1935

Camp Morton

Hattie L. Winslow

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CAMP MORTON

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
Department of History

Division of Graduate Instruction
Butler University
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1935
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Charles Culley, 1303 Keystone Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. Assistant sewer engineer when Morton Place was platted and the sewers laid. The city, and the place was shortly Major David I. McCormick, 3309 East New York St., Indianapolis, Ind. Formerly Superintendent of the Indiana Battle Flags Commission.

This splendid grove of thirty-five acres, once at the "Elks Grove", had been used as a fair grounds only one year, and existing practically that is shown today as Morton Place, between twenty-second street on the north, nineteenth street on the south, Central Avenue on the east, and Raboldt Avenue on the west. With the exception of a few farm fences there are the residences north of 11th street, the...
The day after Fort Sumter was fired on, groups of men in the mercantile district of Indianapolis gathered to talk war instead of business. A mass meeting in the court house ad­journed to the old Metropolitan theatre for additional room, then overflowed to the Masonic Hall across the street. Two days later, immediately after President Lincoln's proclama­tion, April 15, 1861, Governor Morton, Indiana's war governor, summoned Lew Wallace to assume the duties of Adjutant gener­al, and since Indianapolis had been designated as the place of rendezvous for troops, the two men visited different points in the neighborhood of the capitol to select a camp. They secured the fair Grounds of the Indiana State Board of Agriculture, situated about a mile and a half from Washing­ton street north of the city, and the place was shortly named Camp Morton in honor of the governor.

This splendid grove of thirty-five acres, known as the "Otis Grove", had been used as a fair ground only one year, and occupied practically what is known today as Morton Place, between twenty-second street on the north, nineteenth street on the south, central avenue on the east, and talbott avenue on the west. With the exception of a few farm houses there were then no residences north of st. clair street. The

2. Indianapolis City Directory, 1861, pp. 47-49.
3. Jacob Flatt Dunn, Greater Indianapolis, p. 348.
plot was on high land, shaded with native forest trees, and supplied with water by a number of good wells. Across the west end was the old State Ditch, referred to sometimes as a "running stream", which the prisoners later christened "The Potomac". In February 1837, the Assembly had appointed commissioners to drain the swamp north-east of town, which discharged its waters by two canals through the place. They cut a ditch which ran south of the Camp Morton location from what is now Central Avenue along Nineteenth Street to a point a little beyond Alabama Street, where it turned north through the camp, then west to Fall Creek; and it remained there until the nineties, when the camp site was platted for a residence section and the city sewer system replaced the ditch. It was of irregular depth, from sixteen to eighteen feet wide, and bridged in at least two or three places in the enclosure. There were times of flood when the water was deep and had considerable current, but for the greater part of the year it was waterless.

The accompanying sketch of the fair grounds in 1861 shows the location of the various buildings. Along nearly the whole north side were two hundred stalls for horses; at the west end were two hundred and fifty cattle stalls with sheep and hog pens adjoining, all substantially built and well covered. There were halls for the exhibition of machinery.

3. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Apr.23,1861.
William H.Cooper, Indianapolis, Personal Interview.
View of State Fair Grounds, with Explanations.

AA—Horse Stalls.
B—Race Course, Jumps.
C—Pavilions.
D—Committee House.
E—Farm Products Hall.
F—Fine Arts Hall.
G—Dining Hall.
H—Ticket Office.
I—Floral Tent.
J—Miscellaneous Tent.
K—Mechanics’ Hall.
L—Power Hall.
M—Secretary’s Office.
N—Treasurer’s Office.
O—Ditch.
P—Cattle Pens.
Q—Swine and Hog Pens.
R—Carriage Driveway.
S—Men’s Restroom.
X—Ladies’ Dressing Room.
ery, domestic manufactures, and farm products; a large din-
ing room near the east end; and a two-story committee house
about the center of the grounds. In preparation for the
soldiers, these buildings, intended for the fair, were quick-
ly converted into quarters.

The secretary's office near the carriage entrance was
headquarters, with Colonel Reynolds in charge; the first
floor of the committee house was the quartermaster's office;
the second floor was the medical inspector's quarters under
Dr. John S. Bobbs; the large dining hall with its latticed
sides was the commissary's store where food was dispensed to
the men on requisition of company officers; the treasurer's
office was the guard house; and the power hall was enclosed
and fitted as a hospital with Dr. Jamason and Dr. Kitchen as
camp surgeons, assisted by Dr. Fletcher. The remaining halls
were thoroughly enclosed and bunks fitted into them, but as
they were insufficient to accommodate more than two thousand,
other barracks were constructed out of the stock stalls which
were whitewashed inside and out. The double row of cattle
stalls on the west side were filled, six men to a stall, with
fires for cooking in front. Here all kinds of signs were
tacked up over the compartments as the humor of the men sug-
gested, such as "Bates House", "Burnett House", "Washing and
Ironing", "Dressmaking", and "Hair Dressing". The horse
stalls along the north side were similarly occupied but
showed less evidence of a taste for business. New sheds

1. Indianapolis City Directory, 1861, pp. 47-49.
were erected across the east end of the enclosure, on the south side, and along the State ditch on the west, so that by the last of April there were quarters for about five or six thousand men.

