

Bounty Jumpers: Prisoner Exchange Policy

City Point Va., August 19, 1864

Hon W.H. Seward, Secretary of State, Washington D.C.

I am in receipt of a copy of F.W. Morse's letter (no copy found) of the 2x2x 22d July to you inclosing copy of statement of C.W.G. in relation to deserters from this army.

There are constant desertions, though, but few of them go over to the enemy. Unlike the enemy, however, we do not lose our veterans and men who enter the service through patriotic motives. The men who desert are those who have just arrived and who have never done any fighting and never intended to when they enlisted.

There is a class known as "bounty jumpers," or substitute men, who enlist for the money, desert and enlist again. After they have done this until they become fearful of punishment they join their regiments in the field and desert to the enemy.

Of this class of recruits we do not get one, for every eight bounties paid, to do good service. My provostmarshal general is preparing a statement on this subject, which will show the reinforcements received from the class of recruits.

Take the other side, the desertions from the enemy to us. Not a day passes but men come in to our line, and men too, who have been fighting for the South for more than three years. Not unfrequently a commissioned officer comes with them.

Only a few days ago I sent a regiment numbering 1,000 men for duty to General Pope's department ~~numbering~~ composed wholly of deserters from the rebel army and of prisoners who took the oath of allegiance and joined it.

There is no doubt but many prisoners of war have taken the oath of allegiance and enlisted as substitutes to get the bounty and to effect their return to the south and fight her battles, and it is

their return to the South.

These men are paraded abroad as deserters who want to join the South and fight her battles and it is through our leniency that the South expects to reap great advantages.

We ought ^{not} to make a single exchange nor release a prisoner on any pretext whatever until the war closes.

We have got to fight until the military power of the South is exhausted, and if we release or exchange prisoners captured it simply becomes a war of extermination.

9

U.S. Grant, lieutenant-general

C.S. Prison, Charleston, S.C. August 14, 1864

The President of the United States

The condition of the enlisted men belonging to the Federal armies now prisoners to the Confederate rebel forces is such that it becomes our duty and the duty of every commissioned officer, to make known the facts in the case to the Government of the United States and to use every honorable effort to secure a general exchange of prisoners, thereby relieving thousands of our comrades from the horrors now surrounding them.

For some time past there has been a concentration of prisoners from all parts of the rebel territory to the State of Georgia, the commissioned officers being confined at Macon and the enlisted men at Andersonville.

Recent movements of the federal armies of General Sherman have compelled the removal of the prisoners to other points, and it is now understood they will be removed to Savannah, Ga. and Columbia and Charleston, S.C., but no change of this kind holds any prospect of relief to our poor men.

Colonel Hill, provost-marshal -general U.S. Army at Atlanta, stated to one of the undersigned that there were 35,000 prisoners at Andersonville and all accounts from U.S. soldiers who have been confined there the number is not overstated by him. These 35,000 men confined in a field of some thirty acres inclosed by a board fence heavily guarded; about one-third have various kinds of indifferent shelter, but upwards of 20,000 are wholly without shelter or shade of any kind and are exposed to the storms and rains which are of almost daily occurrence. The cold dews of night and the more terrible effects of the sun striking with almost tropical fierceness upon their unprotected heads, this mass of men jostle and crowd each other up and down the limits of their inclosure in storm and sun, and then lie down on the pitiless earth at night with no other covering than their clothing upon their backs, few of them having even a blanket.

Upon entering the prison, every man is deliberately stripped of money and other property, and as no clothing or blankets are ever supplied to their prisoners by the C.S.A. authorities the condition of the apparel of soldiers just from an active campaign can be easily imagined. Thousands are without pants or coats, and hundreds without even a pair of drawers to cover their nakedness.

To these men, as indeed to all prisoners, there is issued three-fourths of a pound of bread or meal and one eighth of a pound of meat per day, this is the entire ration and upon it the prisoner must live or die. The meal is often unsifted and sour, and the meat such as in the North is consigned to the soapmaker.

...Numbers, crazed by their sufferings, wander about in a state of idiocy; others deliberately cross the "dead-line" and are remorselessly shot down.

Is it not ~~xxxxxxxx~~ consistent with the national honor, without ~~xxxxxxxx~~ waiving the claim that the negro soldier shall be treated as prisoners of war, yet to effect an exchange of ~~the~~ the white soldiers?

