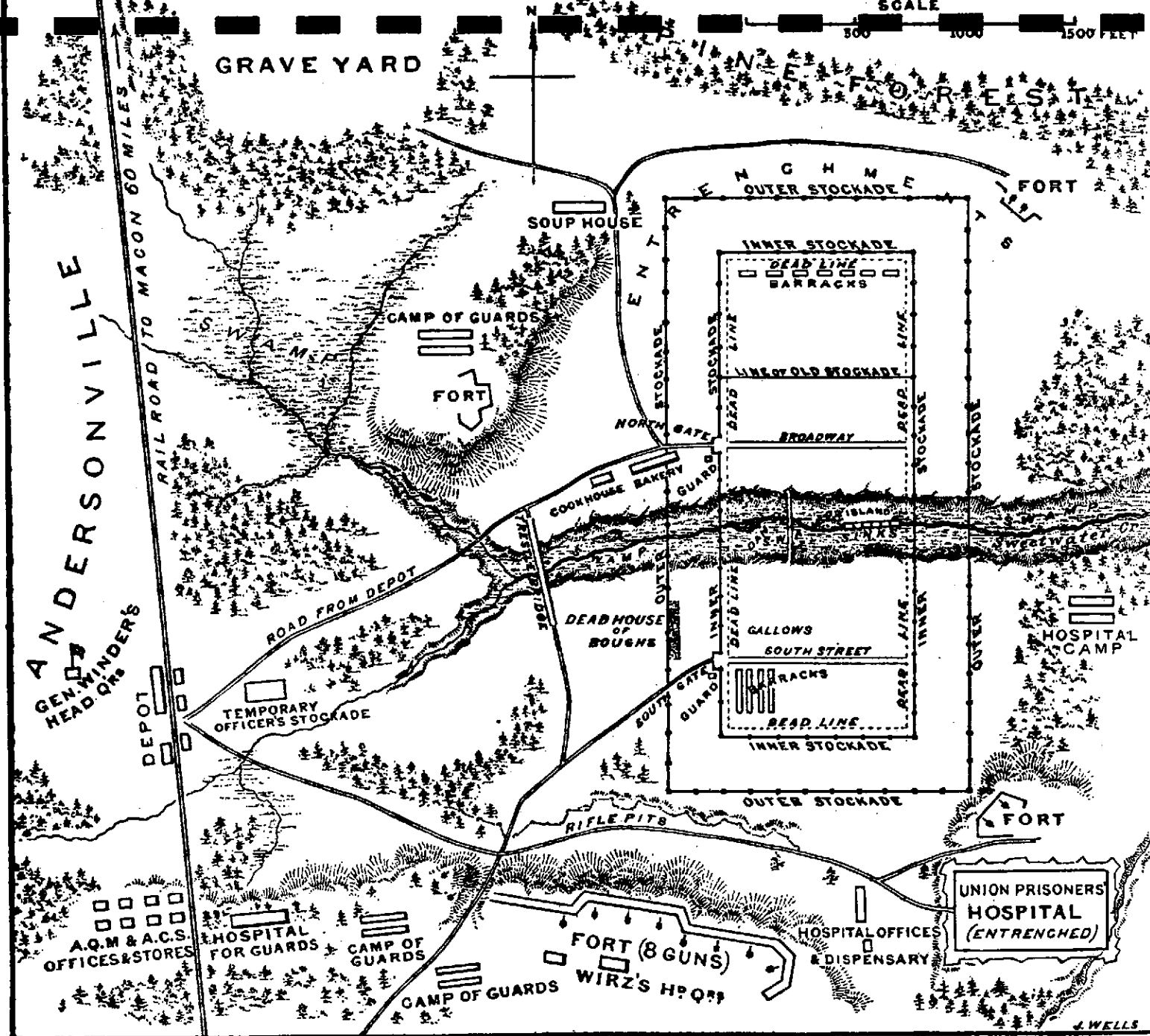


PLATE VI

"Plan of the Stockade and Surroundings at Andersonville," by  
J. Wells, found in "A Yankee in Andersonville," Century  
Magazine. Courtesy Library of Congress.



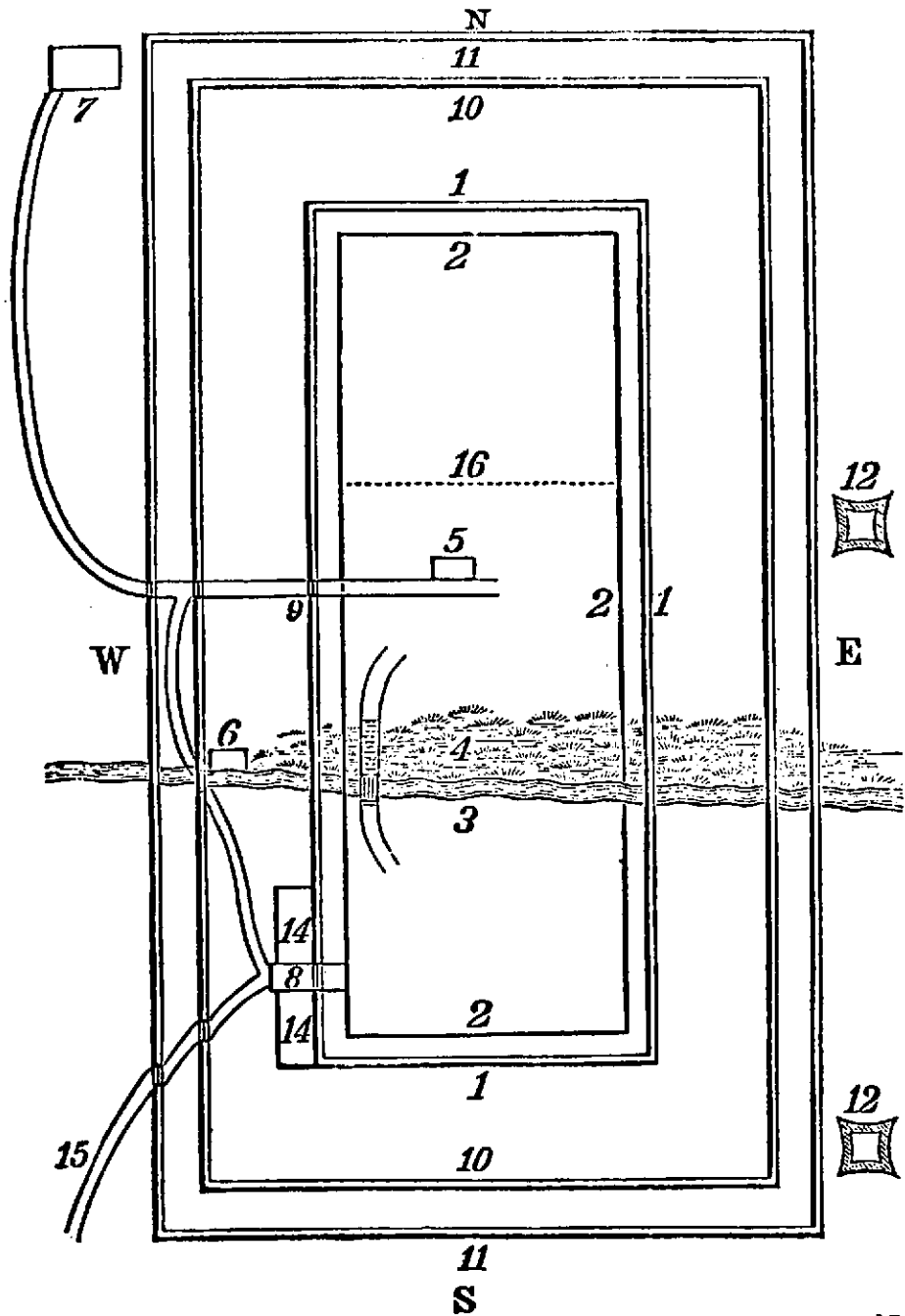


PLAN OF THE STOCKADE AND SURROUNDINGS AT ANDERSONVILLE.

PLATE VII

"Andersonville Stockade" by Robert H.  
Kellogg, found in Kellogg's Life and  
Death in Rebel Prisons.

# ANDERSONVILLE STOCKADE.



## EXPLANATION.

- |                                 |                                  |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. STOCKADE.                    | 10 & 11. OUTER STOCKADES.        |
| 2. "DEAD LINE."                 | 12. EARTHWORK FORTIFICATIONS.    |
| 3. BROOK.                       | 13. LOCATION OF HOSPITAL.        |
| 4. SWAMP.                       | 14. PLACE WHERE THE SURGONS PRE- |
| 5. REBEL SUTTLERS.              | SCRIBED FOR THE SICK AND ADMIT-  |
| 6. BAKE-HOUSE FOR CORN-BREAD.   | TED TO THE HOSPITAL.             |
| 7. COOK-HOUSE FOR BACON, BEANS. | 15. ROAD TO CAPTAIN'S OFFICE.    |
| 8 & 9. ENTRANCES.               | 16. LINE OF OLD STOCKADE.        |

PLATE VIII

"Plan of Prison Grounds, Andersonville, measured by Dr. Hamlin,"  
drawn in 1865 and found in Hamlin's Martyria or, Andersonville  
Prison.

**PLAN OF PRISON GROUNDS  
ANDERSONVILLE**

*Measured by Dr. Hamlin  
Copy right secured.*

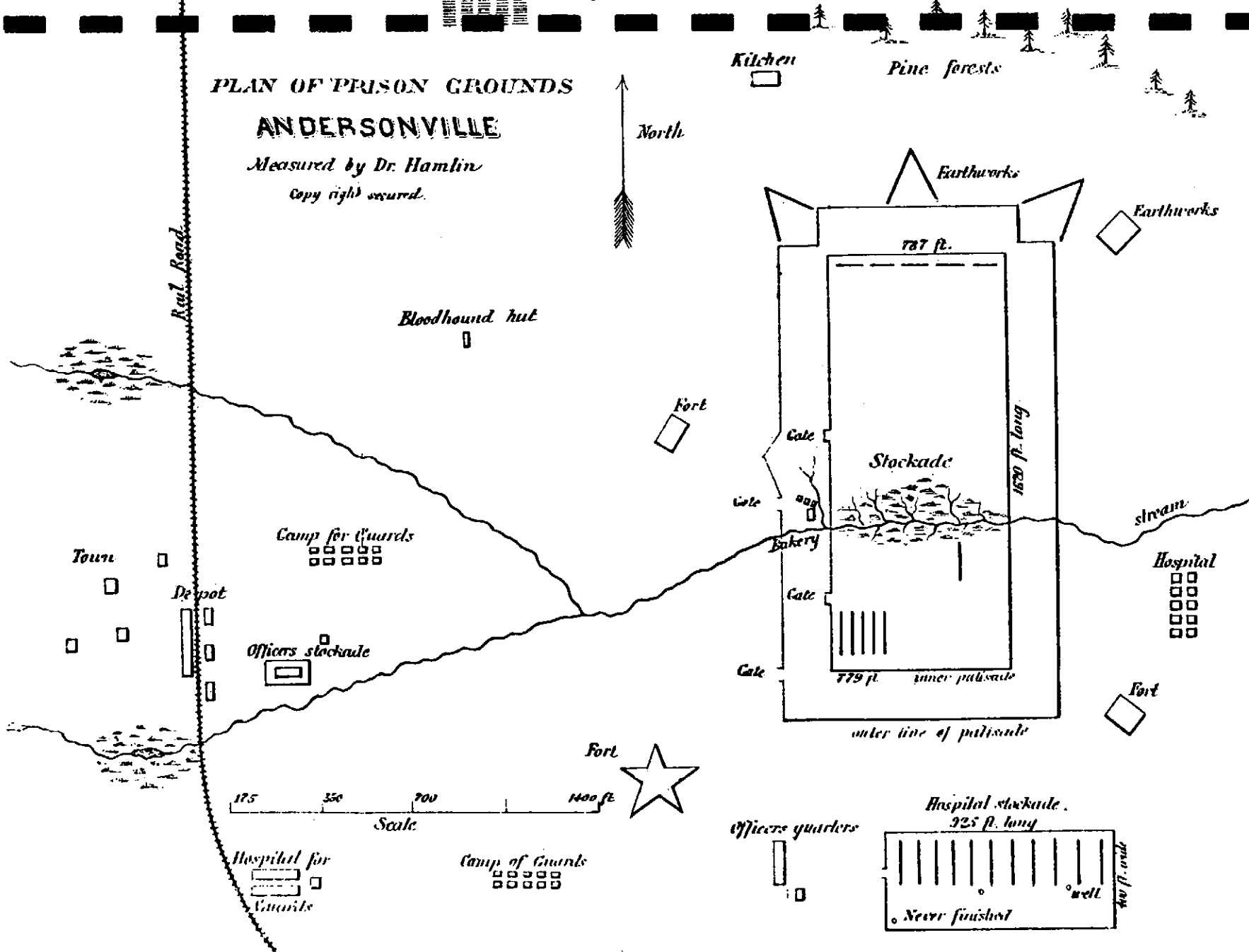
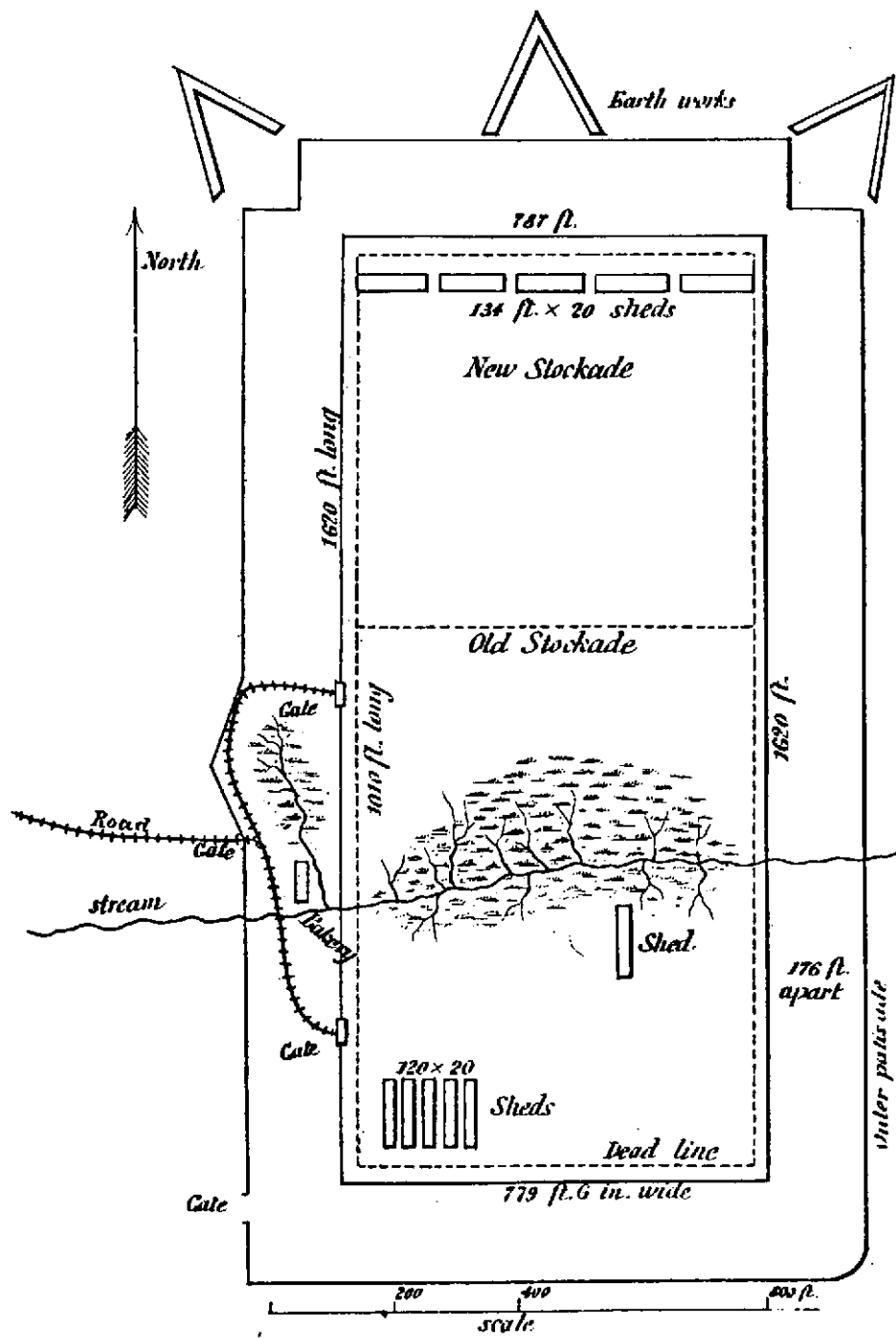


PLATE IX

"Plan of Prison Grounds, Andersonville,"  
the Stockade, measured by Dr. Hamlin in  
the summer of 1865, and found in Hamlin's  
Martyria, or Andersonville Prison.



**PLAN OF PRISON GROUNDS  
ANDERSONVILLE**

*Measured by Dr. Hamlin  
Copyright secured.*

J.H. BUTFORD'S LITH. BOSTON.