These sheds, like the stock stalls, were enclosed with boards ten or twelve inches wide, set on end, and the cracks covered with strips which some of the prisoners claimed later shrunk and warped until they did not keep out the snow and rain. They were thirty by eighty feet, ten feet to the eaves, fifteen feet to the middle of the roof, and along the comb an open space about a foot and a half wide extended the entire length of the building. Along each side, extending seven feet toward the center, were constructed four tiers of bunks, the lowest about four feet from the ground which served as a floor, the second three feet above this, the third three feet higher, while the fourth was on a level with the eaves.

Upon these long shelves, not partitioned off, the Indiana soldiers, and later, the prisoners, slept, heads toward the wall and feet toward the center of the passage way. About two feet of space was allotted to each man, making about three hundred and twenty men housed in each of these barracks. Long tables in the center were used for serving rations, and the entrance was through a barn door at each end where the ground floor doubtless became very muddy in rainy weather. The roofs were of shingles and water tight but when a heavy rain came ditch-

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Apr. 23, 1861; Apr. 24, 1861.
3. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Apr. 23, 1861.
4. 1861, Apr. 23, 1861.
es were dug to turn the water away from the sheds. Each company was quartered by itself, with a signboard to denote its name, and six men were detailed for cooking and washing dishes and six others for guard duty. The gates were strictly guarded and the entire camp was enclosed by a tight board fence ten or twelve feet high with guards stationed every twenty paces.

The first troops to enter Camp Morton, April 17, 1861, were the local companies. Early in the morning the Independent Zouaves, the Zouave Guards, and the Marion Artillery paraded through the streets lined with crowds, before marching to the rendezvous. Governor Morton had called for six regiments and throngs streamed into the city from every part of the state, were mustered in at the State House, and then marched to Camp Morton where they were saluted by the Artillery Squad. The oath was administered to the companies as they arrived, but the regular muster and acceptance by the government was held at the camp after the companies were organized on the basis laid down in orders from Washington.

By the twenty-first of April the camp was overflowing; many tents supplemented the barracks and stalls, and it became necessary to divide the troops, though Camp Morton remained the principal station. The Zouave Regiment, or Eleventh Indiana, of special interest because of its famous colonel, Lew Wallace, who resigned his adjutant's position to lead his regi-

1. Indiana Daily Sentinel, Apr. 29, 1861.
2. Indianapolis News, May 18, 1914. (Based on letter of E. Bamberger, Apr., 1861).
3. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Apr. 18, 1861.
4. Ibid., Apr. 22, 1861.
ment, was moved to the old Bellefontaine car shop. Throughout the summer and autumn there was continued activity of troops coming and going. There were two Irish regiments, a German Regiment, a Railroad Regiment, and a Mechanic's Regiment, besides the regular units. My June the crowded condition was creating a health problem and as fast as a regiment was needed the houses inside the camp became a study. A tent was formed and supplied with tents it was moved outside the camp into new quarters, giving more room and air to those remaining. The Mechanic's Regiment under Colonel Streight conceived the idea of warming their tents when the chilly November days came, by digging a trench where the tent was to be erected, some feet longer than the diameter of the tent, and who were following the fire in their tent, set the wood covering it with stones, then with earth. At one end they dug a huge square hole as a furnace mouth where they built their fire, and the smoke, escaping through a chimney at the other end, warmed the earth. It held heat for twenty-four hours and left the tent clear of smoke with no danger of fire.

Many office seekers circulated about the camp "buttonholing" the captains for positions as field officers; the pressure into a fever, in his hurry to halt them, shouted "Down for military appointments at the State House was so great that "break, down, break!" Another story concerned an enthusiastic the governor set certain hours for these interviews so he could have time for other business; and when it was reported that governor Morton would have carpenters cut an additional door from his room into the lobby as an exit for those seeking appointments, the "Sentinel", the democratic organ of the

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Apr. 28, 1861.
state, remarked that that would be one act of his during the war they could heartily approve of.

During those first days drilling was confined to squads and companies because of the trees; later a drill ground was acquired just south of the camp. Subordinate officers knew little or nothing of military rules or discipline, and almost every secluded spot near Camp Morton became a study. Captains who had had no experience and who found the work most difficult and unfamiliar pleaded with the experienced officers to be patient. "Privates were often not more ignorant than their officers; yet being more numerous, were the butt of many a good natural jest, especially the strapping farmer youths who were following the plow in their bare feet when the war summons came, and joined the ranks unshod. It was said that the technical terms 'right and left' were entirely above their comprehension and it was necessary to substitute the familiar words 'gee and haw'."