The two classes are treated differently by the enemy, the white is confined in such prisons as Libby and Andersonville, starved and treated with a barbarism unknown to civilized nations, the black on the contrary, is seldom imprisoned,; they are distributed among the citizens or employed upon Government works.

Under these circumstances they receive enough to eat and are worked no harder than accustomed to; they are neither starved nor killed off by the pestilence in the dungeons of Richmond and Charleston. It is true they are again made slave, but their slavery is of freedom and happiness compared with the cruel existence imposed upon ~~them~~ our gallant men. They are not bereft of hope as are the Union soldiers dying by inches.

,,,let 35,000 suffering, starving and dying enlisted men aid this appeal to the Chief Magistrate of the Republic for prompt and decisive action in their behalf; 35,000 heroes will be made happy. For the 1,800 commissioned officers, now prisoners, we urge nothing. Although desirous of returning to our duty we can bear imprisonment with more fortitude if the enlisted men, whose sufferings we know to be intolerable, were restored to liberty and life.

J. B. Door, colonel Eight Iowa Cavalry
T. J. Harrison, colonel eighth Indiana
Cavalry

George Stoneman, major-general U.S.
volunteers.

Headquarters of the Army, Washington, Aug. 27, 1864

Lieut-General Grant, City Point

General: I have directed General Canby to permit no more exchange of prisoners of war. That point of the cartel which authorized commanders to exchange on the field troops just captured, man for man, has been considered heretofore as still in effect.

I do not see any objection to it, as it can give no advantage to either party, and saves our men from barbarous treatment by the rebels.

To exchange their healthy men for ours, who are on the brink of the grave from their hellish treatment, of course gives them all the advantage. Nevertheless it seems very cruel to leave our men to be slowly but deliberately tortured to death. But I suppose there is no remedy at Present.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant

H.W. Halleck, major-general and chief of staff.

Washington City, D.C. August 27, 1864

Hon D.M. Stanton, secretary of war

Sir: I have observed lately several paragraphs in newspapers purporting to represent statements made in the South by officers in the rebel army to Federal prisoners of war, importing that the rebel authorities have been willing to exchange prisoners of war, and that the fault in not making exchanges is with the Government of the United States.

I desire to say that, so far as I am informed and believe, this statement is essentially untrue.

The question of exchanges continues to be, as I understand, precisely what it was when interrupted by the rebels themselves several months ago.

You are aware that several months ago the duties connected with the business of exchange were committed by ~~my~~ your orders to Major-General Butler, since which time I have had very little to do in the matter of exchanges, and have not been in communication with the rebel agent for exchange. I know, however, that Major-General Butler effected some exchanges and that while they were in progress the Richmond papers contained many paragraphs averring that the exchanges were not man for man on their side, but that the number sent by them was less than that sent by General Butler in the proportion of the number of prisoners held in the South against those held in the North.

While this matter was in progress Lieutenant-General Grant assumed command of the army and received, as I understood, some instruction from yourself to communicate with General Butler on the subject of exchanges since which time I have received no reports from General Butler, being his junior officer; but I am under the impression that the precise difficulties which stood in the way of exchanges a year ago are in full operation at this time, and that the fault is not with this Government but with the rebel authorities.

I have etc.

E.A. Hitchcock, maj. Gen. of Vols. commissioner for
Exchange of Prisoners.

Prisoner Exchange: Policy, Procedure

War of Rebellion, Series II, Vol. VII p 687

HdQRS. Dept. of Virginia and North Carolina, In the Field, Aug 27, 1864

Hon. Robert Ould, commissioner for exchange

Sir: Your note to Major Mulford, assistant agent of exchange under date of 10th of August has been referred to me.

You therein state that Major Mulford has several times proposed to exchange prisoners respectively held by the two belligerents, officer for officer, and man for man, and that "the offer has also been made by other officials having charge of matters connected with the exchange of prisoners," and that "this proposal has been heretofore declined by the Confederate authorities:" that you now consent to the above proposition and agreed to deliver to you (Major Mulford) the prisoners held in captivity ~~the~~ by the Confederate authorities, provided you agree to deliver an equal number of officers and men.

As equal numbers are delivered from ~~time~~ to time they will be declared exchanged. This proposal is made with the understanding that the officers and men on both sides who have been longest in captivity will be first delivered where practicable.

From a slight ambiguity in your phraseology, but more, perhaps from the antecedent action of your authorities ~~xxxxxx~~ and ~~xxxxxx~~ because of your acceptance of it, I am in doubt whether you have stated the proposition with entire accuracy.