PLATE X

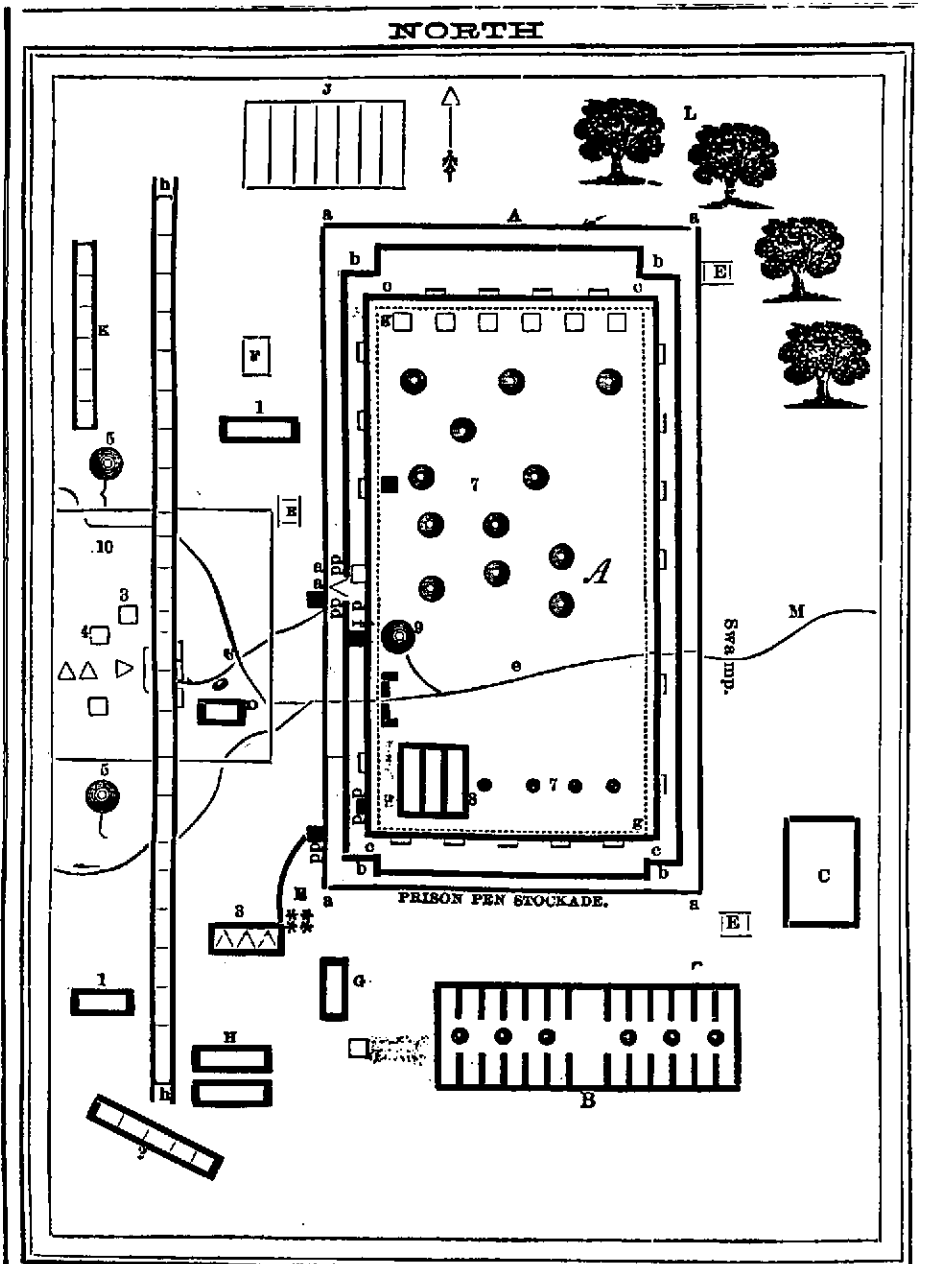
"Diagram of Andersonville," by Henry M. Davidson, found in Prisoners of War and Military Prisons; Personal Narratives of Experiences.





PLATE XI

"Andersonville and Surroundings in 1864," found in  
The Palimpsest, Vol. 47.



ANDERSONVILLE AND SURROUNDINGS IN 1864.

EXPLANATION OF REFERENCES.

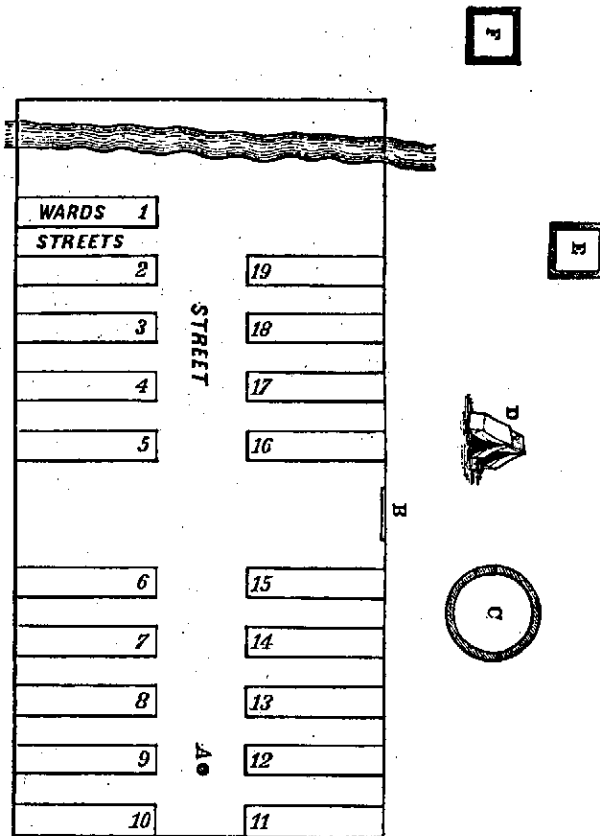
- A—Stockade.
- B—Hospital.
- C—Temporary Hospital.
- D—Temporary Officers' Hospital.
- E—Forts.
- F—Soup House.
- G—Hospital Offices and Dispensary.
- H—Hospital for Guards.
- J—Cemetery.
- K—Slaughter House.
- L—Forest.
- M—Sweetwater Creek.
- a-a—Outer Line of Stockade.
- b-b—Middle Line of Stockade.
- c-c—Inner Line of Stockade.
- d-d—Gates.

- e-e—Box Canal and Dam.
- f-f—Bakery.
- g-g—Dead Line.
- h-h—Railroad.
- 1—Camp of Guards and Stores.
- 2—A. Q. M. Offices and Stores.
- 3—Wiz's Headquarters.
- 4—Winder's Headquarters.
- 5—Springs.
- 6—Road from Depot.
- 7—Wells.
- 8—Barracks.
- 9—Providential Spring.
- 10—Village of Andersonville.
- — — — — Armed Guards on Wall.

PLATE XII

"Andersonville Hospital," from Kellogg's  
Life and Death in Rebel Prisons.

# ANDERSONVILLE HOSPITAL.

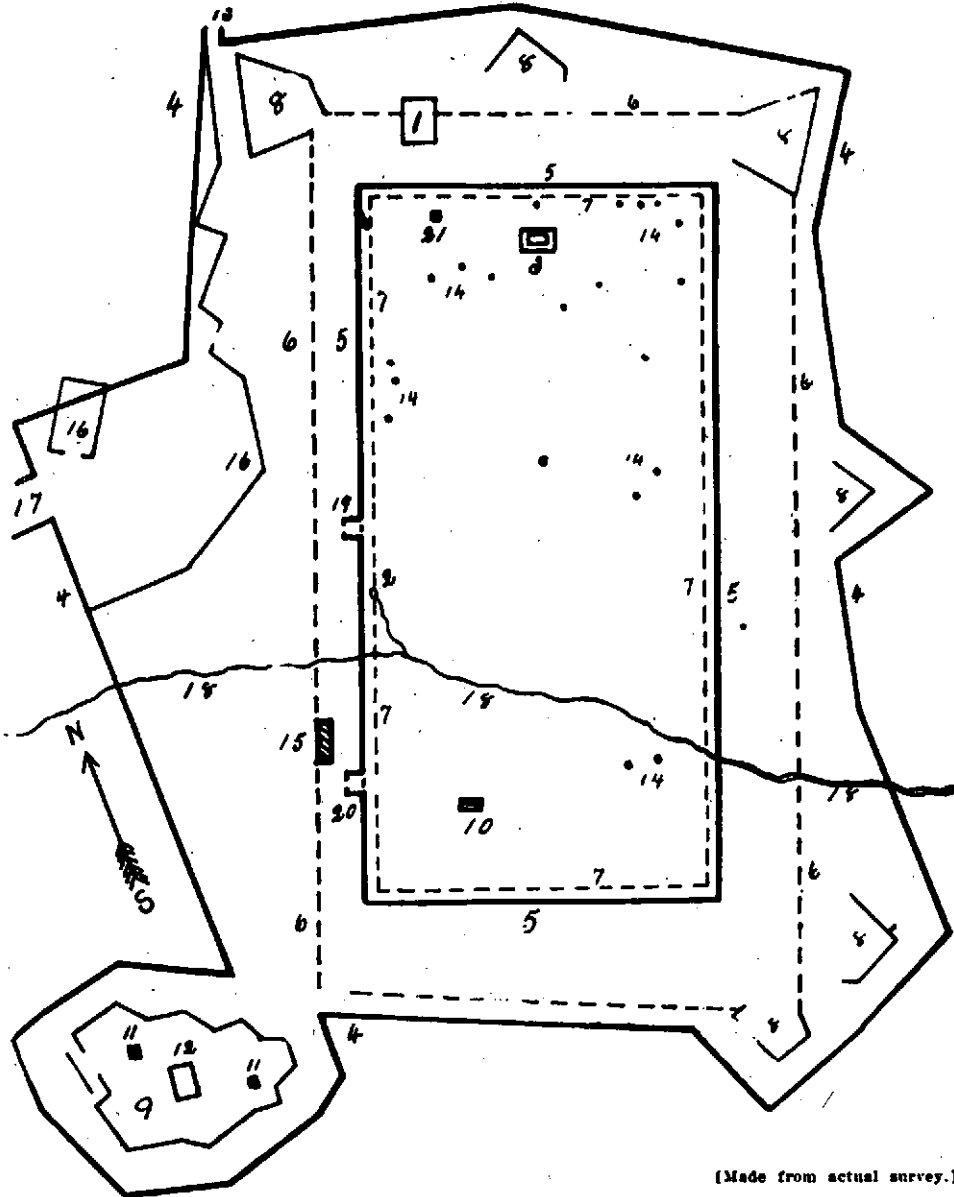


- |          |                        |
|----------|------------------------|
| A WELL.  | D HEAD-QUARTERS TENTS. |
| B GATE.* | E DISPENSATORY.        |
| C FORT.  | F DISSECTING HOUSE.    |

\*The other sides of the Hospital border upon Swamps.

PLATE XIII

"Sketch of Andersonville Prison" by John L. Maile, found  
in Prison Life in Andersonville by John L. Maile, Los Angeles,  
1912.



[Made from actual survey.]

**PLAT OF ANDERSONVILLE PRISON GROUNDS**

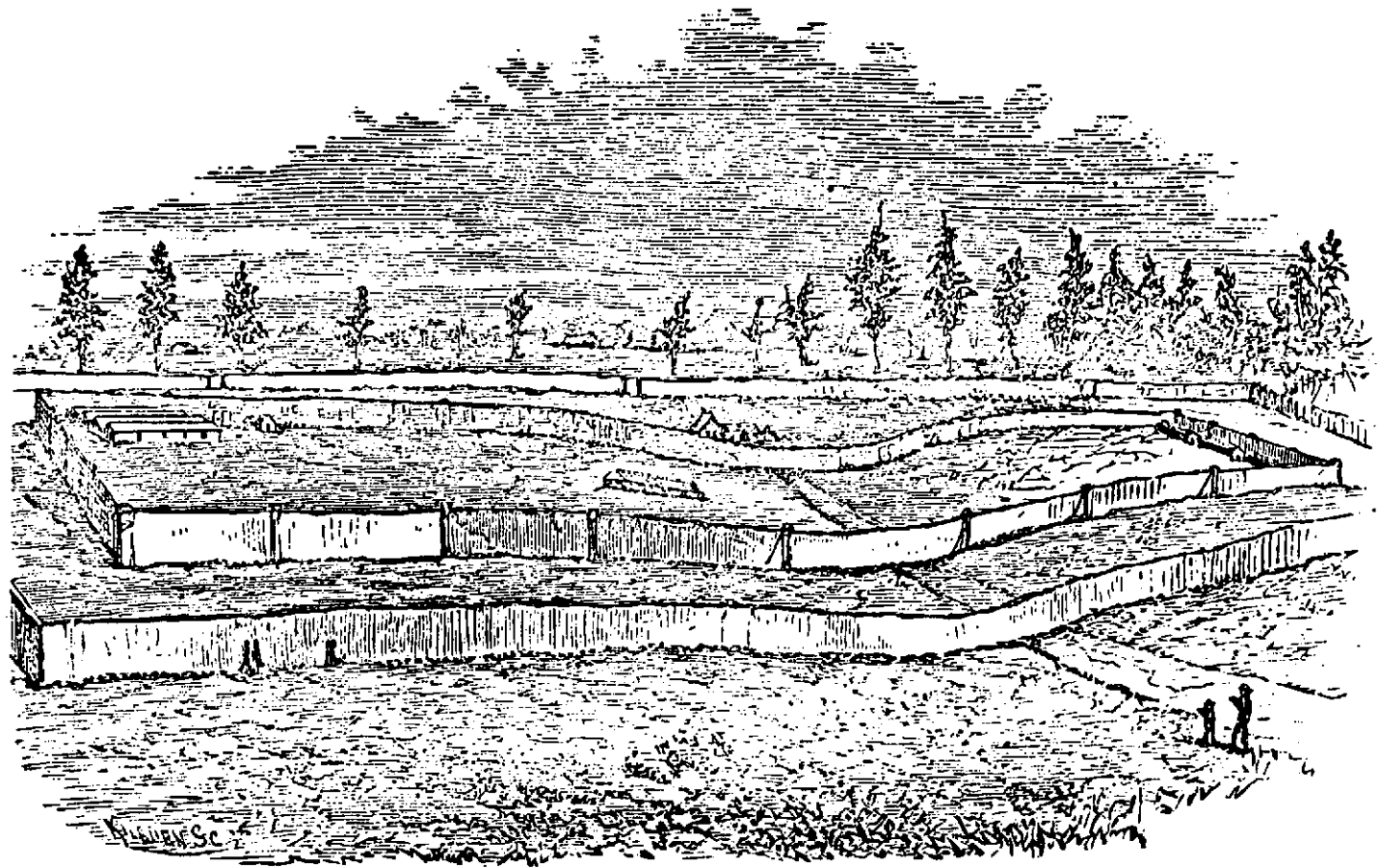
DESCRIPTION: 1 Care-taker's House, erected by the National W. R. C. 2 "Providence Spring." 3 Site of proposed National Monument. 4 Outline of purchased property. 5 Outline of Stockade enclosing prisoners. 6 Outline of Outer Stockade (only partially completed). 7 "Dead Line." 8 Confederate Forts and Batteries. 9 Main Fort, or "Star Fort," southwest corner. 10 Site of Gallows, where marauders were hung. 11 Powder Magazines in "Star Fort." 12 Site of Capt. Wirtz' Headquarters. 13 Gate to Roadway leading to the Cemetery. 14 Wells and Tunnels dug by prisoners. 15 Site of Dead House. 16 Entrenched Camp for Guards. 17 Roadway, 100 feet wide, leading to railroad station. 18 "Stockade Creek," a branch of Sweetwater. 19 North Gate of Stockade. 20 South Gate of Stockade. 21 Flag Staff.

[5]

PLATE XV

View of the Stockades as the Rebels Left Them, looking from east to west and sketched by Dr. Hamlin in the summer of 1865, found in Hamlin's Martyria or Andersonville Prison. Note Dr. Hamlin has omitted the earthworks and exterior stockade.

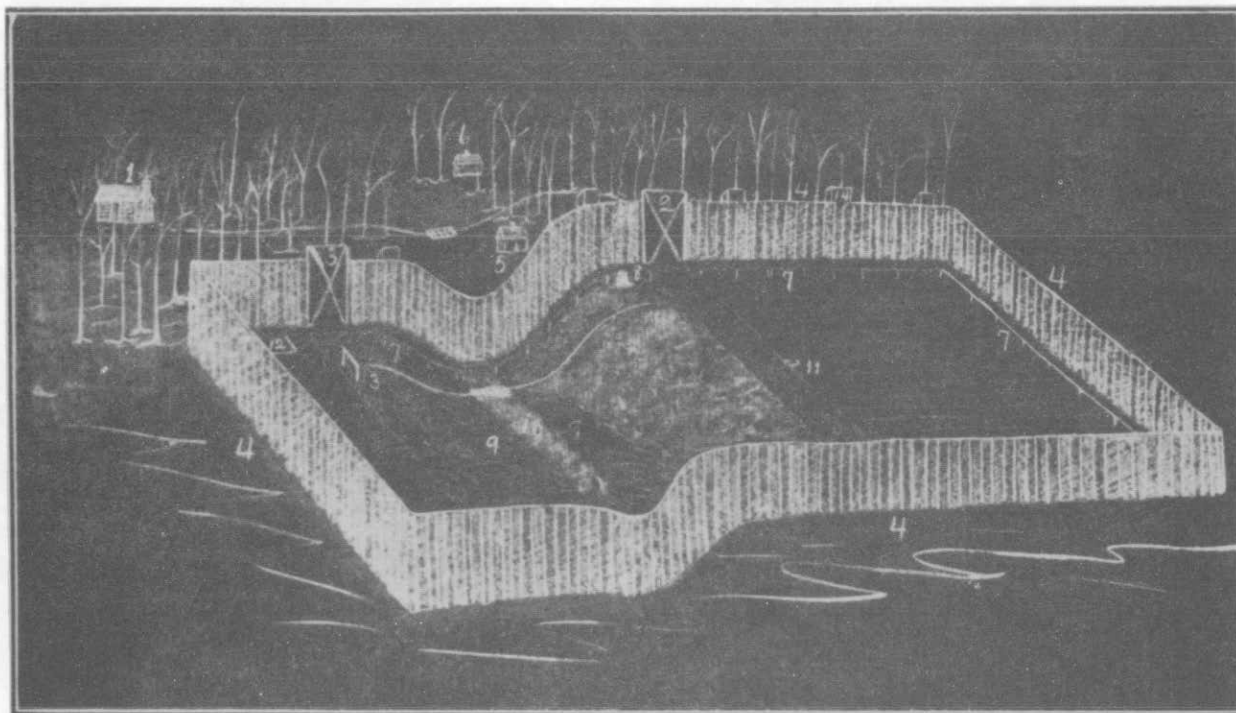




VIEW OF THE STOCKADE as the rebels left it. — Page 19.

PLATE XVI

"Map of Andersonville, Georgia," sketched and published  
by J. W. Cooper, Latrobe, Pa. Courtesy Library of Congress.



No. 1—Captain Wirtz Headquarters.  
 " 2—North Gate.  
 " 3—South Gate.  
 " 4—Stockade.  
 " 5—Cook House.

No. 6—R. R. Station.  
 " 7—Dead Line.  
 " 8—Stump near Providence Spring.  
 " 9—Swamp.  
 " 10—Stream.

No. 11—Sleeping place of Author.  
 " 12—Raiders' Corner.  
 " 13—Gallows upon which six  
 Raiders were hung.

PLATE XIV

"Plat of Andersonville Prison Grounds,"  
made from actual survey for the National  
Women's Relief Corps, Circa 1900.