Farmer boys were not the only ones ridiculed. The story was told of a captain, lately a railroad conductor, who, seeing that his squad were in the act of marching into a fence, in his hurry to halt them, shouted, "Down brakes! Down brakes!" Another story concerned an enthusiastic captain who was showing the evolutions of his corps to some ladies at the camp. His commanding officer had given the order to the whole regiment to halt, and the captain, a little

1. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Apr. 27, 1861.
2. Catharine Merrill, The Soldier of Indiana, p. 16, in Indiana and the War, III.
deaf, and talking with the ladies, didn’t understand, but as soon as he realized the state of the case he hallooed, “Whoa! Whoa!” and brought his gallant soldiers upstanding immediately.

The camp became the center of attraction for the whole city and state, and roads leading to it were thronged with vehicles of all kinds, private and public. It became the fashionable drive, and men and women braved the deep dust every hour of the day to reach it. Transportation was so heavy that the hack business between the city and Camp Morton became a thriving enterprise and carriages from neighboring towns came to share in the profits to be made. "A dime" was the ruling price charged for the ride, and a license fee of twenty dollars was paid the city treasurer.

Sunday was a particularly popular day for visitors. April 21, 1861, it was estimated that there were over fifteen thousand on the ground, including the troops then numbering over five thousand. In addition to the excitement and confusion of ten thousand visitors, the regular week day camp activity of the volunteers and three hundred extra laborers had to be continued. There was no evidence of Sunday except for religious exercises in the afternoon. Old and young were attracted by the variety of work in camp with teams busily engaged in loading wood, straw, clothing, provisions, and various

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Nov. 4, 1861.
2. Ibid., Apr. 23, 1861.
camp supplies; carpenters using saws and hammers in fitting wooden stalls for sleeping booths; the commissary department receiving and dealing out provisions; the quartermaster general and aids busy at all moments issuing orders for arrangements for the comfort of the soldiers; the mustering officer making his examination of companies and swearing them into service; the drill sergeants exercising squads all over the ground in various evolutions required by troops; every one busy from highest in command to the newest and rawest recruits and evidencing buoyant spirits while engaging in all kinds of tasks. There was such a crowd that the next Sunday the camp was closed to citizens and no passes were granted except in cases of emergency. The men enjoyed the much needed quiet Sabbath for their bunks were small and they had, at least partly, to bathe and dress in the open. But religious services were again held in the afternoon.

That same week before the visitors were excluded it was rumored that Stephen A. Douglas would speak at Camp Morton. The legislature, being in special session, organized, then adjourned, and marched out in a body preceded by the National Guard band. For some reason there was no speech but there were such crowds that Mr. Douglas couldn't get even a glance at the buildings and had to slip out the side gate to rejoin his party. Guards at the entrances felt the pockets of all male visitors as no liquor was allowed in camp. The next day after Douglas' visit there was great excitement because of a

1. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Apr. 22, 1861.
2. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Apr. 27, 1861.
report that the drinking water had been poisoned and that a pedlar had sold poisoned oranges. The pedlar's stand was raided and thirty or forty dollars worth of fruit trampled in the dust when Dr. Fletcher coolly ate one of the oranges to prove the rumor false. Men were then stationed at the wells to prevent any tampering with the water, and the discipline was tightened with increased guards.

But in spite of all the emergency activity, the visitors, and the confusion there seems to have been very little disorder, and after ten o'clock every thing was quiet. Patrols were out in all parts of the camp with muskets and fixed bayonets and anyone found out without a good excuse was at once taken to the guard house. The routine of the day was in accordance with the government regulations, and the various Calls were:

1. Reveille—-------- 6 A.M. 7. Dinner-------- 12 A.M.
2. Police Call-------- 6 1/2 A.M. 8. Drill-------- 3 P.M.
3. Breakfast--------- 7 A.M. 9. Parade-------- 5 P.M.
4. Guard Mounting---- 8 A.M. 10. Supper-------- 6 P.M.
5. Drill------------ 8 1/2 A.M. 11. Tattoo-------- 9 P.M.
6. Drill------------ 11 A.M. 12. Camps-------- 10 P.M.

The latter part of April a sub-station post office was established at the camp with J.F. Dougherty as postmaster. Letters written by the troops were received and placed in the post office in the city, and letters and papers were delivered. About two hundred letters were distributed in the four deliveries.
ies each day and about the same number were mailed. By the middle of May business had increased and a post office, named Camp Morton, was established with J.O. Donohue as postmaster, so that mail could be sent direct.