It is true, a proposition was made ~~xxxxxx~~ both by Major Mulford and myself, as agent of exchange, to exchange all prisoners of war taken by either belligerent party, man for man, officer for officer, of equal rank or their equivalents. It was made by me as early as the first of the winter of 1863-64, and has not been accepted.

In May last I forwarded to you a note desiring to know whether the Confederate authorities intended to treat colored soldiers of the U.S. Army as prisoners of war.

To that inquiry no answer has yet been made. To avoid all possible misapprehension or mistake hereafter as to your offer now, will you say now whether you mean by "prisoners held in captivity" colored men, duly enrolled and mustered into the service of the United States, who have been captured by the Confederate forces, and if your authorities are willing to exchange all soldiers so mustered into the U.S. Army, whether colored or otherwise, and the officers commanding them, man for man, officer for officer?

At an interview which was held between yourself and the agent of exchange on the part of the United States at Fort Monroe, in March last, you will do me the favor to remember the principal discussion turned upon this very point, you, on behalf of the Confederate Government claiming the right to hold all negroes who had heretofore been slaves and not emancipated by their masters, enrolled and mustered into service of the United States, when captured by your forces, not as prisoners of war, but, upon capture, to be turned over to their supposed masters or claimants, whoever they might be, to be held by them as slaves.

By the advertisements in your newspapers, calling upon masters to come forward and claim these men so captured, I suppose that your authorities adhere to that claim; that is to say, that whenever a colored soldier of the United States is captured by you, upon whom any claim can be made by any person residing within the States in insurrection, such soldier is not to be treated as a prisoner of war but is to be turned over to his supposed owner or claimant and put at such labor or service as that owner or claimant may choose; and the

officers in command of such soldiers , in the language of a supposed act of the Confederate States, are to be turned over to the Governors of States, upon requisitions, for the purpose of being punished by the laws of such States for acts done in war in the armies of the United States.

You must be aware that there is still a proclamation by Jefferson Davis claiming to be Chief Executive of the Confederate States, declaring in substance that all officers of colored troops mustered into the service of the United States were not to be treated as prisoners of war, but were to be turned over for punishment to the Governors of States./.. (2 more pages, theory, history going back to Rome, Greece, etc.)

Benj. F. Butler, major general and commissioner
for exchange

(p. 700)

Johnson's Island

Ware of Rebellion, Series II, Vol. VII

HdQRS. U.S. Forces, Johnson's Island and Sandusky, Johnson's Island,
Ohio, August 29, 1864.

Col. William Hoffman, commissary-general of prisoners, Washington, D.C.
Colonel: You will remember the authority given in your letter of last
December to convert the old post hospital into officers' quarters
and to build a new hospital.

The first of these propositions has been carried into effect, but not
the last.

I am informed by Captain Brooks, assistant quartermaster, that the lumber
was obtained for the new hospital, but all, or nearly all of it was taken
for huts and tent floors, tent walls, bunks and other uses by the brigade
here last winter from the Army of the Potomac, so that when the
command fell into my hands he had neither lumber nor money for a hospital.

The matter, however, was taken in hand by Major-General Heintzelman.
He caused an inspection by Doctor Tripler, medical director on his
staff, and the result was an order for a plan and estimates for a post
hospital, and the most confident assurances that such a hospital would be
provided during the present season.

As a temporary measure, and the best available, the sick of this
command were placed in wall tents. Unfortunately these tents are worn
and without flies, so that they are unfit for the sick except in fair
weather. From the direction of this matter has taken it did not appear
to me to be either necessary or proper that I should trouble with it.

We have now reached a season of the year when the sick of this command
should have adequate protection, and now the matter of the new post hospi-
tal comes back to us from Washington, by way of Columbus, in a letter
from Dr. Tripler announcing disapproval by the Honorable Secretary of
War. The same letter conveyed instructions to place Companies A and B

of this regiment in the tents, and to convert their quarters into a post hospital temporarily. I therefore issued an order to carry that plan into effect, a copy of which is herewith inclosed (Omitted from records) It seems to me certain that there must be some great misapprehension on the part of the Secretary of War in relation to this subject, otherwise the desired order would have been granted .

The building to be used is not only unfit in itself, but like the other barracks is in a locality deprived of the necessary quiet for the sick, and actually swarms with vermin, notwithstanding the liberal use of salt water, coal oil and whitewash which the companies have resorted to . I come to you as one who from personal knowledge can see this matter in its true light and earnestly pray that you will do what may be necessary to give the sick of this command proper hospital accommodations.