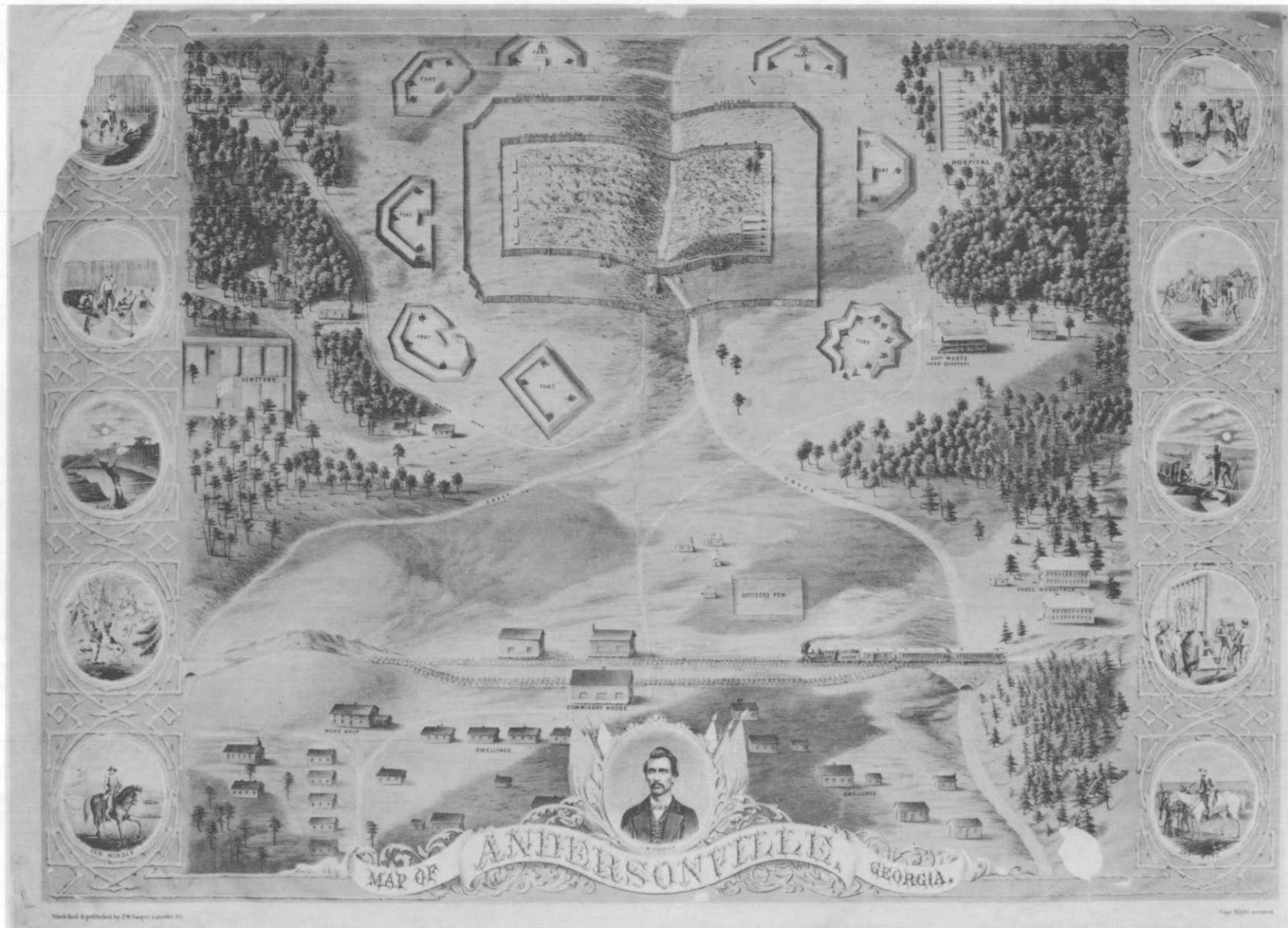
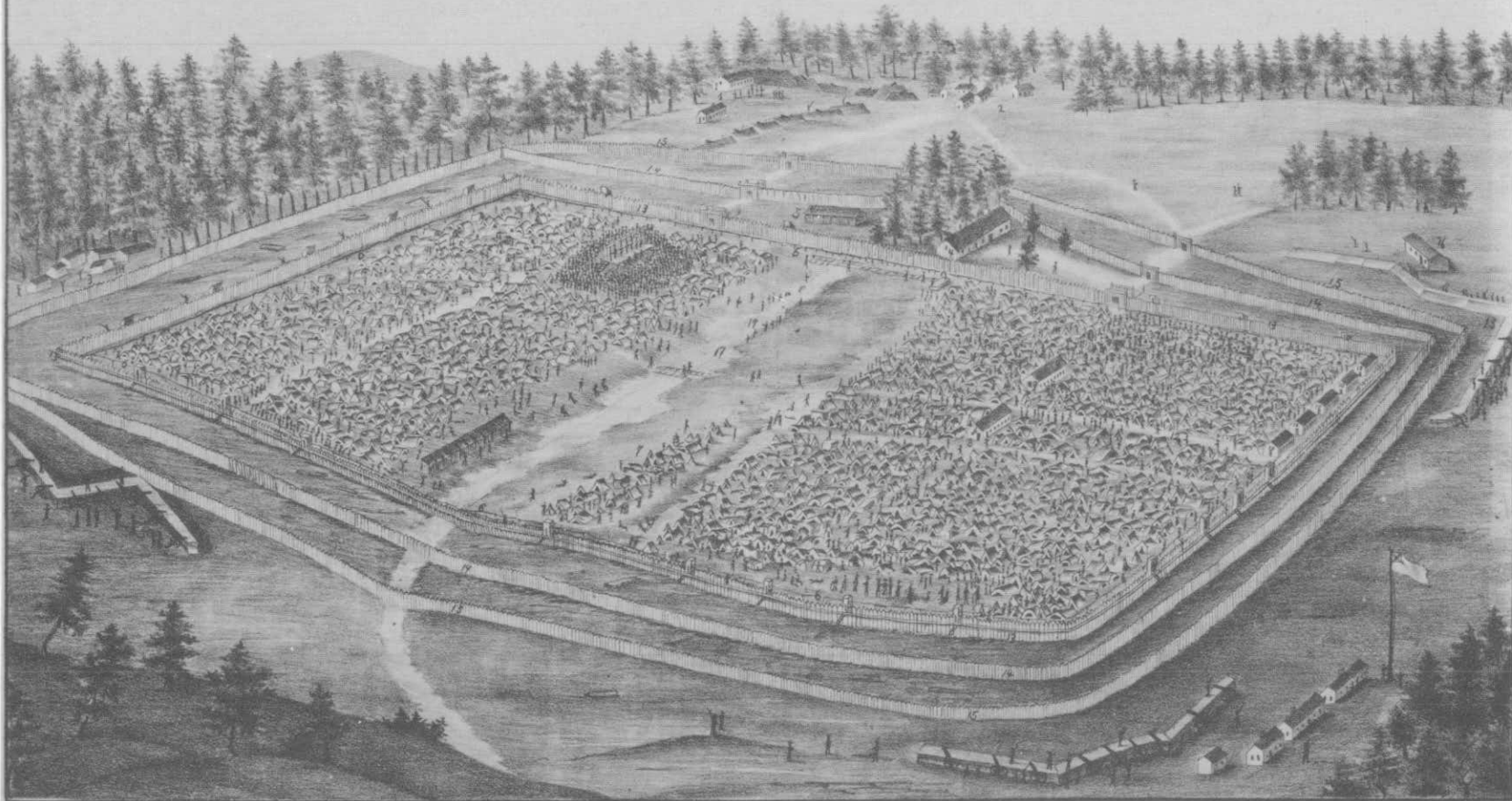


PLATE XVII

"Andersonville Prison, as Seen by John L. Ransom," lithograph by A. Sachse & Company, 1882. Courtesy Library of Congress.



A. SACRE & CO., LITHOGRAPHERS AND PRINTERS, BALTIMORE.

COPYRIGHT SECURED BY J. L. RANSOM.

1. Head Quarters,
2. Rebel Camp,
3. Hospital,
4. Cook House,
5. Death House,
6. Death Line,
7. The Island,
8. Sutler's Camp,
9. Police Quarters,

# ANDERSONVILLE PRISON

AS SEEN BY

**JOHN L. RANSOM,**

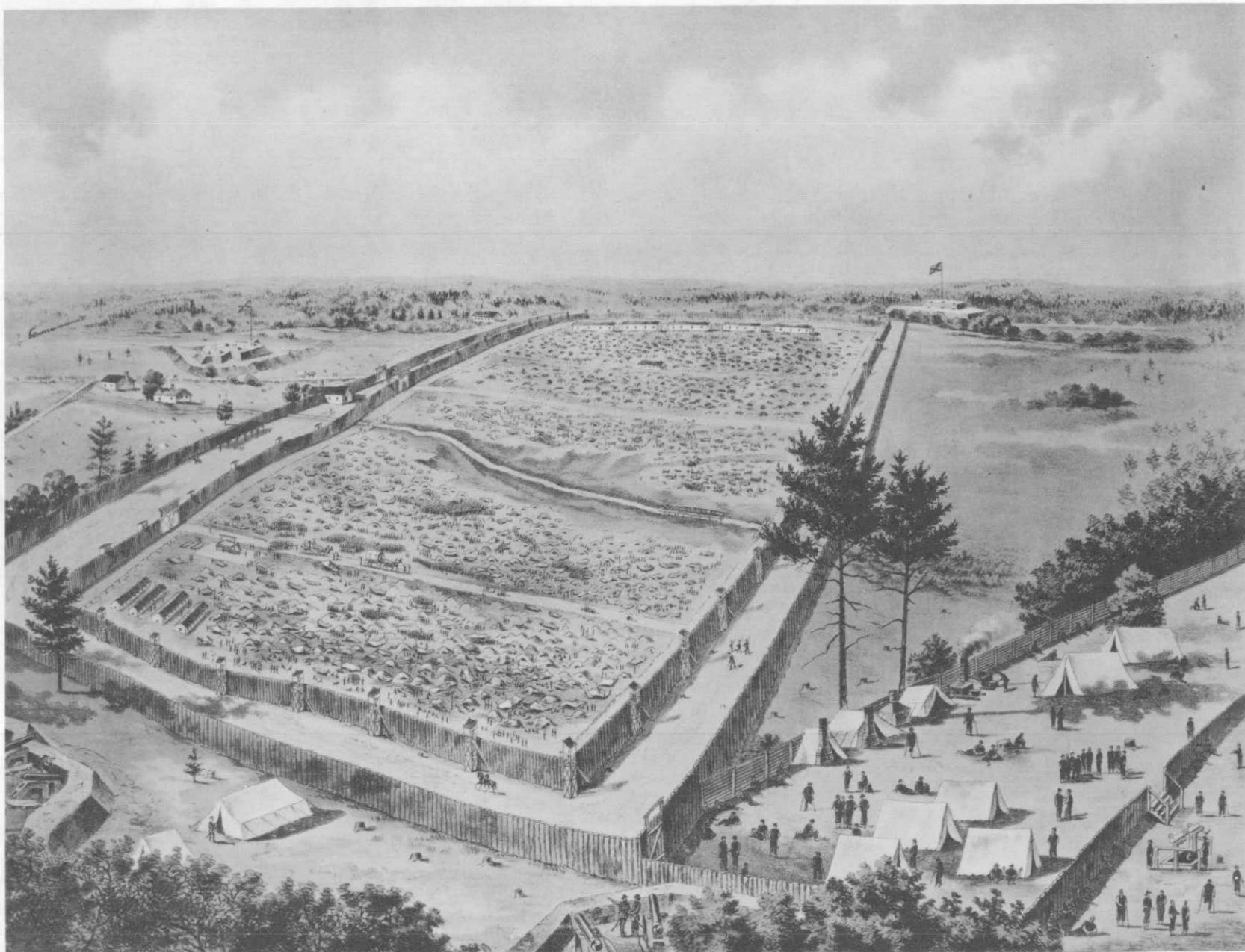
AUTHOR AND PUBLISHER OF "ANDERSONVILLE DIARY, ESCAPE AND LIST OF THE DEAD."

10. Hospitals along the Death Line,
11. Market Street,
12. Broad Street,
13. Inside Stockade,
14. Second Line Stockade,
15. Third Line Stockade,
16. Lieut. Head Quarters,
17. Washing Place,
18. Rifle Pit,
19. Astor House Mess.

PLATE XVIII

"Bird's Eye View of Andersonville Prison from the South-East,"  
lithograph by J. W. Morton, Jr., 1890. Courtesy Library of  
Congress.

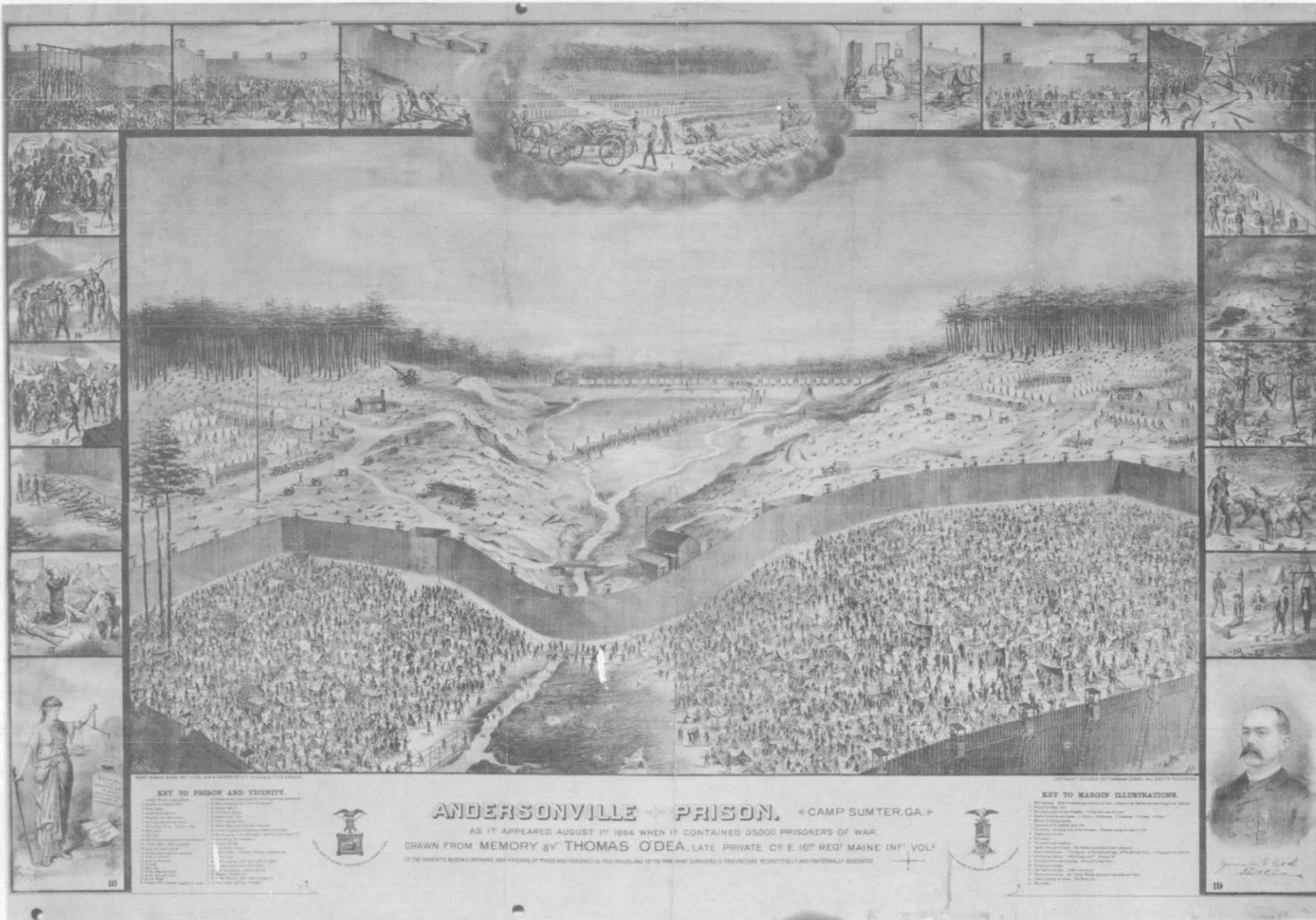




BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ANDERSONVILLE PRISON FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

PLATES XIX - XXI

"Andersonville Prison, Camp Sumter, Ga., as it appeared August 1, 1864, when it contained 35,000 prisoners of War," drawn from memory by Thomas O'Dea, late private, Co. E, 16th Regt. Maine Inft. Vols. Courtesy Library of Congress.



**KEY TO PRISON AND VICINITY**

- 1. Entrance to Prison
- 2. Main Guard House
- 3. Barracks
- 4. Hospital
- 5. Chapel
- 6. Officers' Quarters
- 7. Prisoners' Quarters
- 8. Prisoners' Kitchen
- 9. Prisoners' Wash House
- 10. Prisoners' Latrine
- 11. Prisoners' Cemetery
- 12. Prisoners' Barracks
- 13. Prisoners' Barracks
- 14. Prisoners' Barracks
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- 48. Prisoners' Barracks
- 49. Prisoners' Barracks
- 50. Prisoners' Barracks



**ANDERSONVILLE PRISON. ◀ CAMP SUMTER, GA. ▶**

AS IT APPEARED AUGUST 1<sup>st</sup> 1864 WHEN IT CONTAINED 35000 PRISONERS OF WAR.  
 DRAWN FROM MEMORY BY THOMAS O'DEA, LATE PRIVATE CO<sup>y</sup> E. 16<sup>th</sup> REG<sup>t</sup> MAINE INF<sup>y</sup> VOL<sup>s</sup>

TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE PRISON AND TO THE PUBLIC WHO SURVEILLED THE PICTURE, RESPECTFULLY AND FIRMLY DEDICATED

**KEY TO MARGIN ILLUSTRATIONS**

- 1. Prisoners marching to work
- 2. Prisoners working in the field
- 3. Prisoners in the hospital
- 4. Prisoners in the chapel
- 5. Prisoners in the officers' quarters
- 6. Prisoners in the prisoners' quarters
- 7. Prisoners in the prisoners' kitchen
- 8. Prisoners in the prisoners' wash house
- 9. Prisoners in the prisoners' latrine
- 10. Prisoners in the prisoners' cemetery
- 11. Prisoners in the prisoners' barracks
- 12. Prisoners in the prisoners' barracks
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- 50. Prisoners in the prisoners' barracks



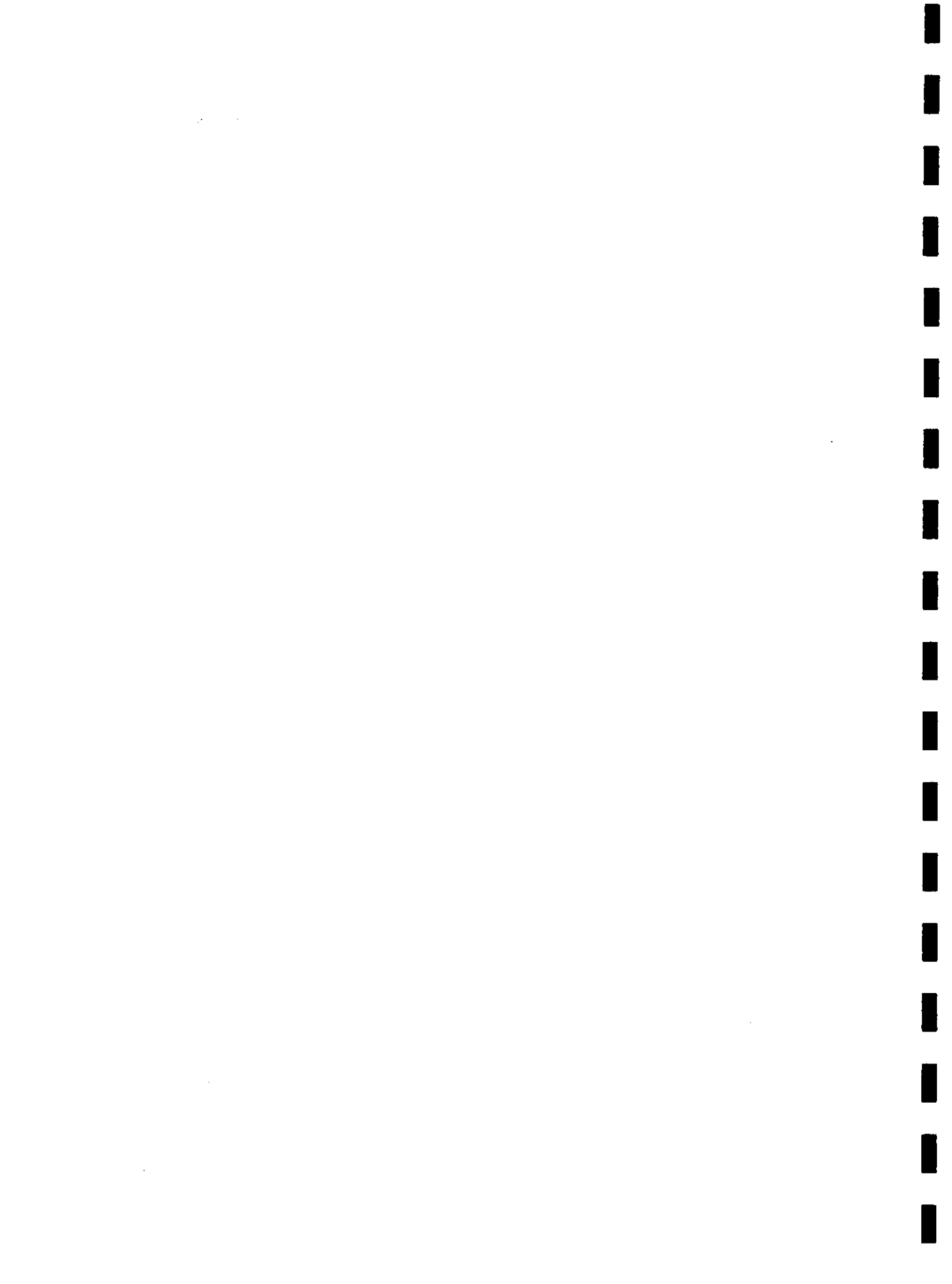
Thomas O'Dea  
 18



Key to Numbered Illustrations of the Drawing "Andersonville Prison" as Drawn from Memory by Thomas O'Dea, Late Private, Company E, 16th Regiment, Main Infantry Volunteers.