The soldiers had their recreation too; rather rough play but productive of much amusement. One thing they liked was a Sons of Malta initiation. They had a large tent cloth which they spread on the ground and woe to the unfortunate man who walked on it. Hardly had his feet touched it until it was caught up by a score or so of lusty arms, and the unsuspecting comrade was tossed high in the air and fell back on the cloth only to be thrown up again. Stories of incidents of camp life went the rounds. One such concerned a provident young volunteer who had a squad of goslings quartered near his tent and when asked what he intended doing with them answered that he did not like straw pillows and as he had to serve, he was going to supply himself with feathers. Occasionally some activity among the commissioned officers attracted attention. One captain Moreau seems to have been very popular during the autumn months of that first year and entertained a number of his friends with a military festival at his quarters. Usually dinner at officer's quarters meant beans and salt pork, but Moreau, who was a relative of the celebrated Marshall Moreau of France,—the rival of Napoleon and the conqueror of Hohenlinden,—provided a real dinner with oysters and champagne, and thereby created considerable comment. Then there were the

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1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, May 16, 1861.
3. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, June 1, 1861.
religious services planned by the various denominations of the city. Frequently there were both morning and afternoon meetings, and after supper the men would gather in groups of three or four hundred to sing together.

One of the very active agencies in aiding in the equipment of these early volunteers was the Ladies Patriotic Association organized by Mrs. Morton, its president. They offered their services at the very beginning and often met at the governor’s mansion. One Saturday over two hundred dollars worth of flannel was made into garments by a group working there. Later they made havelocks, furnished many sheets, pillow cases, towels and shirts for the hospital when an epidemic of measles made extra demands, and aided in collecting quilts, blankets, and comforts which flowed in a stream of express wagons to Camp Morton. On October 10, Governor Morton appealed to the women to furnish blankets, socks, gloves and mittens, and woollen shirts and drawers, and by November 13, it was announced that tons had been received and nothing more was wanted except gloves and mittens. Other appeals were made to Patriotic Societies throughout the state and supplies of all kinds came in from generous citizens. Articles acceptable were salt pork and beef, flour, sugar, and rice in barrels; white beans, dried apples or peaches, in barrels or sacks; crackers in barrels; hard soap, tallow or star candles, in boxes; bacon in barrels, casks or boxes.

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Sept. 10, 1861.
4. Jacob Piatt Dunn, Greater Indianapolis, I, 34.
5. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Apr. 22, 1861.
The uniforms of the first troops were varied. Two regiments were clothed in cadet satinet costing $7.90 each; one in jeans at $6.50 each, another at $7.50 each. The Fifth Regiment had grey satinet at $6.75 and the famous Zouaves were gay in $10.00 uniforms. Flannel shirts cost $1.40 each and shoes $1.75 a pair. Later, officials insisted that breeches and roundabouts should be all wool.

The health of the volunteers was remarkably good. In April, 1861, adjutant-general Wallace requested Mrs. Kitchen and Jameson to take charge of the sick among the troops and to provide suitable hospital accommodations. They adopted the system of a receiving hospital, located in the old power hall, where a surgeon’s call was held at a certain time each day. All minor cases were examined and prescribed for in camp, while those of a serious nature were sent by ambulance to the city hospital, which had just been completed but not occupied when taken possession of by Governor Morton, or to boarding houses.

In May, out of six or seven thousand troops in and about Camp Morton, but fifteen cases were in the hands of the physicians, though about one hundred and fifty prescriptions were made daily for diarrhea, colds, and trifling complaints. From time to time during that summer of 1861 the newspapers mention the good health of the volunteers.

When the first death at Camp Morton occurred the members of the legislature made contributions for the purchase of a lot in which volunteers dying in camp were to be buried unless...

1. Jacob Platé Dunn, Great Indianopolis, I,122.
3. Indianapolis Daily Journal, May 1, 1861.
friends and relatives desired otherwise.

There seems to have been a never-ending complaint about rations, and it was not all from the prisoners later, for it began within two weeks after the camp was established. April 29, the soldiers requested the newspapers to call the attention of the commissary department to the fact that rations had been materially reduced and that the food was not sufficient. Others thought the food, though of necessity not luxurious, was of good quality, substantial, and abundant. Isaiah Mansur was appointed commissary general, April 15, 1861, and at once proceeded to furnish supplies for the thousands of troops coming into the capitol in response to the president's first call. No supplies were on hand, all had to be purchased, and without the commissary general having time to arrange the details of his department, study regulations, make contracts, or learn any of the intricate duties of his position, he was required to feed a horde of raw and untrained men. Since they were from homes of plenty, unacquainted with military service and inexperienced in camp cooking and camp economy, the governor and Mr. Mansur thought best to issue extra food to the troops instead of confining them to the regular army rations. Therefore the state rations were increased in quantity and extras were added consisting of potatoes, pepper, dried fruit, onions, and other antiscorbutics. The following table is a comparison of the

2. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Apr. 29, 1861.
army rations for each 100 men and the rations furnished by the commissary department in an effort to satisfy the men.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Army Rations</th>
<th>Rations Furnished by the Commissary Dept.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pork</td>
<td>75 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Beef</td>
<td>125 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>112 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Hard Bread</td>
<td>100 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>3 qts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Rice</td>
<td>10 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>6 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>12 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinegar</td>
<td>1 gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles</td>
<td>15 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>4 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>2 qts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>100 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>1 lb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried fruit</td>
<td>1½ bu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onions</td>
<td>3 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickles and other antiscorbutics</td>
<td>no special amount.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The state desired to feed the men well and they were well fed; but they knew nothing of army life and were imperious and exacting. The meat was too salt, the dried apples wormy, the beans unsound, and it was suspected that all of this was the result of the commissary's desire to put money in his pocket at their expense. Then it was discovered that the ground coffee was adulterated with burnt beans, and the excitement ran so high that the legislature, then in extra session, appointed an investigating committee. Citizens were angry that the poor boys "should be put off with anything less than the fat or the land afforded". Soon boxes of roasted fowl, baked hams, fresh butter and eggs, pound cakes, preserves, jellies, pickles, and all manner of delicacies came to favorites from all quarters, and many mess tables presented the appearance of a grand

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\(^1\) Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861, Special Session, pp. 213-214.
old-fashioned barbecue than of the frugal fare eked out to soldiers in accordance with regulations. It is related of a good mother who resided in one of the townships of Marion County, and who had a 'pet' son in the eleventh regiment, that she sent a jug of cream to her young Napoleon for his coffee, and that during its transit it churned itself into delicious butter-milk, which was as heartily relished on its arrival in camp as the cream would have been. At the same time the provisions furnished by the commissary were, as a general thing, of first quality and delivered in such abundance that few of the men could possibly consume what was issued them. In addition, fruits, pies, and other foods could be procured from sutler's stands and hawkers about the camp. It was no uncommon thing to see soldiers pelting one another with leaves of bread, or with potatoes or pieces of bacon.

The plan for more generous allowances was not always complied with, however, and there were many well-founded complaints of short rations because of the favoritism shown by employees of the commissary without the knowledge of their superiors, and carelessness on the part of officers. As a general thing those companies fared best whose officers were the most careful and attentive to the wants of their men and much trouble could have been avoided by greater care of officers to their company's needs.

and sixteen ounce packages for convenience in distributing, but, though the twelve ounce packages were counted at actual weight, the fourteen ounce packages were counted as one pound, however, it seems Mr. Mansur did not make anything by this plan. A second charge investigated by the committee concerned meat for the soldiers. It was reported that spoiled meat had been furnished by Mr. Mansur and his brother from their own pork house, and that he had refused to get competitive prices on this one article of food. He admitted that he and his brother had been supplying the meat, but that only once had there been any dissatisfaction with it and then good meat had been supplied at once to replace the bad. A third charge was for making duplicate bills of purchases, some of which were not properly filled in, but as only small errors were found the committee accepted his explanation concerning them. The investigators rather excused the unsatisfactory conditions they found on the basis that with such a large business so suddenly thrust upon inexperienced persons, mistakes were unavoidable. The Senate took no action but the house requested the removal of the commissary general by an almost unanimous vote, and four days later Mansur resigned.

2. Jacob Plat Wunn, Indiana and Indianans, II, 593-594.
5. Ibid.
The House was of the wrong political cast to support him but the governor accepted his resignation and appointed Asabel Stone to the post. Things went better for a while, though a few months later the complaint was current that the coffee "was the worst on the market". About September 1, 1861, an arrangement was effected by which the United States government took entire charge and control of subsisting the troops in Indiana during their organization and preparation for the field, and they were then put on "regulation fare".

But Mansur was not the only official criticised. Commandants resigned to lead their regiments and others succeeded them. One, Colonel Sol Meredith, incurred the ill will of Mr. George W. Julian, a prominent citizen and legislator, and such a bitter controversy ensued that the editor of the Sentinel remarked that it might cause an order for "pistols for two and coffee for one". In the autumn when the United States took control and Major Montgomery was made Quartermaster General he became involved in a controversy with the State and Governor Morton over the purchase of some overcoats. Other officials were accused of buying shoddy clothing to their own advantage.

So before Camp Morton became a prison camp there were scandals, dissatisfaction with food and treatment of the men, attempts to escape the guards, and complaints of and discharge of officials. The first six regiments were completed, enlisted, returned, and reenlisted; others came and went, and affairs

2. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Oct. 23, 1861; Nov. 5, 1861.
settled into a routine less exciting during the winter months of 1861 and 1862. But it was only a lull before the storm which was to thrust Camp Morton into a period of greater excitement when, in February, 1862, it became a Rebel Prison.