I have the honor etc. Chas. W. Hill, colonel, commanding.

Inclosure, submitted to Secretary of War with recommendation for erection by W. Hoffman .

second indorsement:

Washington, D.C. Sept. 12, 1864

The Secretary of War authorizes the building of a hospital,

H.W. Halleck, major-general, and chief
of staff.

Prisoner Exchange: Policy

War of Rebellion, Series II, Vol. VII

August 31, 1864, The Relatives and Friends of Confederate soldiers
Confined in Northern Prisons:

On the 22d of July, 1862, the cartel of exchange was agreed upon. The chief, if not only purpose of that instrument was to secure the release of all prisoners of war.

To that end the fourth article provided that all prisoners of war should be discharged on parole in ten days after their capture, and that the prisoners then held and those thereafter taken should be transported to the points mutually agreed upon, at the expense of the capturing party.

The sixth article also stipulated that "all prisoners of whatever arm of service are to be exchanged or paroled in ten days from the time of their capture if it be practicable to transfer them to their own lines in that time; if not as soon thereafter as practicable."

From the date of the cartel until July, 1863 the Confederate authorities held the excess of prisoners. During that interval deliveries were made as fast as the Federal Government furnished transportation. Indeed, upon more than one occasion I urged the Federal authorities to send increased means of transportation.

As ready as the enemy always has been to bring false accusations against us, it has never been alleged that we failed or neglected to make prompt deliveries of prisoners who were not under charges when we held the excess. On the other hand, during the same time, the cartel was openly and notoriously violated by the Federal authorities. Officers and men were kept in cruel confinement, sometimes in irons, or doomed to cells, without charges or trial.

In July, 1863, the enemy, for the first time since the adoption of the cartel, held an excess of prisoners. As soon as that fact was ascertained, whenever a delivery was made by Federal authorities, they

demand an equal number in return. I endeavored frequently to obtain from Federal agent of exchange a distinct avowal of the intentions of the ^{His} Government as to the delivery of prisoners, but in vain. At length on the 20th of October, 1863, I addressed to Brigadier-General Meredith the following letter, to wit:

(See Vol VI of this series, pg. 401)

On the 29th of October, 1863 I received from General Meredith a communication informing me that my proposal of the 29th was "not accepted." I was insultingly told that if the excess of prisoners was delivered they would be wrongfully declared exchanged by me and put in the field. To show how groundless this imputation was it is only necessary for me to state that since then I have repeatedly offered to give Ten Federal captives for ever Confederate soldier whom the enemy will show to have been wrongfully declared exchanged. From the last named date until the present time there has been but few deliveries of prisoners, the enemy in each case demanding a like number in return. (etc. etc.)

.. RO. Gould, Agent of Exchange.

Sessionists:

War of Rebellion, Series II, Vol VII, p 717

Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, Office of Provost

Marshal-General, Saint Louis, Mo., September 3, 1864

Major: I forward herewith additional reports and statements for your information in relation to the Order of American Knights,....

....J.P. Sanderson

Provost-Marshal General

Inclosures A ...Hamilton, Butler County, Ohio, June 19, 1864

~~Sixxxxxxhave~~

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that in obedience to your instructions I left Cincinnati, Ohio, on yesterday and arrived here in the evening, stopping at the Straub House

After having written to you yesterday I resolved to make John H. McCormick "prove his faith by his works." About 3 p.m. yesterday I called on him, told him I got it all arranged to get my men (for the rebel army) into Kentucky, but that I needed a little money. He asked me how much I needed. I was afraid he would flinch and make it only \$5 or \$10. He threw out a \$10 greenback, remarking as he replaced his pocketbook..."\$2,000 would not replace the money that has come out of this old book in cases of this kind." The last time I gave \$120. But what is money. This cause must be supported then. I think I have full confidence. When a rebel gives you money it is an evidence of confidence..

..When I was ready to leave Cincinnati I presented my pass (signed by Colonel Parsons) to the general ticket agent on Vine, between Third and Fourth streets, for military tickets to Detroit. He said I should apply to the depot agent. When I got there he would not exchange it to Saint Louis. As there were many standing by I would

press the case and become conspicuous.

I took seat in the train, trusting to the conductor. Now all these conductors in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois are rotten copperheads generally...if I am exposed in such manner I am rendered impotent.