KEY TO PRISON AND VICINITY:

1. General Winters Headquarters.
2. Quarters of Captain Wirz.
3. Rebel Camps.
4. Guard House Quarters.
5. Flagstaff with Rebel Jack.
6. Batteries Commanding Prison.
7. Brush Dead House. Lying in State.
8. Bake House.
9. Rifle Pits.
10. Rebel Troops Turned Out to Receive Prisoners.
11. "Fresh Fish" More Prisoners.
12. Camp for Depot Guards.
13. Railroad, with Train of Prisoners.
14. Road to Cemetery.
15. Road to Hospital.
16. Stockade.
17. Dead Line.
18. North Gate and Court.
19. South Gate and Court.
20. Sentry Boxes.
21. Swamp, with Prisoners digging for Roots.
22. Stream of Water, Main Supply for Drinking, Cooking, Washing, etc.
23. Sink, Nicknamed the "Invalids Retreat".



Key to Illustrations "Andersonville Prison" (Cont'd)

24. Swamp Island.
25. Providence Spring.
26. Sutlers Bake Oven.
27. Police Headquarters.
28. Barber Shop and Tonsorial Decorator.
29. Group of Prisoners Discussing Exchange.
30. We are going to be exchanged "and don't you forget it".
31. Skirmishing for Graybacks.
32. Private Springs.
33. Distributing Rations.
34. Market Street - Peddling, Trading, Gambling, etc.
35. Sutler Shops.
36. Police Keeping Crowd Back from Gates.
37. "Limber Jims" Sour Beer Depot.
38. Ellis and Gordon, Leading Sutlers.
39. Sergeant Kemp's Tent.
40. A Fair Stand-up Fight, Often Indulged In.
41. The Author and his "Shebang".



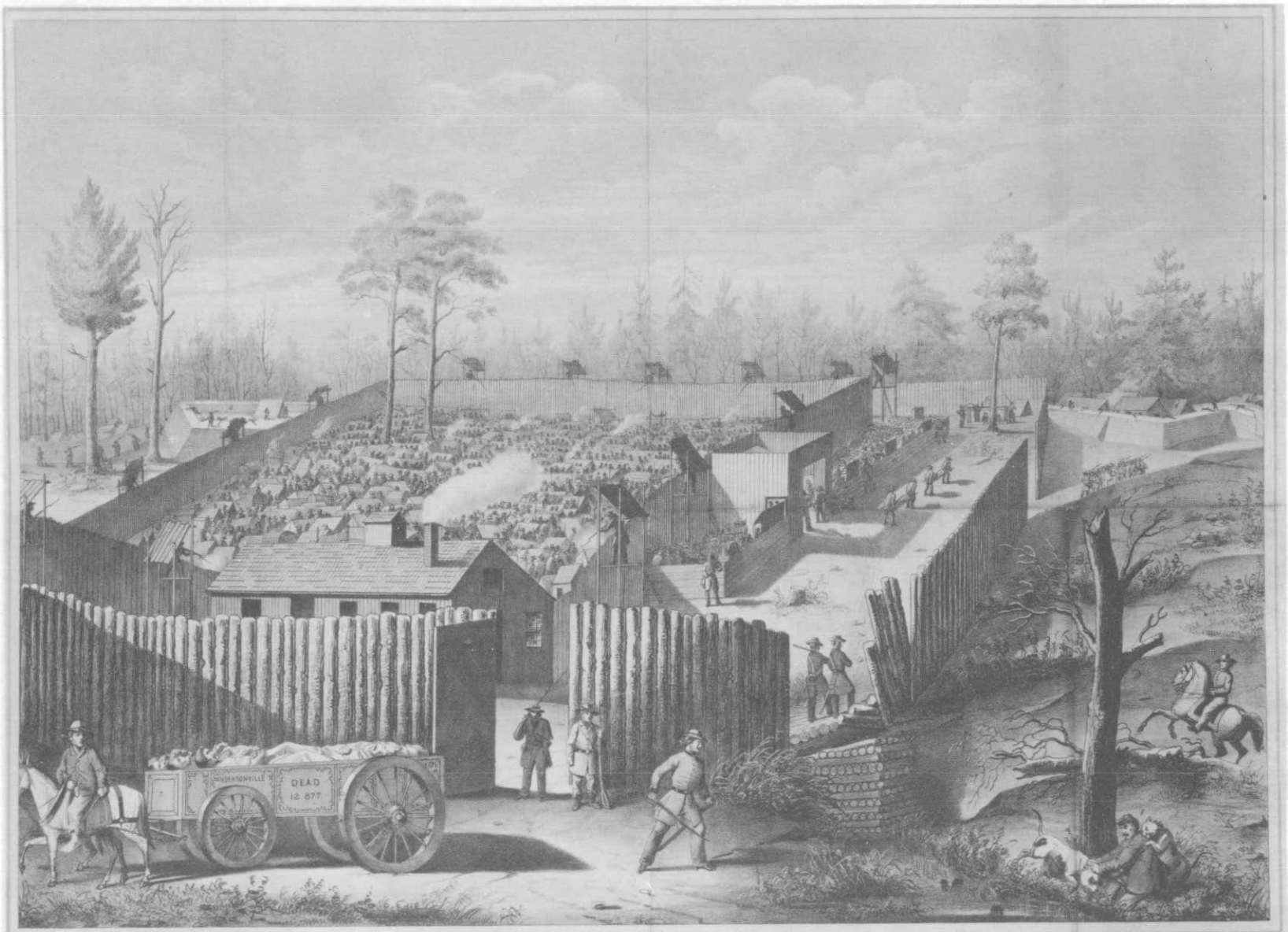


Key to Illustrations "Andersonville Prison" (Cont'd)

1. The Cemetery. Mode of Carrying and Burying the Dead, Graves of the Raiders who were hung, in the distance.
2. Shot at the Dead Line.
3. The Dying Prisoner's last Thoughts. "Those Little Ones at Home".
4. Stages of Sickness and Disease. 1. Scurvy. 2. Diarrhea. 3. Gangrene. 4. Dropsy. 5. Fever.
5. Manner of Cooking Rations.
6. Execution of the Raiders, July 11th, 1864.
7. The Storm. Breaking away of the Stockade. Prisoner's saving the logs for Fuel.
8. Digging for a Tunnel.
9. The Escape.
10. The Pursuit and Recapture.
11. Captain Wirz and his Pets. The Bloodhound, Spot, in the foreground.
12. Mode of Punishment. 1. The Stockes. 2. The Buck and Gag. 3. The Ball and Chain. 4. Hanging by the Thumbs.
13. Distributing Rations. "Who'll Have This". Number 15.
14. The Famous Providence Spring. Waiting for their turn.
15. Rumors of Exchange.
16. The Dead at the Gate. A daily occurrence.
17. The Good Samaritan. Reverend Father Wholan praying for the Dead and Dying.
18. Justice, holding the Scales, The Bonds Win!
19. The Author.

PLATE XXII

"Andersonville Prison, Georgia," from a sketch by John B. Walker,  
Co. G, 141st Pennsylvania, lithograph by Thomas Sinclair, 1865.  
This view is from near the Bakehouse, looking south. Courtesy  
Library of Congress.



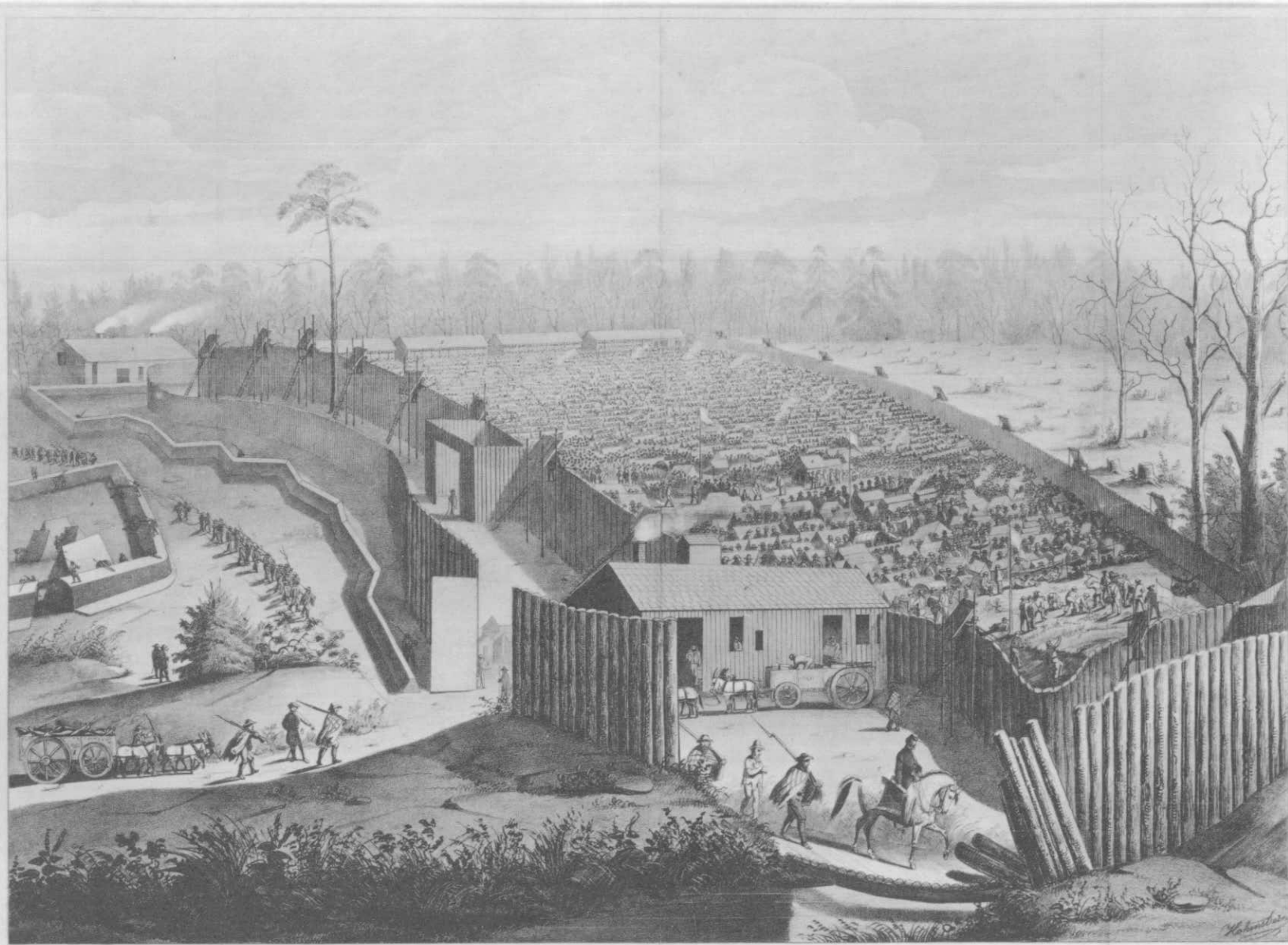
No. 1. Hospital for Sick Prisoners  
 - 2. Area of Public Ground  
 - 3. Stock House

# ANDERSONVILLE PRISON

No. 4. Stock House  
 - 5. Stock House  
 - 6. Stock House

PLATE XXIII

"Andersonville Prison, Georgia," from a sketch by John Burns Walker, Co. G, 141st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, lithographed by Thomas S. Sinclair, 1865. This view is from the Stockade Branch, looking north. Courtesy Library of Congress.



# ANDERSONVILLE PRISON, GEORGIA.

Representing the imprisonment of 13,000 Union Soldiers during the winter of 1864 and 1865.

Engraved by John Henry Buffum, in 1875.

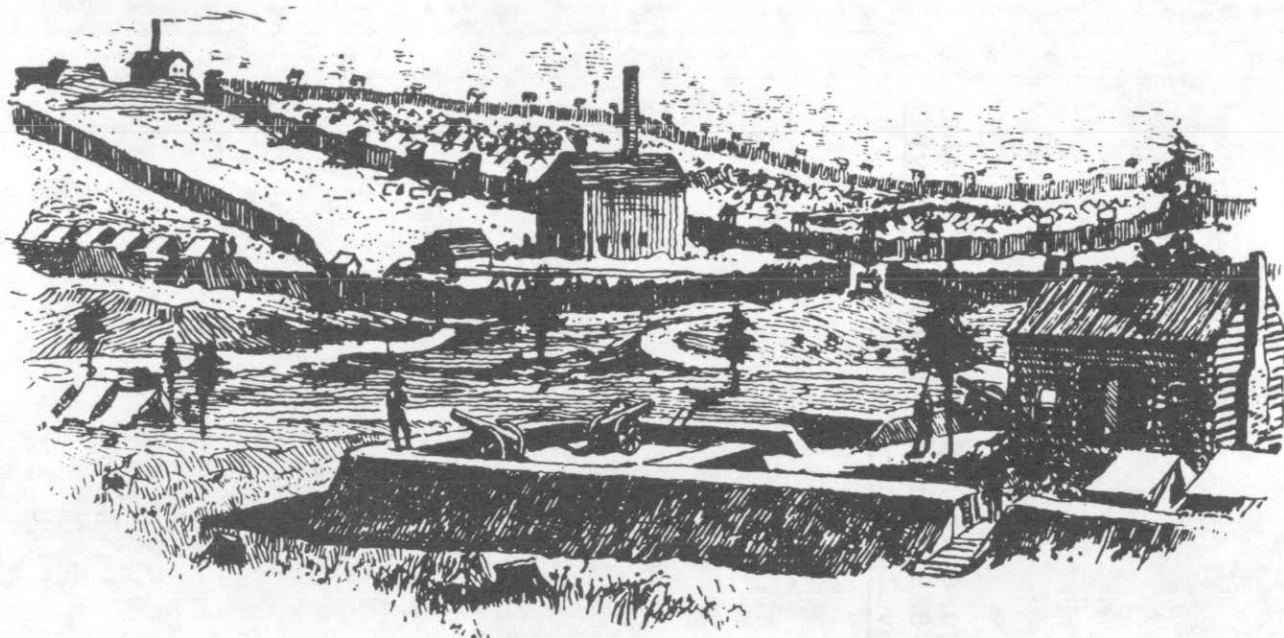
- No. 1. Guard Post.
- No. 2. Entrance to the Jail.
- No. 3. Part of the Walls.
- No. 4. Small Soldiers Hut.

- No. 5. Prison within the prison.
- No. 6. Stable.
- No. 7. Capt. Miles's Office or Prisoner's Office.
- No. 8. Small Hut.

Engraved by H. Hamilton del.

PLATE XXIV

"View from Wirz's Headquarters of the Stockade at Andersonville," from sketch by R. K. Sneden.



[From a sketch made at the time by R. K. Snoden.]