The beginning of the civil war found both the north and south without an organization for the care of the prisoners of war as a prison system and its officers had not been necessary in times of peace; therefore the plan of paroling and releasing troops captured in battle was generally practiced. Such a plan was humane and efficient in a civil conflict not difficult in a war on a larger scale, so when it was realized that the civil war was to be a long struggle, preparations for prisoners became necessary. In the red army regulations the duty of this preparation fell to the quartermaster general of the army, General M. D. Meigs. The regulations called for an official bearing the title of commissary-general of prisoners who was to assume charge of all captives taken by the government, to manage the business of reclusion in case of a general, and to transmit to the prisoners held by the enemy such supplies as were sent to them. Accordingly, General Meigs, in July, 1861, made secretary of war Cameron to appoint a commissary-general of prisoners, but it was not until October that Lieutenant Colonel William H. Hoffman was chosen.

The military prison system which was developing was unsatisfactory from a military standpoint and General Meigs wanted a special camp for the confinement of prisoners of war. One of Colonel Hoffman's first tasks was to investigate sug-
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One of Colonel Hoffman's first tasks was to investigate sug-

gested sites and to choose Johnson's Island near Sandusky, Ohio. By February 1, 1862, the new camp was complete but it was already evident that the preparations made were not adequate to the demands, and the surrender of Fort Donelson with fifteen thousand prisoners, February 16, 1862, the first substantial victory of the war, found the government unprepared for such a large number. General Halleck looked about for some place where the prisoners could be cared for without having to use his army as a guard and telegraphed Governor Morton to inquire how many could be quartered in Indiana. The only place in the state well suited for the accommodation of captives was Camp Morton which had been used as a general rendezvous for the Indiana troops, and Governor Morton answered that he could arrange for three thousand there. Other cities took groups of prisoners, and with this emergency disposition of the troops from Fort Donelson, Camp Morton became a permanent prison camp, along with Camps Douglas at Chicago, Butler at Springfield, and Chase at Columbus.

Because the government was unprepared for the emergency it faced there was considerable delay and much confusion and inefficiency. The selection of these additional camps should have come under the jurisdiction of Colonel Hoffman, the new commissary general of prisoners, but his position had not yet been made clear to the army. He complained to General Meigs that his office was not known to the generals and that they

therefore, did not consult him about the disposition of captives; that any information he had concerning them he had to pick up from newspapers and chance sources, causing misunderstandings and delays. The problems of the administration of the prison system were increased in April by the fall of Island Number Ten, and though Hoffman had again asked that his position be made known the orders publishing his duties were not issued until June 17, 1862. Since General Halleck had secured the new camps out of the necessities of the moment he continued to give instructions regarding the distribution of prisoners. As a result of this lack of preparation and organization three thousand seven hundred prisoners were sent to Indianapolis instead of the three thousand Governor Morton had agreed to care for, plus about fifteen hundred others who had to be sent elsewhere temporarily. Authorities at Camp Morton complained that sometimes small groups arrived without any previous announcement of their coming and that no preparation could be made for them.

The United States Assistant quartermaster, Captain James A. Ekin, proceeded to erect such additional barracks at Camp Morton as were required and placed those already built in the best condition possible for the reception of the prisoners. Along the northern fence of the camp the stock stalls which had been occupied by the Indiana troops the preceding summer

2. William West Hesselton, Civil War Prisons, pp. 41-42.
TREATMENT OF PRISONERS AT CAMP MORTON.

and autumn were remodeled for the prisoners so as to give six apartments for sleeping purposes and one for eating purposes, the latter made by throwing two stalls into one with a table in the center. State authorities said: "The usual garrison equipage and cooking utensils, with regular rations, plenty of dry fuel, etc.—precisely the same as had been issued to our own troops were furnished and so disposed for convenient messing, these preparations had to be made hurriedly, as only short notice of the arrival of the prisoners had been given, but they were improved upon afterward, and the camp was made as comfortable and safe as the circumstances would allow."

Colonel Hoffman and General Meigs demanded strict economy of Captain Skin in making the necessary changes. In March prisoners were put into tents from one barracks at a time so that windows could be put in to give more light and air for warm weather, and bunks were rearranged so as to give more room "with but little expense". In June new buildings were erected to relieve overcrowded conditions and to accommodate additional prisoners, the ground was laid off in keeping with a definite plan, and a prison house was ordered where the guards could have a large room with half a dozen cells attached "made very secure and very uncomfortable."