My first proselyte is a busy, ambitious local politician named James Shears. I met him at my hotel. He recognized me according to the Indiana standard. He said strangers have to make the advance. He inquired particularly if we have State organization in Missouri.

He introduced me to Mr. Long, "all right" editor or proprietor of the German newspaper here. They say the Germans are not as sound "peace Democrats" as they might be. Got acquainted with James McBride, a man of excellent family and a strong Democrat, but not of much influence. Shears

Shears estimates the strength of at present of the organization at 108,000 in Ohio; says they could add 60,000 more to this, but are afraid to trust them yet. They would assist in any difficulty if their services were required. They are increasing daily. They meet once a week, Saturday night, but initiate men day and night at private houses, sending off the women and children during the ceremony. Things seem hot here. Shears says they expected battle the day Val. was here. When he (S) left his home that day he did not expect soon to return.; told his wife to seize package of private papers if the ball opened; but to let everything else go. If V had been disturbed the plan was to kill as many of the leading Republicans here as possible and set fire to the town. This evening I was introduced to Doctor Garver and Squire David Forlough, leading members of the organization.

Hamilton, Butler County, Ohio, June 20, 1864

Col. J.P. Sanderson: Sir, I have the honor to continue my statement of yesterday. Shears say they have so many members in each township. They have men traveling and men continually on the lookout.

He thinks that a day will soon be designated on which all the States will notify the President that if members of this organization now in arrest are not released that hostages will be taken, property destroyed and revolution begun. Says this is the only method to avert civil arrests. He says they were all splendidly armed the day 'allandigham was here at the convention. They expected bloodshed and had determined to destroy the leading abolitionists and burn their property. He has ever wished to return but his friends dissuaded him. In March last at Columbus the Democratic convention would not nominate him as delegate at large for the State for fear he would come home and involve himself and friends in trouble.

This morning I visited the saloon and billiard room kept by Doctor Carver near the Butler House, the latter Democratic headquarters. ... The doctor invited me to call this mornin' ... I was introduced to a number of the "brethren," among them the mayor of the city, the city marshal, the former named Longfellow, the latter Galloway, and also to Captain Wilson, formerly in Federal Army but now a bitter rebel. From him, and he knows all about it, past, present and future, I have gained at last the true object of this secret organization. Apart from the side issues, all of which are only auxiliaries and tend to the same point, the great object is a Northwest or "western confederacy. That is it. That is the aim and object, nothing more and nothing less.

Wilson says they have now the spirit and have only to clothe it with "flesh and blood." He intimated to me that this confederacy has now a "provisional government," all its officers, departments, bureaus etc. in secret operation and only waiting for a proper time to proclaim itself to the world. But unless driven to it they think the time has not yet arrived.

The nation has not exhausted herself sufficiently .

The rebellion must be protracted, the money depreciated more, discontent and anarchy get a wider range, the Army become less powerful, confidence destroyed, then is this new confederacy to spring up as if by magic.

This ~~xxx~~ is their hope and their idol. They are satisfied that the South will yet be recognized. They say encouragement to the South is aid to this new confederacy.

They all urge retaliation toward the Government. If one of their men is arrested take the life and destroy the property of leading abolitionists. But at this time they do not wish to be the aggressors; they court persecution. Say it will make them a cause. But they must have "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Was introduced to Mr. Troutman, the "senior of the council." He is the big gun. He is a grave, quiet, ~~simple~~ sensible man. He confirms the above. He is V's particular friend. He had visited him at Windsor, Canada. He says V. has already received from his friends in Ohio \$100,000. He says the Democrats are poor and the Abolitionists shall be so yet.

Every day discontent is growing. The last army has been raised.

As long as Enquirer is barred from Kentucky no other Cincinnati papers are to be brought here. The True Telegraph is the rebel paper here. They are all proud of Illinois. Her organization is perfect. Val. is to remain quiet until after Chicago convention. His friends are afraid to invite him home sooner. But when he has come they intend to protect him. E.F.H.

Hamilton, Butler County, Ohio, June 21, 1864

Col. J.P.S. etc.

..not having had the advantage of regular tutoring in this secret order I miss many things in communicating with my brethren. Of course they detect my imperfections and it creates distrust. This I have to overcome by arguing that it is done so and so where I hail from. But many things have changed recently, though the old principles are the same, here as in Missouri, Kentucky and Indiana.

To show you its identity I will quote Doctor Garver's language when he introduced me to Troutman: Said he: "Mr. H--n is from the West traveling east." "What are you looking for?" said T. I told him, "Truth." You cannot fail to recollect that where the language is to be found.