VIEW FROM WIRZ'S HEADQUARTERS OF THE STOCKADE AT ANDERSONVILLE

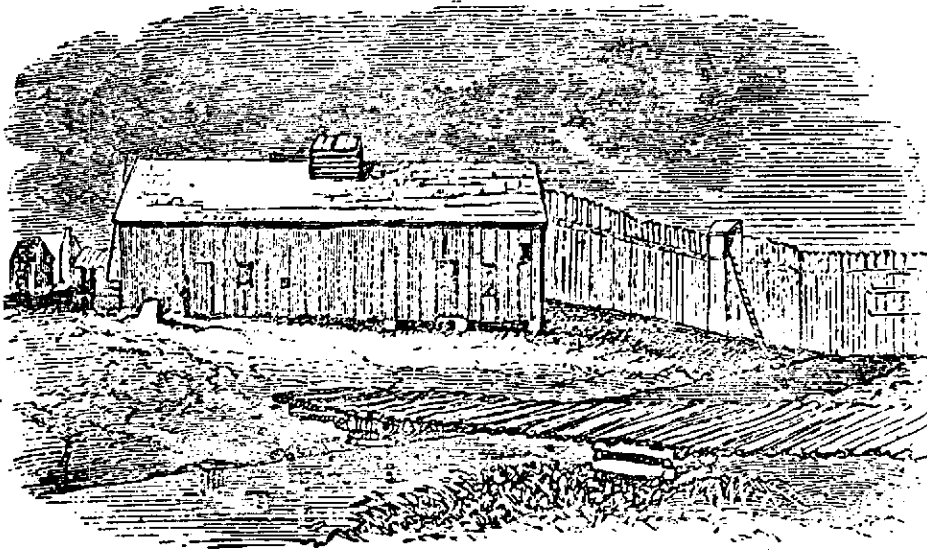
PLATE XXIV

PLATE XXV

"The Bakehouse at Andersonville in the  
Summer of 1865," from Hamlin's Martyria  
or Andersonville Prison.



ordinary capacity of this establishment was probably about four or five thousand rations of corn bread. This quantity, divided daily among thirty thousand men, would



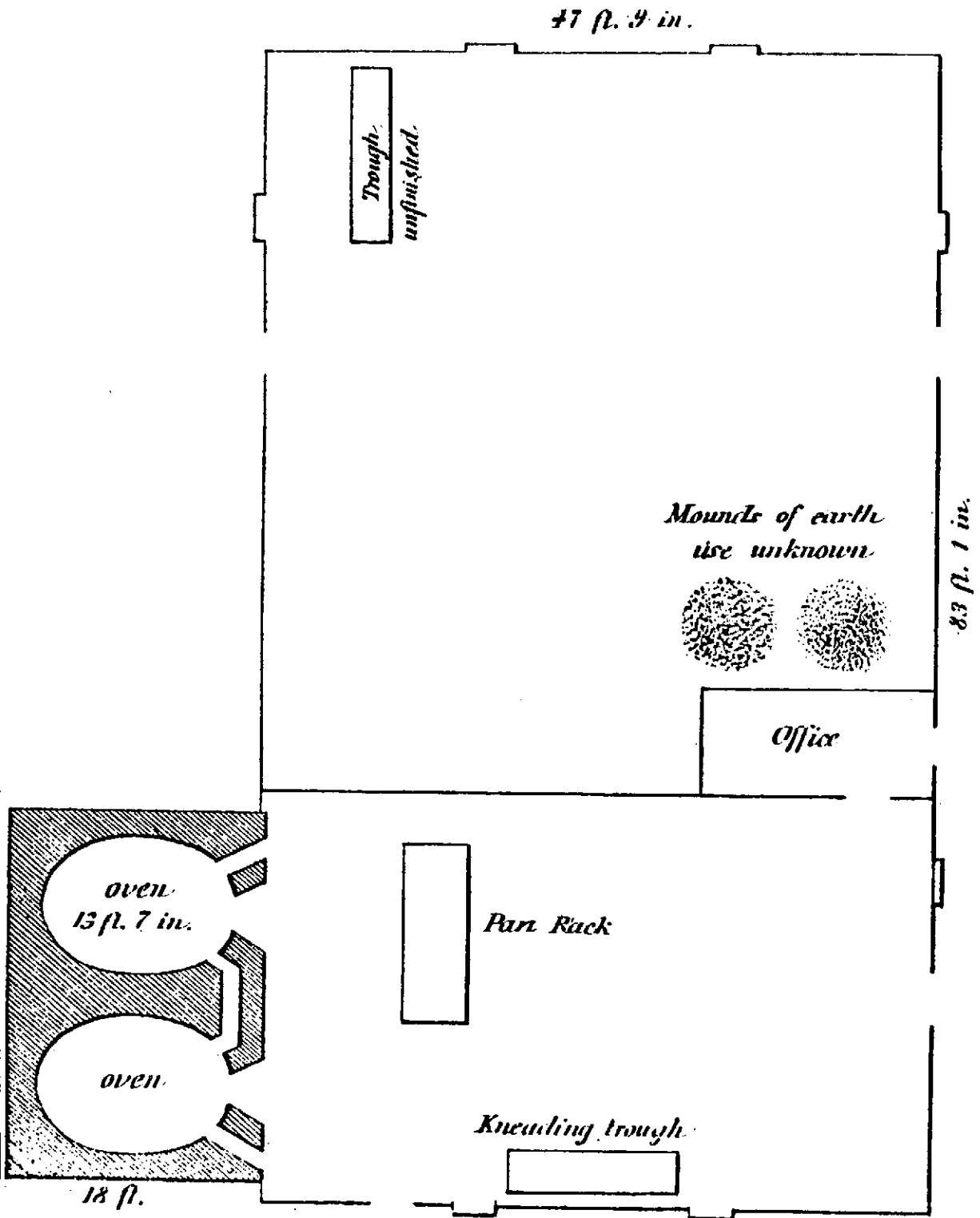
give but a small morsel to each one; and this gives the appearance of truth to the statement, that from two to six ounces of corn bread were furnished as rations to the prisoners.

Ask a survivor of this prison treatment, if perchance you can find one, how he preserved his life, and he will tell you, "By eating the rations of the dying." Ten thousand men were sick or dying in this enclosure at one time.

After the carts, with their scanty burdens of food, had passed into the prison, and distributed their contents, ten or fifteen thousand of the haggard and starving men might be seen collected together in the central portion of the prison trading with each other. Some of the poor

PLATE XXVI

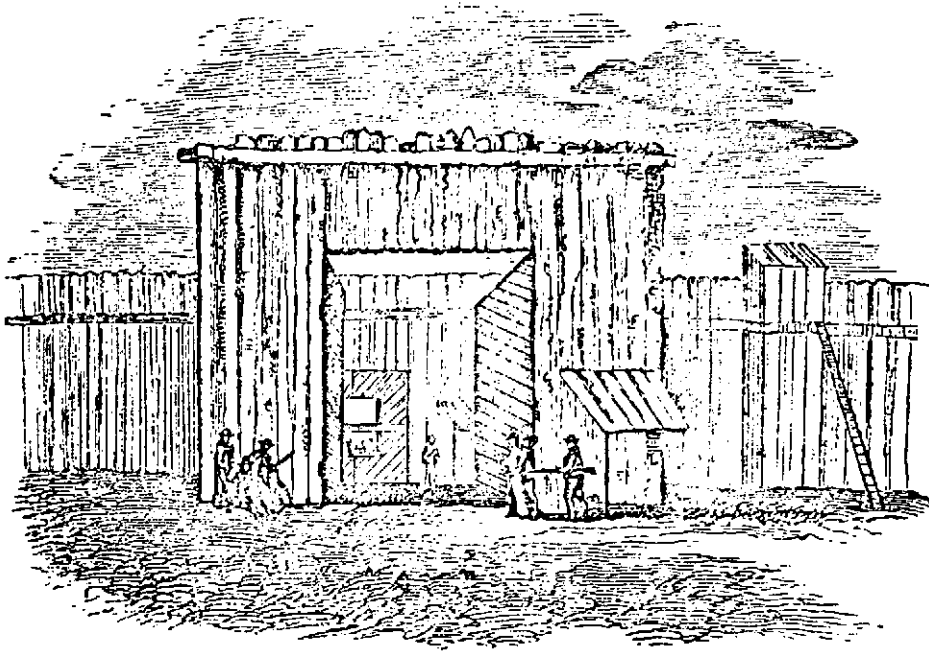
"Plan of a Prison Bakery at Andersonville," found in  
Hamlin's Martyria or Andersonville Prison.



PLAN OF PRISON BAKERY  
 ANDERSONVILLE  
 Ga.

PLATE XXVII

"The North Gate to Inner Stockade, Andersonville," found in Hamlin's Martyria or Andersonville Prison.



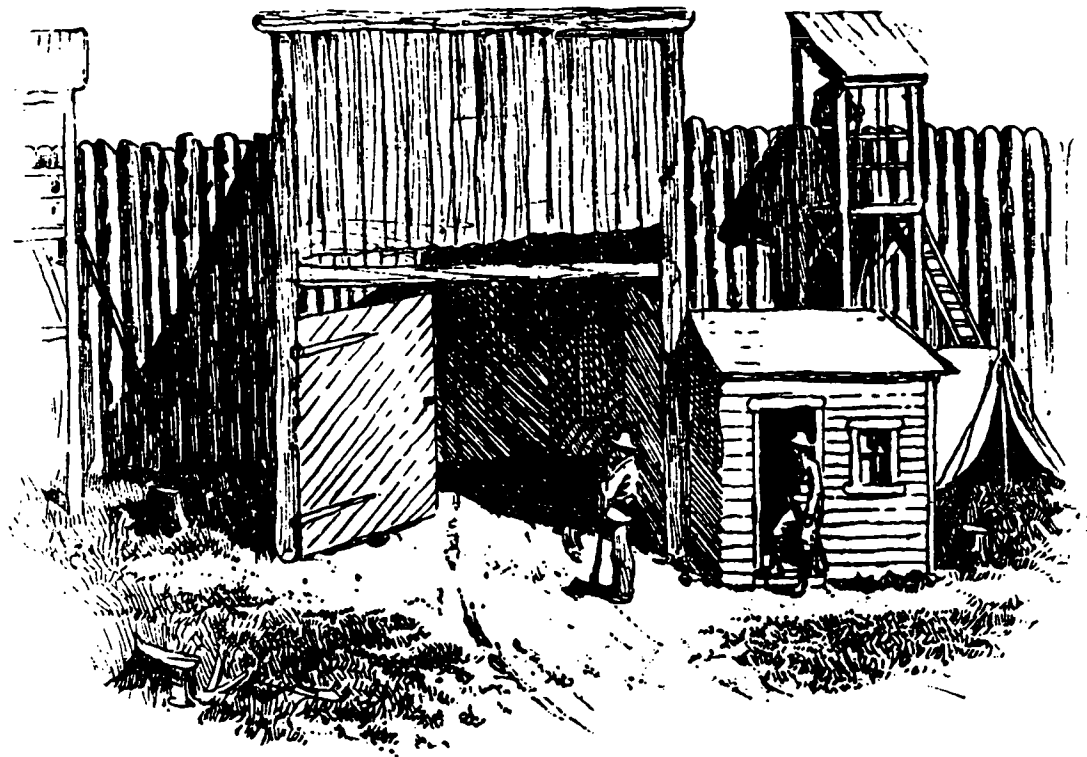
talking with his comrades, in the centre of the space, or whether he approached the sacred precincts of the dead line.

Sometimes they threw down their unconsumed fragments of bread to the hungry men. Sometimes they were hurled with curses; rarely were they thrown from feelings of compassion. Yet there were some kind-hearted men here, in the degrading position of the sentry box, who viewed the scene with affright, and who wept bitterly over the awful torture and sacrifice of life.

The author, travelling on foot among the mountains and forests of Northern Georgia, after peace was declared, found these evidences of humane feeling among the letters preserved in the humble cabins of the poor whites. That unoffending men were shot down without warning, there is no doubt whatever; that men, weary of torture, stag-

PLATE XXVIII

"View of the outside of the South Gate," Andersonville  
Prison, from a sketch made by R. K. Sneden.



[From a sketch made at the time by R. K. Sneden.]

VIEW FROM THE OUTSIDE OF THE SOUTH GATE

PLATE XXVIII

PLATE XXIX

"The Kennels where Sergeant Turner Kept  
His Dogs," found in Hamlin's Martyria or  
Andersonville Prison.



pen, known as the officers' stockade, was built of pine-tree palisades, fifteen feet high, and measured one hundred and ninety-five feet in length by one hundred and eight feet in width, and was provided with a shed in the interior forty-five feet long by twenty-seven feet wide, and also with a walk, suspended on the outside of the palisade, for the use of the sentries. The location and the provisions of this stockade were worse and more dangerous than even the main prison.

## XVI.

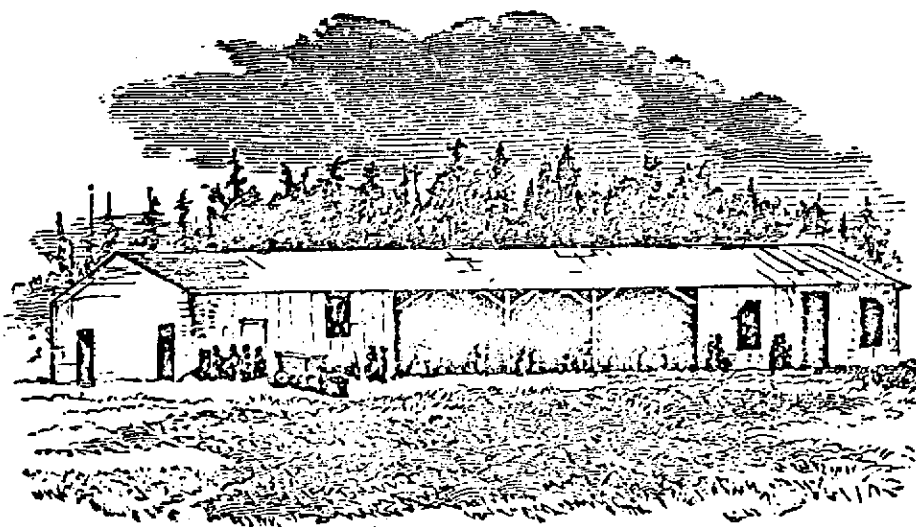


! On the pathway to the graveyard, not far from the prison, and in open sight, was built the hut where the bloodhounds were kept, always ready to track and pur-

PLATE XXX

"The Cookhouse at Andersonville," from  
Hamlin's Martyria or Andersonville Prison.

not, in the course of twenty-four hours, by constant relays of industrious workmen, have furnished cooked rations to more than five thousand men. There may have been other arrangements for cooking in the open air; but there are no longer any traces of such operations, nor has the writer any evidence that such was the case.

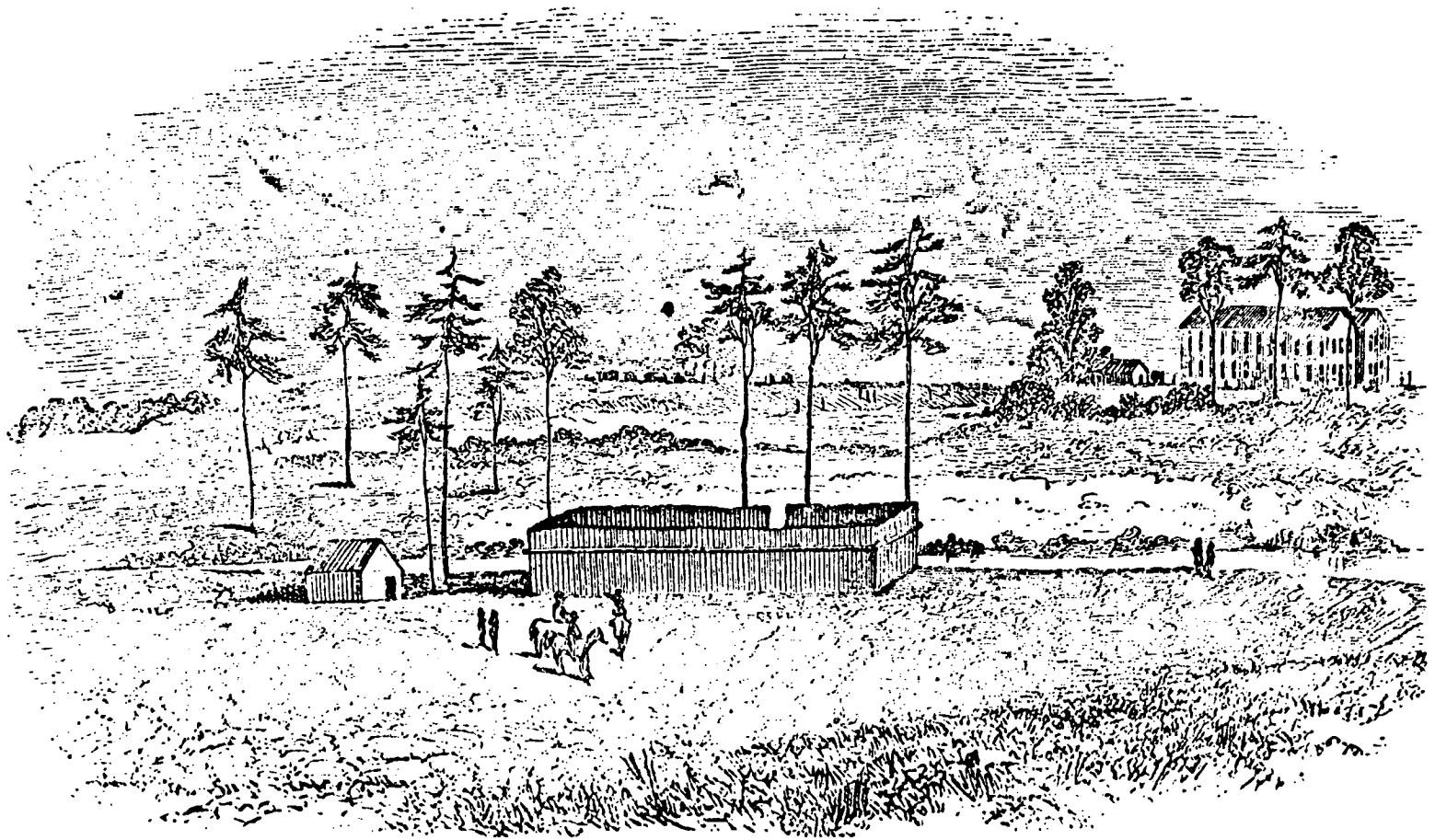


XV.

Upon the banks of the same stream, and near the railroad station, was erected the stockade which was intended for the confinement of the officers; but it was abandoned, after few weeks' occupation, partly from motives of prudence and in fear of revolt in keeping officers near so great a number of the rank and file of the army, and partly from the unfortunate selection of the locality. The officers were removed to Macon, and were confined there in the cotton sheds during a long period. This

PLATE XXXI

"Castle Reed," the Officers' Stockade, with Rebel Camps  
and Camp Sumter Hospital in the background, found in  
Hamlin's Martyria or Andersonville Prison.



VIEW OF OFFICERS' STOCKADE, with rebel camps and hospitals in the distance. — Page 21.

PLATE XXXII

"Castle Reed - Prison for Federal officers at Andersonville,  
Georgia," by J. B. Walker. Courtesy Library of Congress.