At first no definite information could be obtained as to just when the prisoners were expected and the curiosity of the people to see a live rebel was so great that about three thousand men, women, and children were at the depot a day in advance, only to be disappointed. Saturday morning, February 22, 1862, when it became known that an officer had been ordered with his command to act as escort to prisoners, a large crowd

3. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Feb. 21, 1862.
again assembled in the vicinity of the station and remained without their dinners until the train came in about two-thirty in the afternoon. This first unit of twenty-two passenger and box cars made only a short stop, then proceeded up the union track to Massachusetts Avenue where the prisoners left the cars and marched under guard to Camp Morton. As the train pulled out of the station many excited people disregarded the order of the guards and climbing to the roofs of the cars, rode out with them. Women and children gathered along the track and some ran after the train until it stopped. One young man in his eagerness to get a good sight of the prisoners followed them, fell to the rear of the long line, and marched with them through the big gate of Camp Morton. Curiosity got the better of his judgment, for the guard refused to let him go and held him until the next day. He insisted that he was a Union man and a citizen of Indianapolis, but he was marched off to quarters and had to bunk with a hated "secesh". All those who arrived after the first day unloaded at the union station and marched through the city to Camp Morton, to the great satisfaction of the curious. They entered freely into conversation with the bystanders and answered good naturedly all questions not impertinent. The newspapers had urged that the citizens show a kindly spirit toward the prisoners and refrain from offering any insults to men powerless to resent them. Some negro servants who accompanied the secession prisoners were asked if they did not want to stay north and enjoy their freedom, but

2. Ibid., Feb. 28, 1862.
3. Ibid., Feb. 50, 1862.
they replied that Mississippi was good enough for them and "dey 
wan't goin' to leave de boys dey come with no how."

About four hundred arrived on the first Saturday, followed 
by other groups Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, until there were 
three-hundred in camp. Because more were sent to Indi-

anapolis than could be quartered, eight hundred were compelled 
to spend the night in the old Indianapolis and Cincinnati 
freight house before being sent on to Lafayette, and another 
seven or eight hundred were stopped at Terre Haute. But all, 
except a few who were too ill to be moved, were returned to 
Camp Morton by the middle of March, and these, with the guards, 
made a total of five thousand in and around camp. Squads con-
tinued to arrive during the spring and summer, one thousand 
coming after the battle of Shiloh, and the camp was enlarged as 
necessities demanded and made as comfortable as possible.

The first prisoners were chiefly from Mississippi and Ten-
nessee, representing the uneducated poor white class, with a 
few lawyers and ministers, and were inferior to those who came 
later. As there was no uniformity of dress they presented a 
shabby forlorn appearance. Some wore butternut colored jeans, 
some full suits with coat and trousers the same color, others, 
suits of various colors; some wore hats, some caps, some were 
hatless. Their blankets were of many colors and of a great

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Feb. 24, 1862.
2. William H. Terrell, Report of the Adjutant General of 
the State of Indiana, 1862.
3. Indiana Adjutant General's office, Correspondence Let-
5. William H. Terrell, Report of the Adjutant General of 
the State of Indiana, 1,497.
variety of materials. A few had regular style dark grey soldiers' blankets, but most of them had pieces of carpet thrown over their shoulders. All wore good hats and shoes. Nearly every man carried a bundle containing bed clothes or extra clothing; some had their trunks; some carried frying pans or teakettles; others had bags of coffee or bacon.

In addition to their poor clothing and lack of military training, they were fresh from experiences that would make a well disciplined and well uniformed army appear forlorn. They had been exposed to many hardships during the siege of Donelson, then after their capture they were transported in crowded boats to St. Louis where they were sent on to Indianapolis in any kind of cars the railroad could furnish, generally without any accommodations.

The officers were brought to Indianapolis with their men but were separated and quartered in barracks near the Odd Fellows Hall, occupied earlier by the nineteenth infantry, until they could be sent on to Camp Chase a few days later. Some of them had but little clothing and quite a few were without blankets of their own as in the confusion at Fort Donelson both clothing and blankets were lost, so these articles were supplied them. Because of their closer confinement their food was furnished cooked and they were allowed the privilege customary to captured officers of buying luxuries at their own expense.

General Buckner and his staff were quartered in the government building on Pennsylvania Street and their meals were brought

2. Ibid., Feb. 25, 1862; Feb. 27, 1862.
from the Palmer House. As a result there seems to have been much feeling among the citizens that the treatment given them was too good and that General Wmckner was a "pet", but he and the one hundred and ten rebel officers were soon sent away under strong guard, and from that time only privates were kept at Indianapolis.

Surgeons and chaplains were allowed the freedom of the city on parole, being required to report daily at headquarters. Some surgeons were detained for duty with prisoners and sent to Camp Chase later, but in June all of them were released in keeping with the principle of the war department that medical officers should not be held prisoners of war.

Since the prisoners at Camp Morton were all privates and non-commissioned officers, they were thrown into their original company organization on arrival and placed in charge of their highest non-commissioned officer, who was held responsible for the conduct of his men; they were then subsisted and assigned to quarters in that order. The rolls which were supposed to accompany them were carefully corrected, or if there were none, new ones were made from the statements of the prisoners and reports were made each morning to the commandant as to the condition of the company, number of "joined", "transferred",

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Feb. 26, 1862.
2. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence Letter Copy Books. Letter and Order Copy Book #1, p. 140.
"deaths", et cetera. The commissioned officers of the Union forces entered the enclosure and called the prisoner's roll every day to ascertain if all were present or accounted for. When the captain of the prisoner's division presented his requisition for rations it was compared with the roll call reports, and if correct, the rations were issued. Also, a requisition was written these heads of divisions each day for a certain number of men for inside hospital guard duty, for policing and sanitary duty, and for duty as grave diggers.