Mr. T. says that Mr. Evelin of Indiana, an old political friend of Vallandigham's, who had just returned from a visit to him at Windsor, Canada, and who was present at this Hamilton convention--present by request of V to aid him in procuring the nomination--and who was entirely ignorant of his advent, was more surprised than any one else at the convention. Troutman went home with Vallandigham.

Troutman is ex-postmaster. He told me there must be a separation of the East and West; says they are a distinct people, as much as those of the North and South; that the East monopolizes all the patronage of the Government, imposes unjust things upon the West, and

finally will aim to saddle the greater portion of this war debt upon her (Western) people. To avert these evils there must be a separation of East and West. That is the true object of the order.

When Vallandigham was prisoner in Cincinnati, Troutman had his rescue all planned and ready for execution, but V. dispatched to him and requested him to desist. He told me all about it.

Troutman has all the recent Southern publication, told me how he had discouraged enlistments etc. and that the Administration would never raise another army. All the sympathy they affect at loss of men in battle is to discourage enlistments. How they rejoice at the advance of gold. They gloat over any reverse of our Government, saying that as soon as she becomes feeble enough, paralyzed from defeat and bankrupt in means, then this new confederacy is to be put in motion. They hope the time is not far distant.

I managed to have him advise me to go and see Vallandigham while so near him. He and others say the Administration is afraid to disturb V. How this pleases them. They speak of it as a "blank movement."

I was introduced to Mr. McInnis, a lawyer and a "butternut," here today. He wondered to me why Missourians allowed Jim Lane to pass through their state without assassinating him on the first attempt.

He and all the men of this order here have a very poor opinion of the Democracy of Cincinnati. They say that their money alone is their god and not principle. This I believe is somewhat true. These people here seem honest and fervent. They are hospitable and true to one another. If they dreamed for one moment that I was a wolf or a bogus member never would I leave Hamilton alive. Of this I am most confident. ... They are veterans in tricks and chicanery. They have practiced all the arts of villany upon me, but I am on the alert. Their full confidence is what I am after and I must wait for the reaction.

I hope for much from Shears. He is mine.

I have written to you da ly since here, but they have tracked me too c osely to trust the litters in the hands of rotten butternut postm-masters. ...We must adopt a better plan for the future. The present is too dangerous. Once detected and ever State will repudiate me, and my life would not be worth one fig. I know these people . They are desperate.

E.F.H.

Hamilton, Butler County Ohio, June 22,
1864

Col. J.P. Sanderson Saint Louis Mo:

..In my operations at each point where I have been I have fortunately touched the right men first. For instance (and it is trange) I have only to notice Thornton at Louisville, Lewis at Indianapolis, Wiehl at Cincinnati and Shears at Hamilton. They are all men who pleased me before I approached them and have been my base of opetations.

.. the name of the organization has been changed. Its proper name now is Sons of Liberty. The position for recognition and for passing the guardians at the council rooms have been modifie. He gave me the password forthe first guardian which is used in this state. The parent council is at Columbus, Ohio, with branches in each country in the State. There is a higher and more secret part of it than is known to any but leaders. He told me that I could not get in w thout going to Columbus for it. Said the password for the third degree would cost me \$3; but I have all that they have here.

I am now pretty well convinced that they will make no effort at revolution yet if they are left without excuse. If the could elect the nominee of the Chicago Convention it might appease them; i they fail they will be no revolution. Or if anything should transpire to afford them an excuse , or make their cause appear a just one, then they will

muster their forces for revolution and a Northwestern or Western confederacy. They are not ready yet.

I was introduced today to Judge Vance, also to Mr. Dalton, clerk, county ~~clerk~~ court, and to a Charles Snyder, an old citizen and man of influence. These are all leading butternuts in Butler county. Dalton is an Irishman and Roman Catholic. He spoke very disrespectfully of General Rosecrans and says: "Vallandigham is not radical (rebel) enough for me. He says he quarreled a short time since with the Archbishop of Cincinnati on account of politics. Vance is a dangerous traitor. Snyder is old but very popular. I was also introduced to Mr. McClellan of Cincinnati and Dr. John S. Garver, who says he, M, is a great butternut.

.. They say Butler County is the South Carolina of the North.

I am etc. E.F.H.

Dayton, Ohio, June 23, 1864

Col. J.P. Sanderson etc.