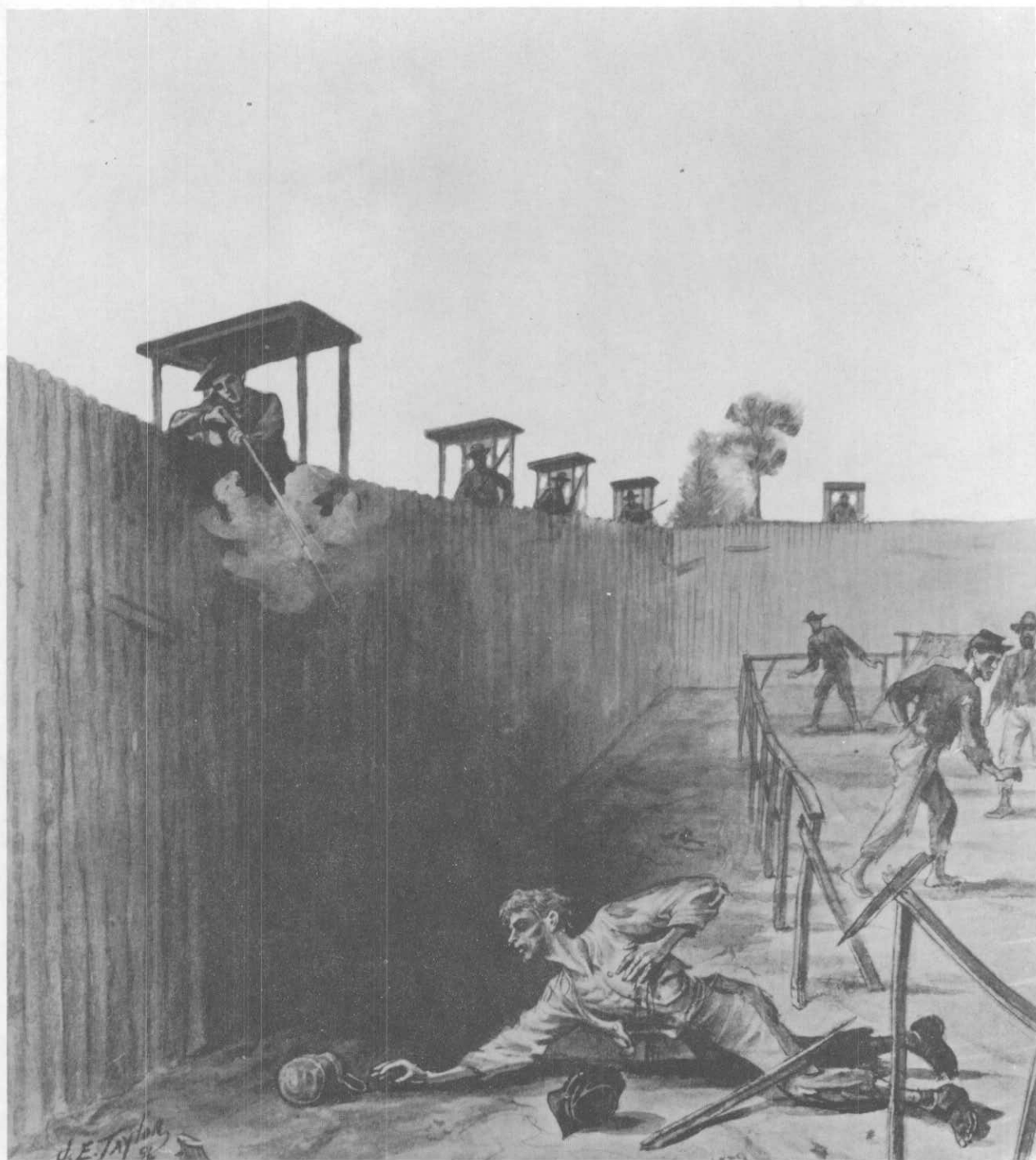


Castle Red—Prison for Federal Officers At Andersonville, Georgia.

PLATE XXXIII

Andersonville Military Prison Series, "Shot  
at the Dead-Line," by J. E. Taylor, 1896.  
Courtesy Library of Congress.





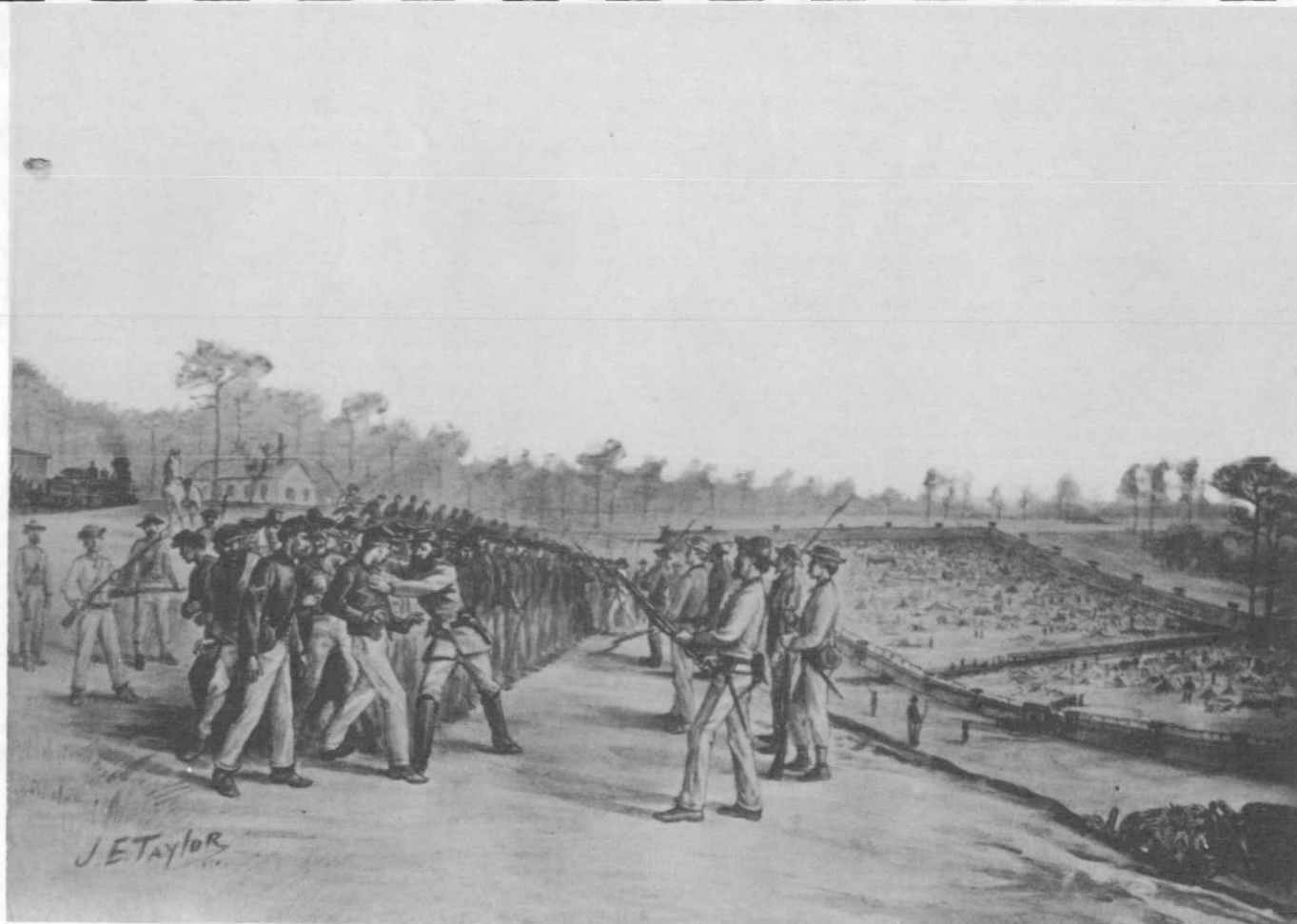
Andersonville Military Prison Series

"Shot at the dead-line."

PLATE XXXIII

PLATE XXXIV

Andersonville Military Prison Series, "Wirz Straightening  
the Line," by J. E. Taylor, 1898. Courtesy Library of  
Congress.

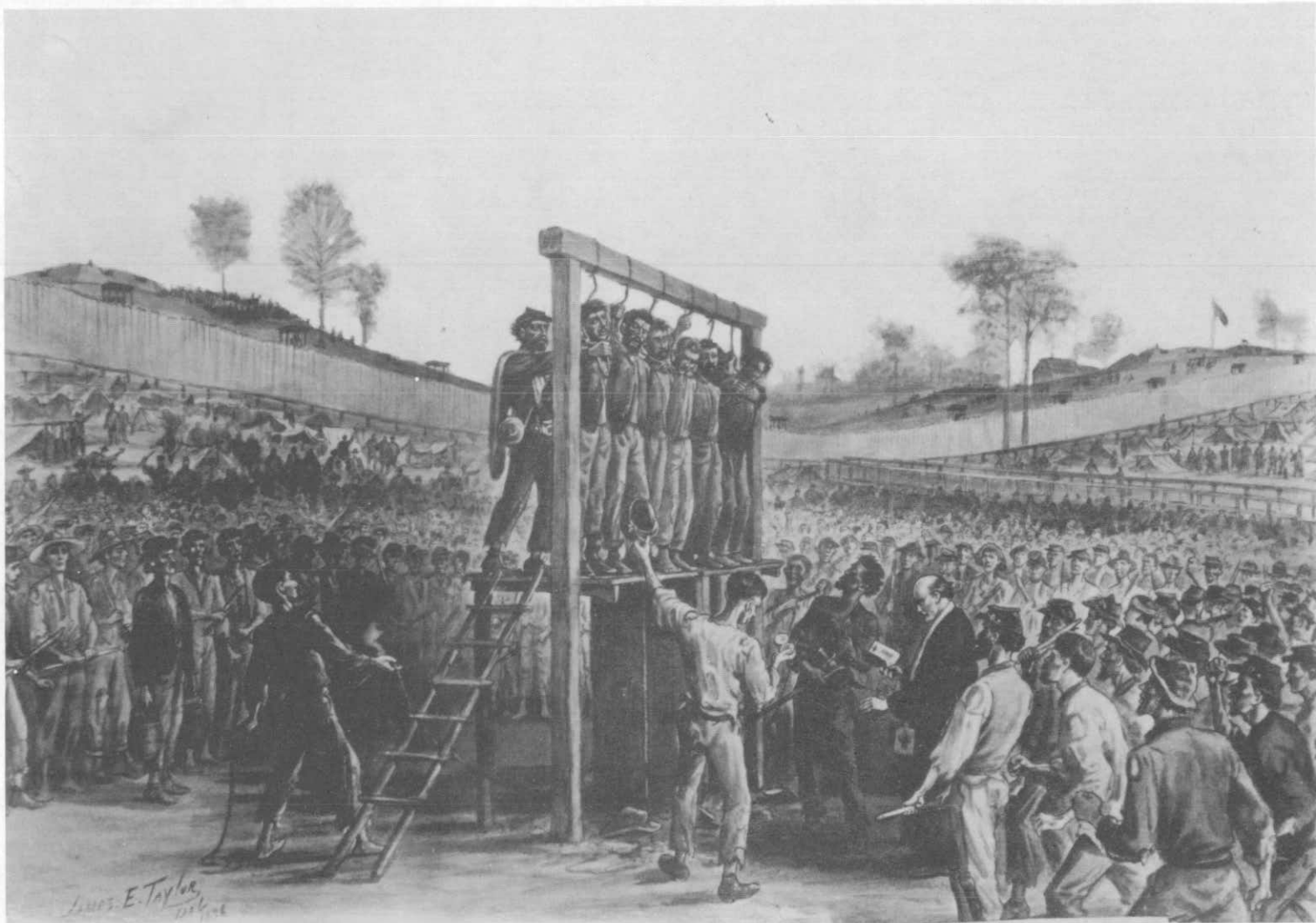


Andersonville Military Prison Series

"Wirz straightening the line."

PLATE XXXV

Andersonville Military Prison Series, "Execution of the  
Raiders," by J. E. Taylor, 1896. Courtesy Library of Congress.



Andersonville Military Prison Series.

"Execution of the Raiders."

PLATE XXXVI

Andersonville Military Prison Series, "Leaving Andersonville,"  
by J. E. Taylor, 1898. Courtesy Library of Congress.

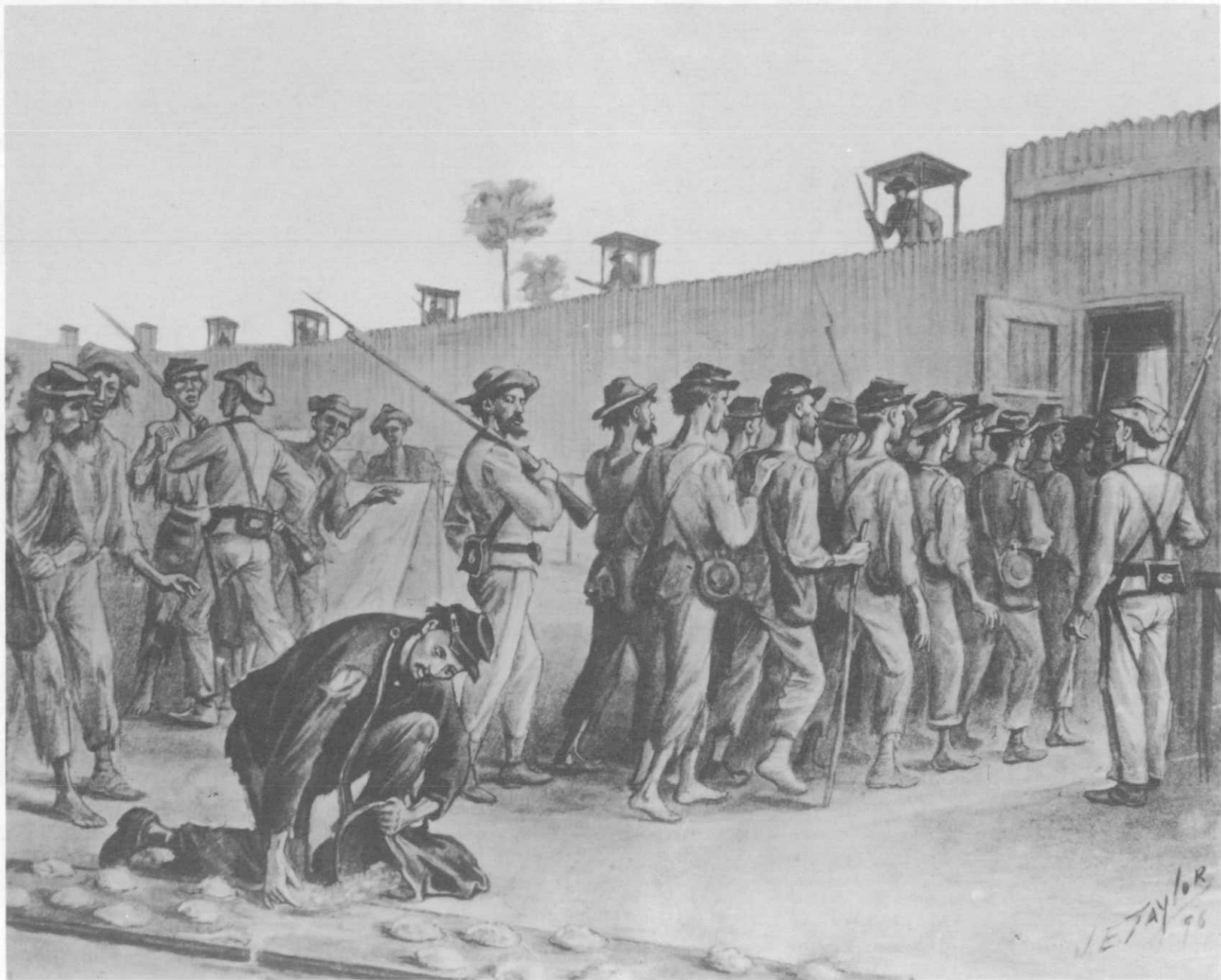
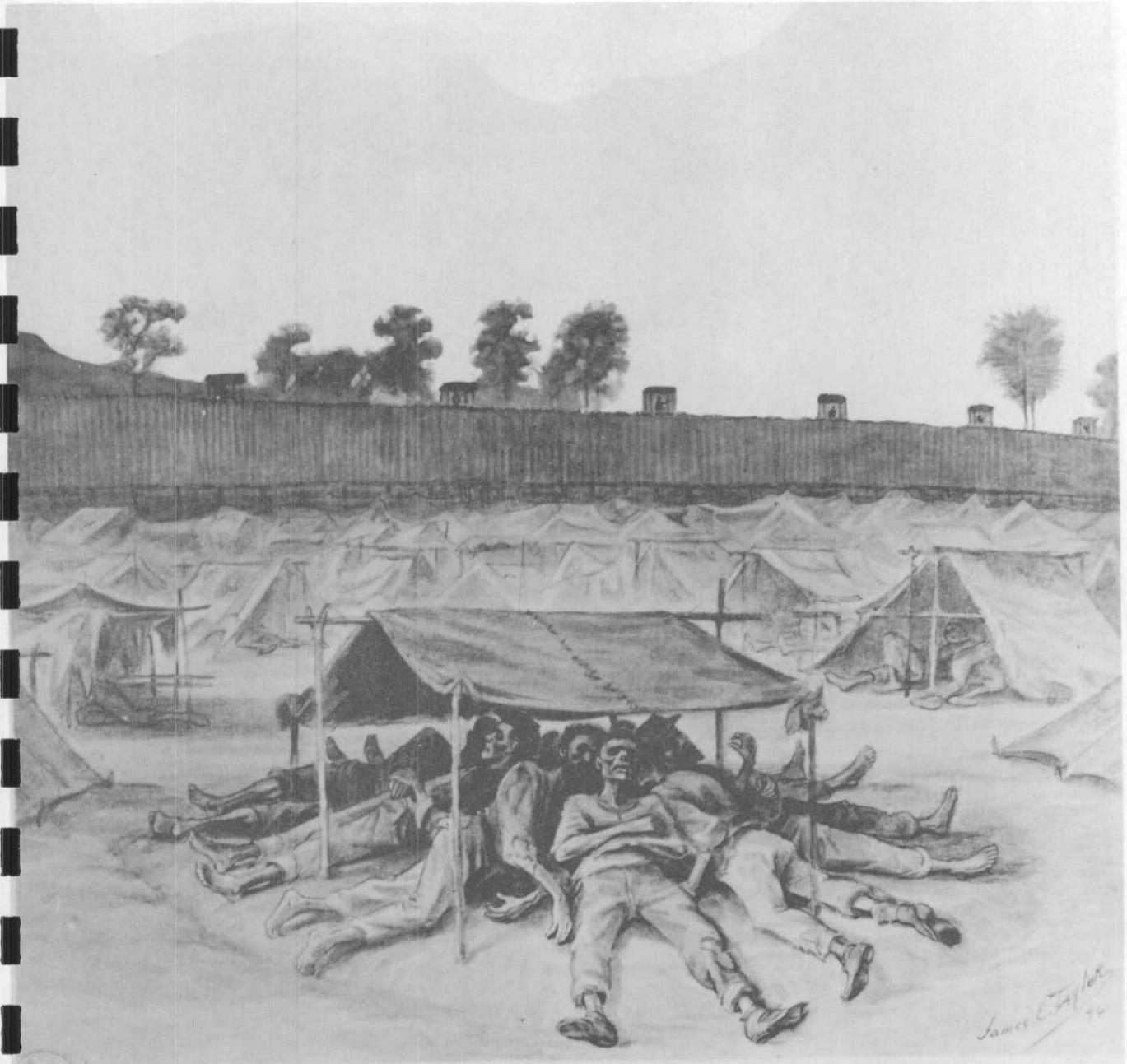


PLATE XXXVII

Andersonville Military Prison Series, "Nine  
Sleeping under Two Gum Blankets," by J. E.  
Taylor, 1896. Courtesy Library of Congress.





Andersonville Military Prison Series  
"Nine sleeping under two gum blanket"

PLATE XXXVIII

"Looking South from the Sinks, Andersonville Prison,"  
August 1864. Note sinks, soldiers evacuating their  
bowels, stockade, and pigeon roosts. Courtesy National  
Archives.



PLATE XXXIX

"Huts Built on the Deadline, Andersonville Prison,"  
August 1864. Photograph taken from a Pigeon Roost, looking  
northeast. Note construction of stockade, deadline, and  
pigeon roosts. Courtesy National Archives.



PLATE XL

"Looking Northwest Across the Enclosure from a Position  
on the Stockade Southwest of the Sinks," August 1864.  
Note sinks, swamp, and deadline. Courtesy National  
Archives.