I have completed the object of my mission at Hamilton, Ohio and left that point this afternoon and came here, stopping at the Phillips House. Fearing detection from persons on the train besides the conductor I did not present my transportation but paid my fare in money.

I ..procuring a letter of introduction to Vallandigham. I succeeded today. The following is a literal copy of it:

Hamilton June 23,

Hon C.L. Vallandigham: Dear sir: The bearer, Mr. Edward F. Hoffman desires an interview with you. He is a resident of Missouri and is well posted. Any favor shown him will confer a favor on your friends

J. Troutman, John S. Garver.

...I succeeded before leaving Hamilton in eliciting the name of the chief of the organization in Ohio. His name is Massey and he

a son in law of Sam Medary and resides in Columbus, Ohio. T. Troutman is head of the Butler County organization. Garver travels to proselyte for the order.

The Hamilton men say Cincinnati Democrats (Democrat is only a loyal word for rebel) are all for greenbacks and have no principals. Vallandigham (Excerpt from the Hamilton, Ohio, True Telegraph of today

How false we have ~~xxxx~~ been in the paramount duty of a free people the protractate exile of a champion of the people will attest. For more than a year he has waited among strangers for his own countrymen to do him justice. He has at last returned, not like Coriolanus, with an armed host to retaliate upon injustice, but simply to vindicate by his presence the liberties that in his person have been wronged. We hope that the patriots throughout the land will assemble and pledge themselves, like the Democrats of Illinois, to stand by Ohio in protecting Clement L. Vallandigham under the Constitution and the laws.

The next one is from the Enquirer. It is for disorganization and discontent, one of the obligations of the order.

Grant commenced his march toward Richmond about the 8th of May, making fifty-eight days. In that time has lost in battle and by sickness 100,000 men. This is an average of 1,700 daily. Seventeen hundred men slaughtered every day. Just think of it ye war men. Each day, when there is no engagement the rebel sharpshooters killed 400 of our men. A few days since we lost 8,000 men in endeavoring to storm the rebel works before Richmond. How long can we continue the war at this rate?

Another one:

More drafts; more blood to be called for. We have rumors to the effect that we are to have more drafts for 200,000 men. We do not know whether these sensation rumors will come true or not....already 2,400,000 have placed their lives in the hands of those in power to be placed upon the altar of the abolition idol...where is your habaas corpus, where is your bill of rights. You have lost both of them.... Let the people, 500,000 strong, speak petition in a peaceable way those in power to hear their voices.

Nobody has any objection to Mr. Lincoln and his subordinates serving out the time for which they were elected, but there are insuperable objections to having all the people killed and the nation bankrupted in order to free a few negroes..

Dayton Ohio, June 24, 1864

...today I have been preparing myself for conflict, to compete with so wily a foe as Vallandigham requires no ordinary skill...

...between 4 and 5 p.m. today I called at his residence No. 323 North First Street between Ludlow and Wilkinson sts. It is a neat unostentatious, lead-colored brick with metallic portico and small tastefully ornamental lawn in front. I rang the door bell but all was closed in front and I stood waiting to be received. ...the door... the government's agents have been here before...and is to remain as they design, a monument to one who suffered martyrdom for the right of free speech and personal liberty. It is much hacked and battered and also much shivered and cracked. In vain I rang the bell...

About 8 p.m. I called again. All was quiet as the grave. Other houses were illuminated but this one was dark yet. Mrs. V. answered the bell and conducted me to the parlor. I gave my letter to her expecting that he would not appear unless satisfied with me first. I found a number of men in the parlor busily engaged in low conversation but it was impossible to see them. They left before the gas was lit. V. retired from the room to peruse my letter and was absent about a quarter of an hour. He was scrutinizing it closely. He returned, lit up the parlor, shook me cordially by the hand and sat down for conversation. I told him with great blarney that when a man became so renowned as he was that he became public property; that like thousands of others I had called on him merely out of courtesy.

He gave me his route through the South and told me that before he

Cincinnati in 1863 he had engaged rooms at the Clifton House, Canada and arrived there 12 days sooner than he had expected. He spoke in bitter terms of the Administration and preferred Fremont to Lincoln. His wife was present as well as his son, a boy ten years old. Mrs. V. said she had spent much of her time with him in Canada. She said she had been deceived so often by the military and others that she did not believe that he was in the State, when notified from Hamilton until she saw him. He seemed in fine spirits and much inflated by his success. He introduced me to a ~~gentle~~ gentleman named McMahon who came in with some ladies and who seemed to be entirely at home. V. called him John. Mrs. V. several times stopped her husband in conversation and seemed quite cautious. He requested me to call on him again.

The following is published defiantly by the Cincinnati Enquirer.

E.F.H.

The Old Order for Vallandigham's Banishment

The reader will find below a true copy of the President's decree of banishment against Mr. Vallandigham. It possesses interest besides a real historical value.

U.S. Military Telegraph, May 19, 1863

Cipher--By telegraph from Washington 9:40 p.m. 1863

Major-General Burnside, commanding Department of Ohio:

Sir: The president directs that, without delay, you send C.L. Vallandigham under secure guard, to the headquarters of General Rosecrans to be put by him beyond our military lines, and in case of his return within our lines to be arrested and kept in close custody for the terms specified in his sentence. By order of the President. Ed. R.S. Canby,

Brigadier-General and Assistant Adjutant General..

Dayton Ohio June 26, 1864

to Anderson: This is the Sabbath and I have done nothing..I have been round a little on the 24th and fancied I have found the haunt of the rebels ...their held their weekly meeting last night...Their meeting place is in the Cooper House, a saloon restaurant and gambling house combined. on Main street south of the Phillips House kept by a German named J.V. ~~Nauert~~ Nauerth....the Cooper House is an excellent place for such meetings. The room over the saloon is carpeted and is used ostensibly for a gambling house. I was in it. There are but three or four tables in it and not over a dozen chairs... The Sons of Liberty meet on Saturday night at the Cooper House, Dayton Ohio...

June 27, 1864

Called On V..again..a little boy came from a side door, conducted me to a kind of porch. As I sat there numbers of men passed out of a back room and went to the street. Presently Mrs. V..she seemed very cordial, said her husband was busy writing, questioned me sharply where I was raised and resided. She was raised in Maryland and I only born there. I will call for letter, leaving for Detroit. This is only to procure letters from him, when sickness will detain me here until ready to leave for Saint Louis. I think he will dodge by saying he knows no one there. I can assure you this man is busy as a beaver. He is at work hard. .. and censure his party, the Butternuts,

When Val spoke here he told the "epublicans that if they ~~addded~~ advocated his arrest, and he was rearrested, he would "hold their lives and property responsible for the same."...

E.F.H.

June 28

Saw Nauerth again.. I told him I thought there would soon be a Northwestern confederacy. He said he thought so too..saw an old butternut named Samuel Shinn who resides near "Winchester, Ind.

...These arms were principally purchased in Cincinnati after Burnside had prohibited the sale of arms. they were brought secretly as dry goods by a merchant~~x~~ who resides there (Near Mount Carmel, Ind) whose name is Fogle, who would have them secretly boxed and hauled hom in his wagon. Rowe's brother bought and secreted kegs of powder. Their object wa to resist draft and rescue deserters

Dayton, Ohio, June 29, 1864

(Article from today's Cincinnati Daily Commercial.

The Sons of Liberty

A secret order styled "The Sons of Liberty" exists in Indiana and probably o other western states not dissimilar in its character and object to the knights of the Golden Circle. The Indianapolis Journal says the members of x this order were advised that Morgan would be in Kentucky and Vandallidham in Hamilton on or about the 14th of June. It was through information furnished by members of the order that Governor Bramlette of Kentucky was appraised of Morgan's intended raid and attack upon Frankfort. The rumor that there collusion between the friends of Vallandigham and Morgan seems possible. The Indianapolis Journal asserts it positively, and in the letter of Governor Bramlette which we append significant allusion is made to it. It would seem strange in deed that the Sons of Liberty should be advised of the simultaneous raids of the Canadian and Kentucky Confederates unless a common understanding was had between the two traitors and concerted action determined upon, if Morgan was able to carry out his programme. That they were so advised is evident from the fact that certain of their number ~~admonished~~ admonished Governor Morton beforehand, who in turn advised Governor Bramlette of the approaching danger in time for him to provide for it.

The great haunt of rebels here is at the Farmers' and Mechanics' Hotel, on Second between Main and Ludlow streets. How they rejoiced over Sherman's disaster.

Hydex 32 June 30, 1864

...today there were over 100 in the meeting tonight.

The two leading men are Tom Thrasher and John A. McMahon, a brother-in-law of M. Val.

The objective of the meeting was for cooperation in resisting the draft under the approaching call, or to devise means to overawe the government from enforcing it, or repealing the communication clause.

(other daily letters, similar trend)