PLATE XLI

Looking Southeast from the Sinks, Andersonville Prison,  
August 1864. Note: soldiers in the foreground using  
sinks to evacuate their bowels. Courtesy National  
Archives.





PLATE XLII

"Issuing Rations to 33,000 Prisoners," August 1864.  
This photograph was probably taken near the North Gate on  
Market Street. Note Sutler's Store and Yankee Traders Shops.  
Courtesy, National Archives.

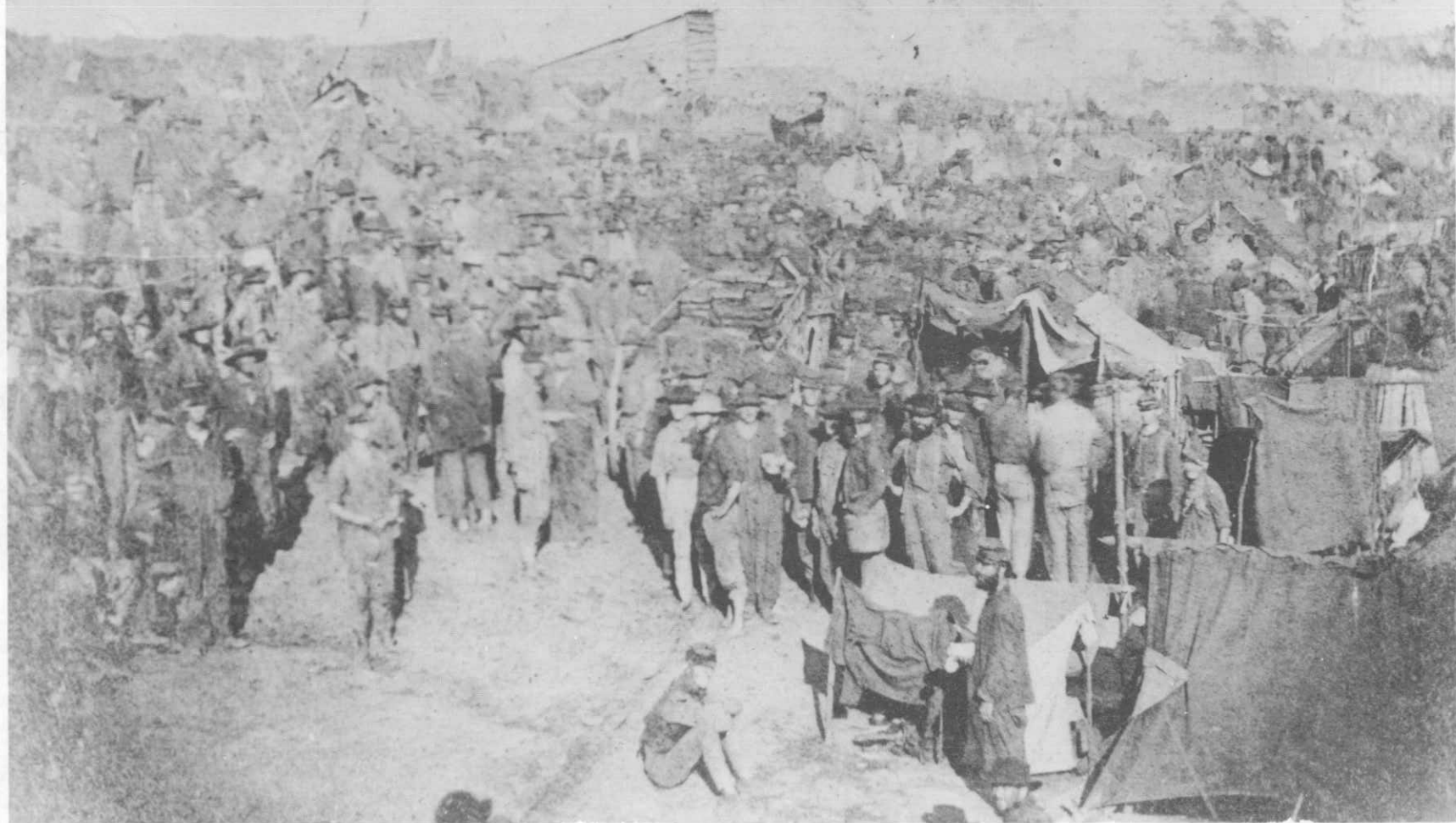


PLATE XLIII

"Burying the Dead at Andersonville, August  
1864." Courtesy National Archives.

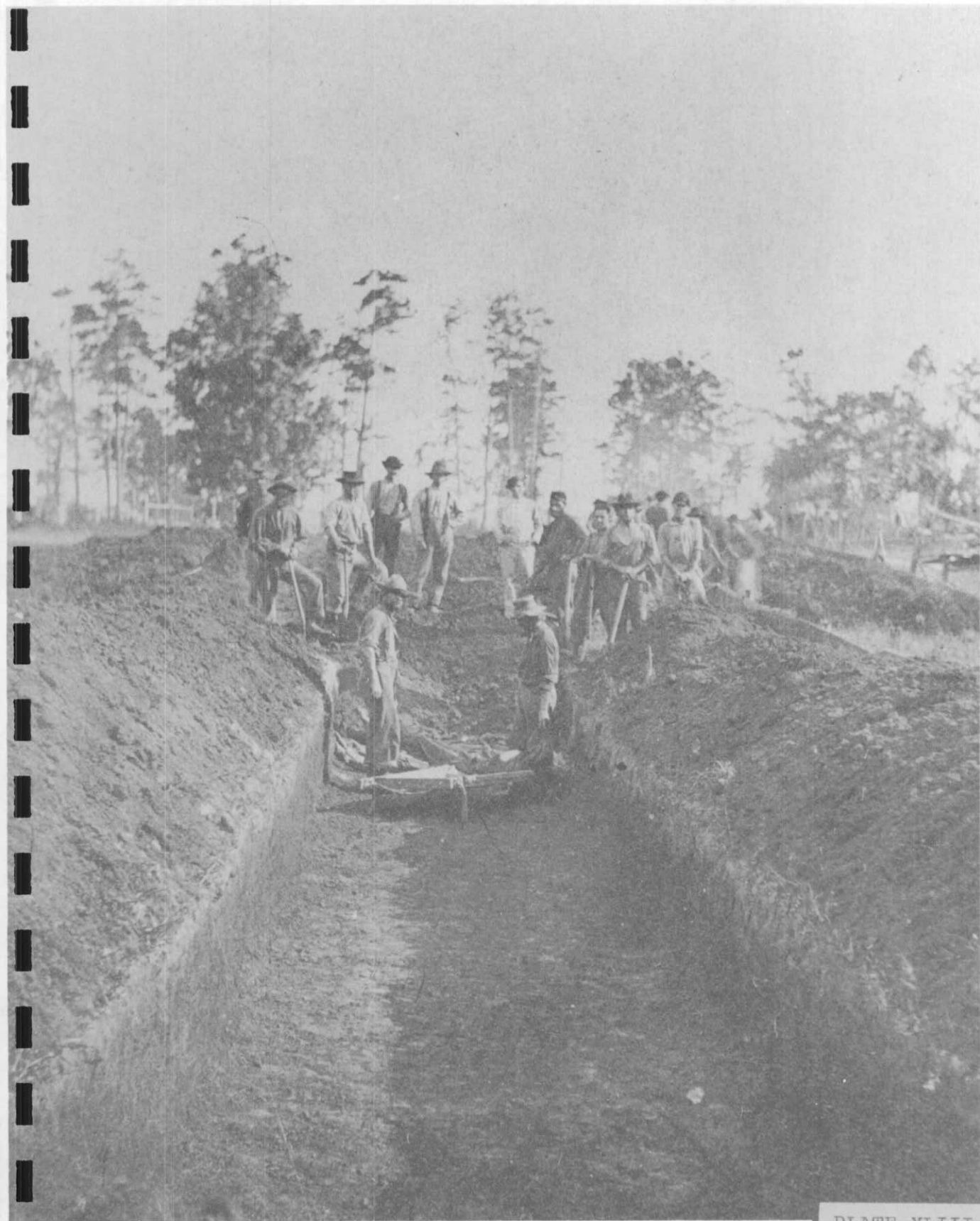


PLATE XLIII

PLATE XLIV

Miss Clara Barton Raising the National Flag, August 17,  
1865, at Andersonville National Cemetery," from Harper's  
Weekly, October 7, 1865.



HARTUNG, WISCONSIN

1885

PLATE XLIV

PLATE XLV

"The Execution of Henry Wirz, November 10, 1865,  
Adjusting the Rope." Courtesy Library of Congress.



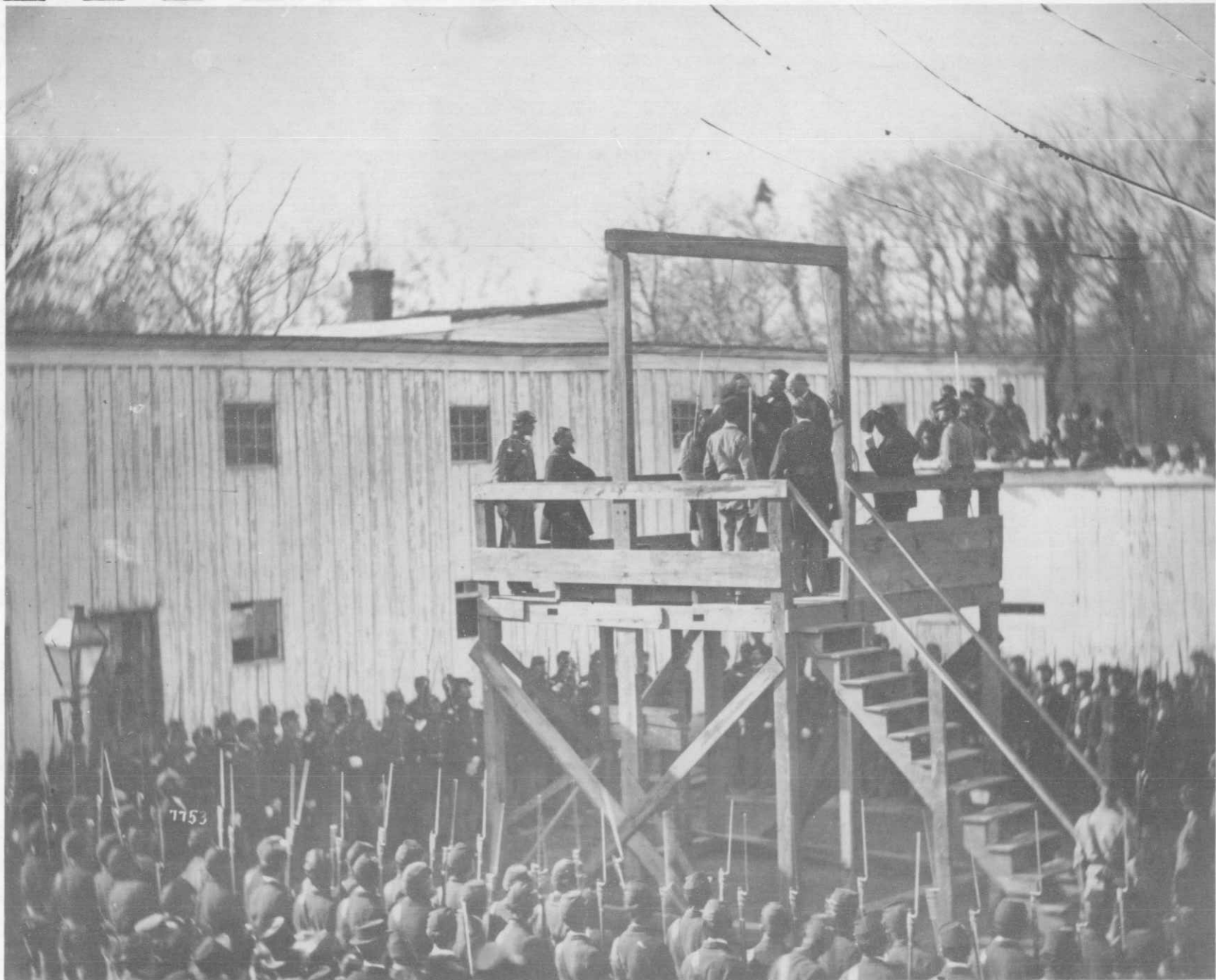


PLATE XLVI

"Andersonville, Ga., Diagram Showing Relation, Position of Cemetery and Rock Fields,"  
by A. W. Corliss, April 1868, National  
Archives, RG 92.



PLATE XLVII

"Inner Stockade, West Side," photograph made from inside the enclosure, from set of stereopticon slides marketed in 1867. Courtesy National Archives.

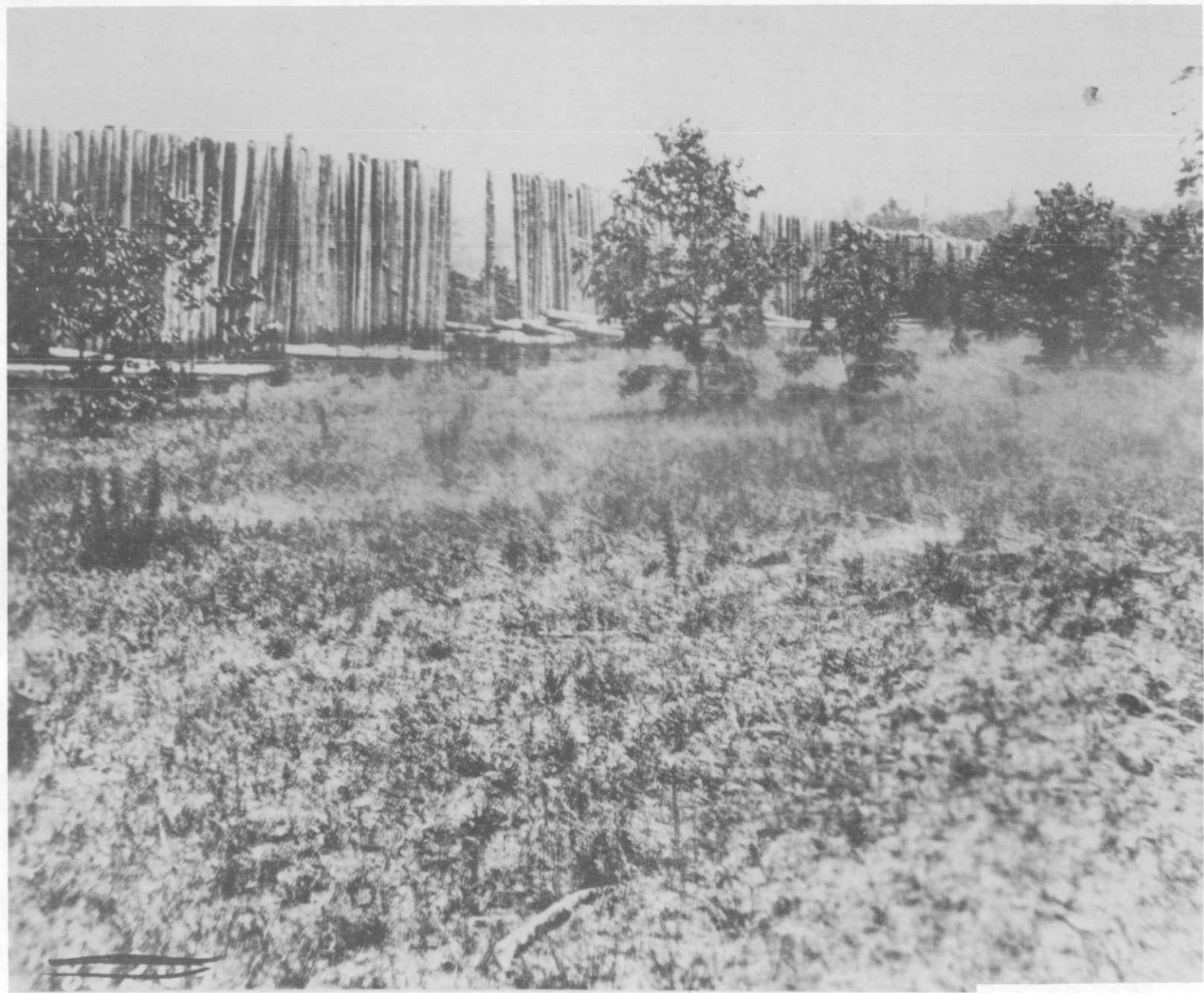


PLATE XLVII

PLATE XLVIII

"The Covered Way Between the Middle and Outer Stockades,"  
from a set of stereopticon slides made in 1867. Courtesy  
National Archives.



PLATE XLVIII

PLATE XLIX

"Looking toward the Railroad Station from the Stockade,"  
from set of stereopticon slides made in 1867. Courtesy  
National Archives.





PLATE XLIX

PLATE L

"Road from Commissary Storehouse and Railroad Station to  
Stockade," from set of stereopticon slides made in 1867.  
Courtesy National Archives.



PLATE I

PLATE LI

Stockade, West Front, Looking South," taken from Northwest  
Redan," from set of stereopticon slides made in 1867. Courtesy  
National Archives.



PLATE LI

PLATE LII

"The Ditch Fronting one of the Confederate Earthworks,"  
from set of stereopticon slides made in 1867. Courtesy  
National Archives.



PLATE LIII

"View From Enclosure Looking Northwest toward Bakehouse,"  
from set of stereopticon slides made in 1867. Courtesy  
National Archives.





PLATE LIV

"Inner and Middle Stockades, West Fronts, Looking South,"  
from set of stereopticon slides made in 1867. Courtesy  
National Archives.

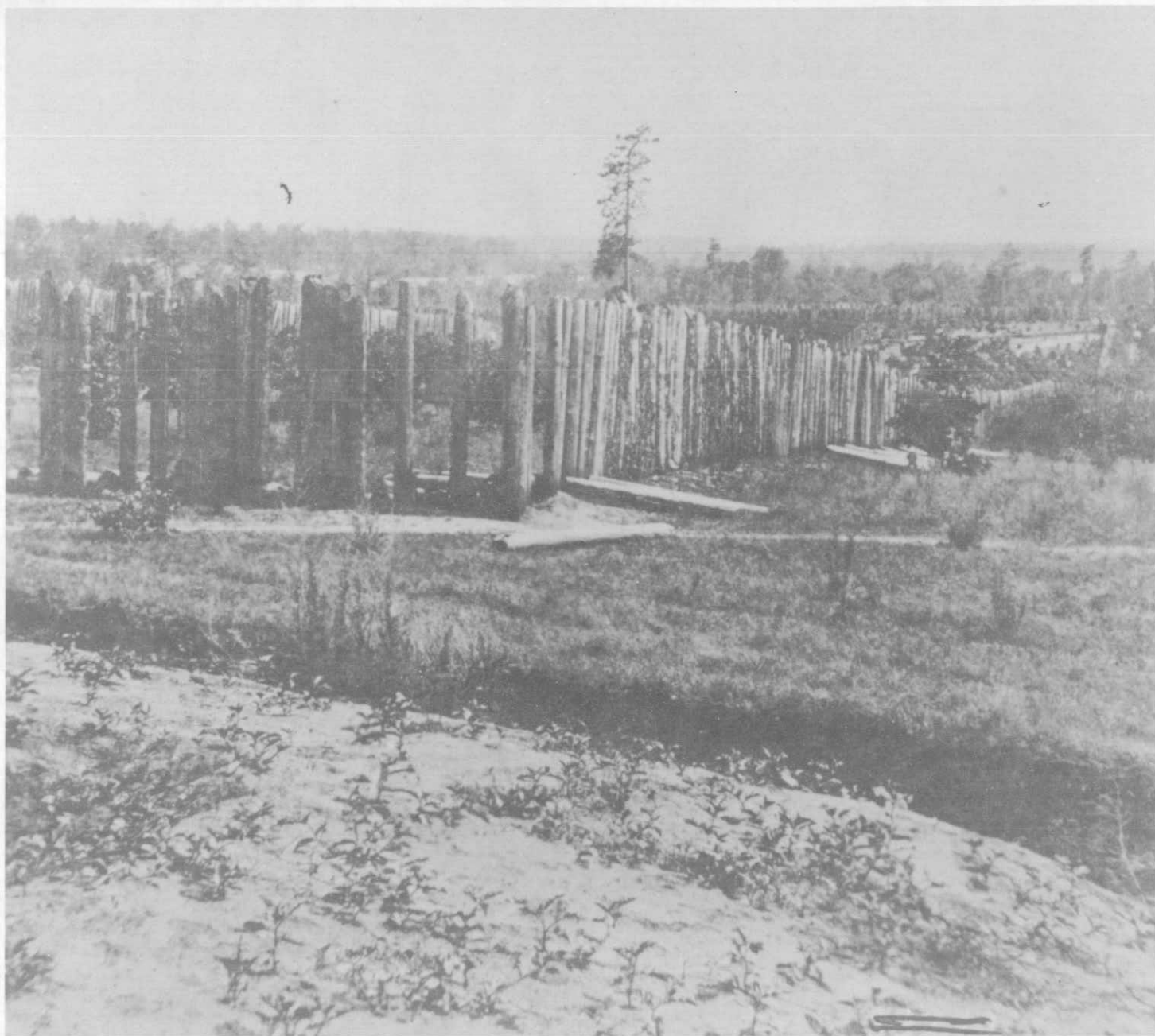


PLATE LIV

PLATE LV

"Stockade Enclosing Castle Reed," from set of stereopticon slides marketed in 1867. Courtesy National Archives.



PLATE LV

PLATE LVI

"Looking North from South Gate toward Flagstaff, Andersonville National Cemetery," from a set of stereopticon slides marketed in 1867. Courtesy National Archives.

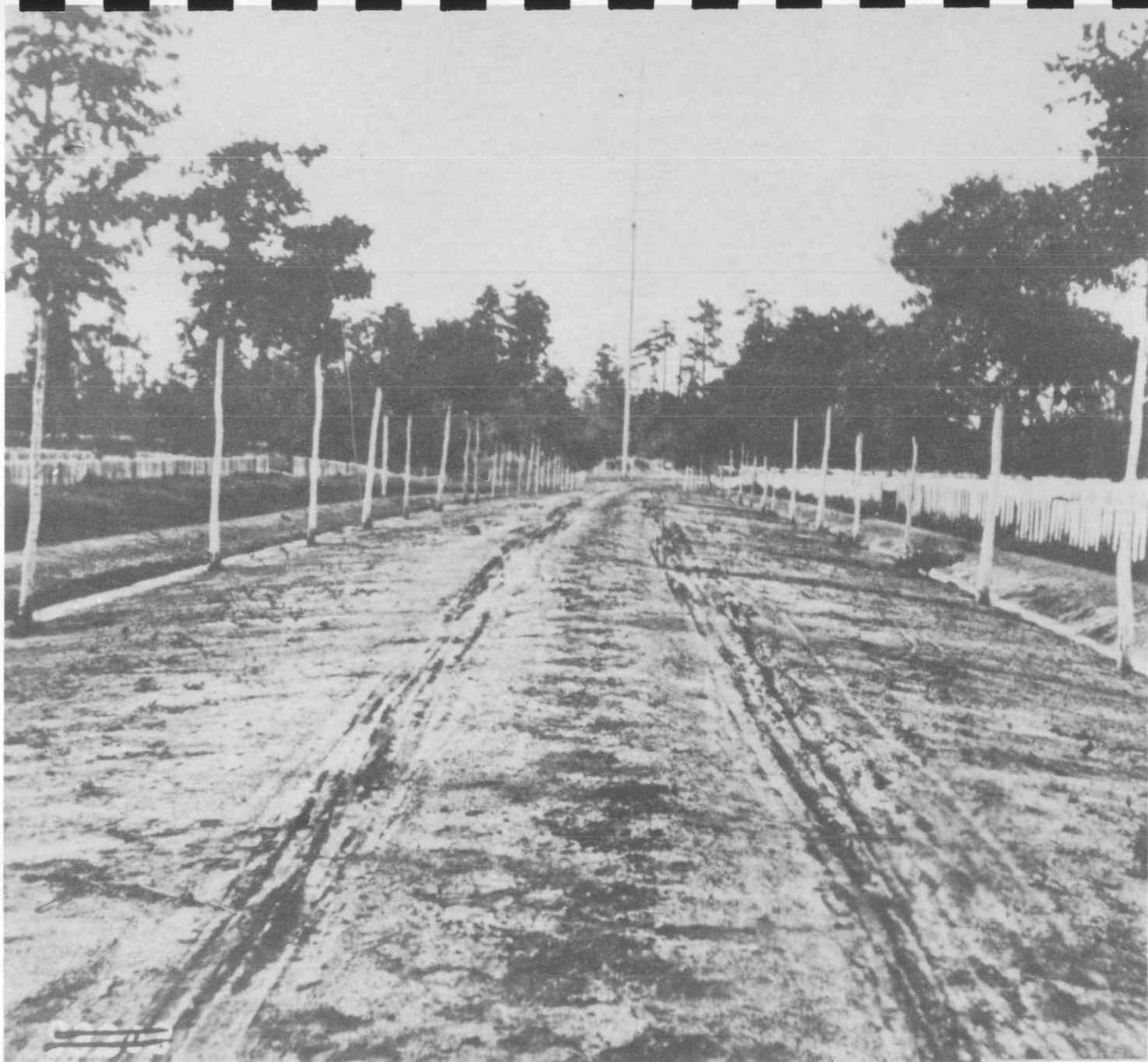


PLATE LVI

PLATE LVII

"West Entrance to the National Cemetery," from a set of stereopticon slides marketed in 1867. Courtesy National Archives.





PLATE LVII

PLATE LVIII

"Looking South from North Gate toward Flagstaff, Andersonville National Cemetery," from set of stereoptican slides marketed in 1867. Courtesy National Archives.



PLATE LVIII

PLATE LIX

View of Graves Nos. 5748 to 5763, Andersonville National Cemetery," from a set of stereopticon slides made in 1867. Courtesy National Archives.

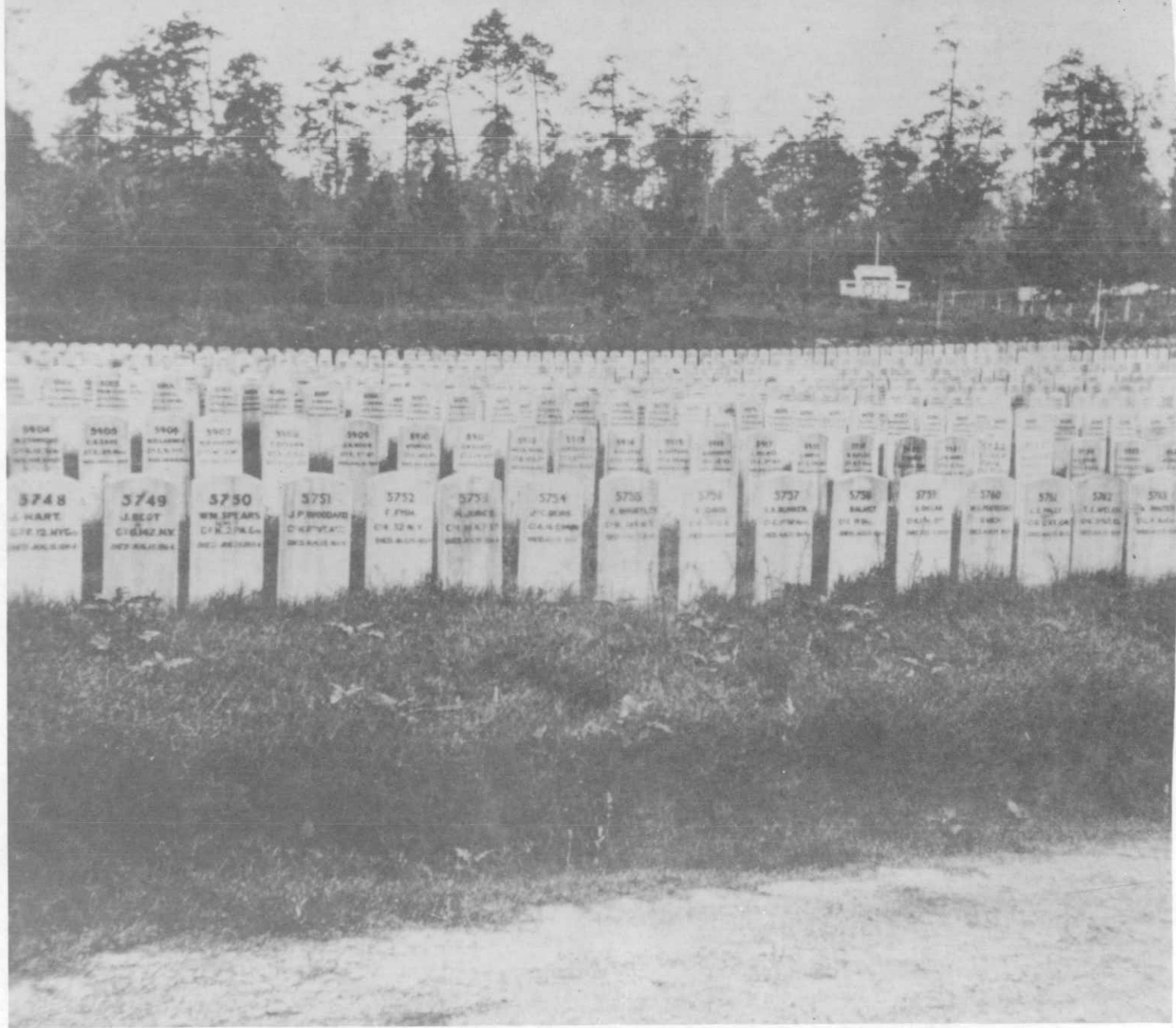


PLATE LIX

PLATE LX

"Graves of the Andersonville Raiders," from a set of stereopticon slides made in 1867. Courtesy National Archives.



PLATE LX

PLATE LXI

"Andersonville Prison Stockade and Hospital"  
by Felix de la Baume, courtesy Georgia  
Archives & History.



# LET US FORGIVE, BUT NOT FORGET.



**SMITH AND CHURCHILL.**  
Two Boy Prisoners, who lost their toes from frost bites, and were so crippled by scurvy that they could not stand up nor walk. These boys were known to the rest of the prisoners by the nickname "Warren Twins."



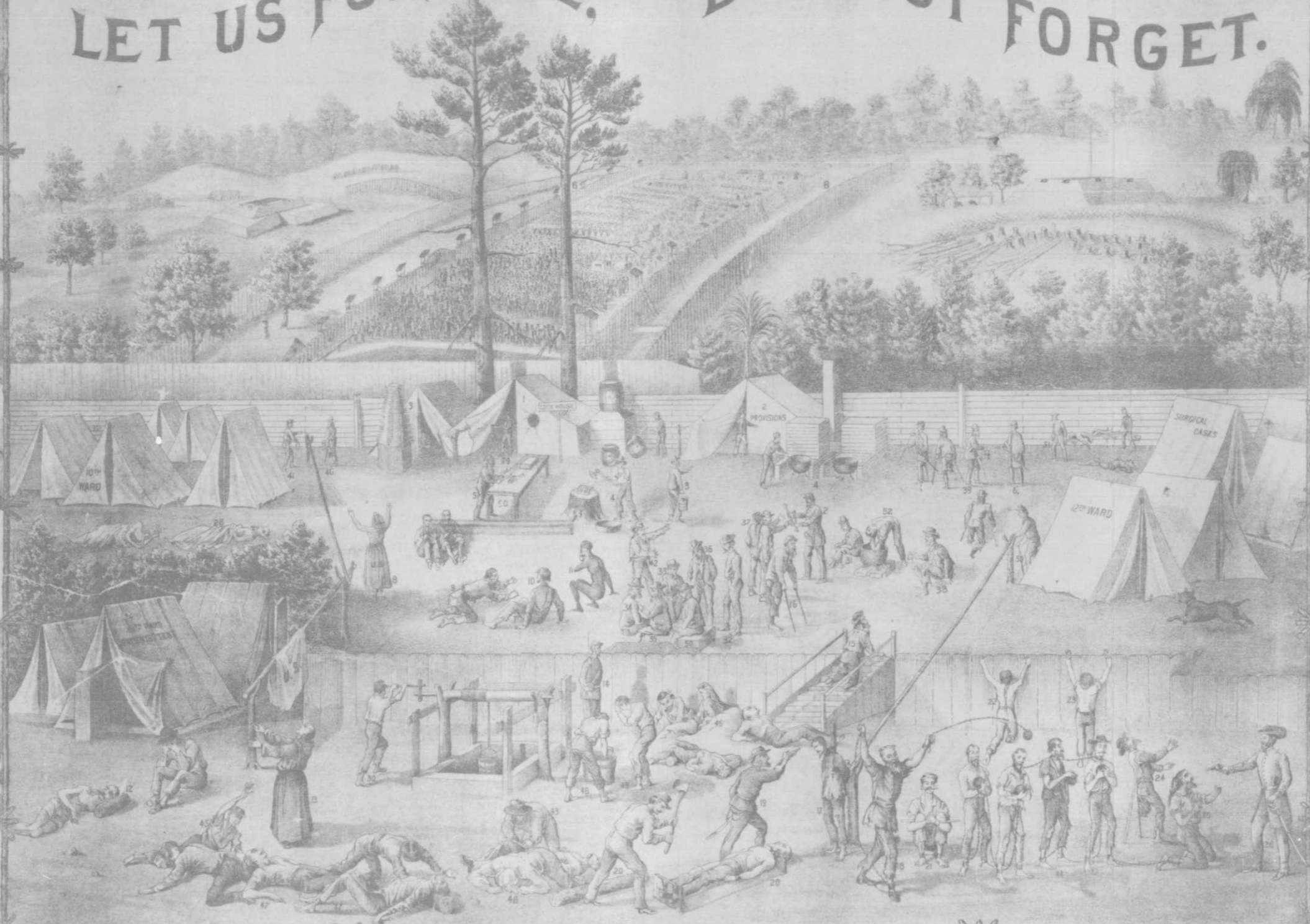
**BENJAMIN T. DAUGHERTY**  
as received at Hospital, at Wilmington, North Carolina. Died shortly after reaching the Hospital.



Rebel Captain Wirtz, stamping on S. H. NELSON, of Co. "I," 4th Vermont Artillery, December 13, 1864. No. of grave 12,283.



**CALVIN BATES.**  
General Co. "E," 20th Maine. Lost both feet at Andersonville. Dying yet and resides now at New Hampshire.



Rebel Captain Wirtz, Bloodhounds tearing to pieces  
**W. HOGGIE,**  
Co. "C," 10th Regt. U. S. A.  
June 20, 1864. No. of grave 2200.



**JOHN W. JANUARY.**  
Company Co. "B," 14th Illinois Cavalry. Is living, and now resides at Milton, Ill. Lost his feet from Scurvy and Gangrene while at Andersonville, as received at hospital, Wilmington, N. C., at which time he weighed 45 pounds.

**KEY TO THE FIGURES WITHIN THE HOSPITAL.**

1. Dr. John C. Bates, (a Rebel Surgeon) examining the Beef. He was a witness on the trial of Capt. Wirtz, and testified to the correctness of this Picture of Andersonville.
2. Dr. John C. Bates, giving Beef Bones to Cripples.
3. Geo. E. Young, of the 70th Reg. N. Y. Vols., a prisoner of war, acting as Chief Cook of the Hospital Kitchen. He lives now at West Saugerties, Ulster County, N. Y., and is willing to testify to the correctness and truthfulness of this picture.
4. Jim Lane, prisoner of war and assistant cook.
5. James M. Lister, of Co. B, 10th Reg. Infantry U. S. A., detailed as Cook. He resides now at Lansing, Iowa.
6. Sergeant Dunn, of the Rebel Army, commanding the hospital guards. Resides now at Americus, Ga.
7. Smith and Churchill, two boy prisoners, nicknamed the "Warren Twins."
8. Sergeant Boston Corbett, the avenger of President Lincoln, calling on his fellow prisoners to join him in prayer.
9. John W. Case, of the 47th Reg. N. Y. Vols., crippled by scurvy and wounds. He was one of the witnesses on the trial of Capt. Wirtz.

**ANDERSONVILLE PRISON STOCKADE AND HOSPITAL**

WE SPEAK THAT WE DO KNOW AND TESTIFY THAT WE HAVE SEEN LIFE AND DEATH IN REBEL PRISONS.

The only true and Correct Picture of that Horrible Slaughter Pen, copied from the original Pencil Sketch, made by Felix de La Bauma, late Sergeant of Co. "E," 39th Regt. N. Y. Vols.

**KEY TO THE FIGURES WITHIN THE HOSPITAL—CONTINUED.**

10. R. Seward, of Co. "E," 61st Reg. Ill. Vols., tied up at the thumbs. Died April 28, 1865. No. of grave 12,242.
11. A. Stebbins, Co. "H," 93d Reg. Ill. Vols., tied up at the thumbs. Died November 29th, 1864. No. of grave 12,134.
12. Joseph Levisa, Co. "E," 39th Reg. N. Y. Vols., had lost a leg by amputation, and was shot dead by a rebel guard.
13. A one armed prisoner in the chain gang implores Capt. Wirtz, to release him.
14. Capt. Wirtz pointing his revolver at him, threatening to shoot him on the spot.
15. Sergeant F. J. Hyatt, Co. "I," 118th Reg. Pa. Vols., died at the hospital, December 3rd, 1864. No. of grave 12,215.
16. J. B. Chamberlain, Co. "A," 8th Iowa Cavalry, died Dec. 30th, 1864. No. of grave 12,256.
17. Henry C. Sanborn, from Sabula, Ia., Co. "A," 9th Iowa Cavalry, knowing the horns for the issue of rations.
18. Philip Sanders, of the 93d Ill. Infantry Vols., (Hacker Regiment) detailed as nurse, resides now at Chicago. No. 172 North C.
19. Robert M. Medley, Co. "E," 77th Reg. "Old Vols." is now practicing as attorney at law, at Edinboro, Ind.