The entire camp was surrounded by a tight board fence ten or twelve feet high with a parapet around the outside six and one half feet above the ground and a rail to protect the guards from falling off while on duty. A battery of artillery commanded every entrance and exit, ready for use in case of revolt, and guards were posted between regiments to prevent all opportunities of communication.

The first guards at Camp Morton were the fifty-third Indiana volunteers under Colonel W. G. Gresham and the Sixtieth, under Colonel Richard Dale Owen, who later became the commandant, assisted by a portion of the Sixty-first and Sixty-third. In general, this first year, regiments in process of formation were used as guards and when completed were sent to the field while other incomplete units took their places, though companies of three months volunteers, and later, some one hundred days men,

4. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Feb. 24, 1892; Feb. 28, 1892.
were accepted for guard duty only. The fifty-fifth Indiana volunteers was composed of these three months men out when Governor Morton asked them to go into Kentucky at the time of Morgan's activities almost all of them cheerfully agreed, and marched to the capital where they were addressed by the governor before leaving for Louisville. During the summer and autumn it was reported to the adjutant general that men from certain counties on duty guarding prisoners, were suffering serious loss through absence from their homes during the harvest season, so an order was issued to the commandant to grant furloughs to all persons whose crops demanded attention. The number should not exceed one fourth of a company nor should the time exceed ten days. Perhaps because of these irregularities there seems to have been confusion at times between state and federal troops and their terms of service. Once when three companies were ordered to the front some in each unit claimed they enlisted thinking they were not to go out of the state, and had to be attached to some other company remaining for guard duty; another time a captain claimed he was never formally mustered into the United States service.

To make the guards more comfortable, Governor Morton asked the government to furnish silty tents for their use with floors and stoves, and as the mud was often shoemouth deep, he ordered a plank walk laid where the sentinels were required to follow

1. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence Letter Copy Books, Letter and Order Copy Book #1, pp. 271, 272, 331.
2. Indianapolis Daily Journal, July 14, 1862.
4. Ibid., p. 359.
5. Ibid., p. 148.
their regular beats. In addition to the usual arms fifty-four
revolvers were furnished for use in case of an attempt of pris-
oners to escape, and were passed from one group to another as
they came on duty. The camp occupied by the guards became
known as Camp Burnside, located just south of Camp Morton be-
tween Nineteenth Street and what was then Tinker Street, now
Sixteenth Street, and "was made a very neat and attractive lit-
tle town" for many months.

The unfamiliarity of the government with the many problems
incident to war resulted in continued delay and disorganization
during the first weeks of Camp Morton as a prison camp. Gover-
nor Morton signified his intention to clothe decently and to
provide comfortably for the prisoners, to house them in com-
fortable quarters with bunks furnished with clean straw, and to
give them the same subsistence as the Union troops had received.
But in the confusion and haste the plans and good intentions did
not always materialize.

Because of lack of preparation for the large numbers who
were sent, there was such a shortage of food during the first
two weeks that the entire rations were frequently eaten imme-
diately, or if the supply were large enough for more than one
meal each prisoner carried his haversack wherever he went, not
trusting his bunk mates with it. There was no great criticism
of this condition as all realized the authorities were unpre-
pared to supply the needs of so many on such brief notice, and local reports indicate that after two weeks or so, a liberal supply was issued for the remainder of 1862, though, as with the state troops the year before, some, doubtless, did not fare as well as others. Of course, many prisoners found occasion to complain "that the bacon was all fat and the beef all bone", and the bread was often "sour" to their palates. Inspectors, naturally, found the food of proper quality in the main. It was the intention of the state when the prisoners came to furnish them with one ration each, the same as that given the state troops, and as there were no federal officers present to make arrangements, Adjutant General Noble, on his own responsibility, ordered about four thousand prepared rations for prisoners and guards on arrival, at twenty-five cents each. The cost of the same supplies in camp was much less—estimated at the time at five hundred dollars per day for the four thousand. A majority of the prisoners were not accustomed to baker's bread of wheat flour. A visitor met a prisoner who had only seventy-five cents in his pocket but he said he would give it all for a pone of corn bread. When the story was repeated an Indianapolis woman baked and sent the bread to him and it was then suggested that the officials provide meal in order that the men could bake their own corn pone. So many of the sick and convalescent asked for it particularly that the women of

1. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Feb. 25, 1862.
   Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence Letter Copy Books, Letter and Order Copy Book #1, pp. 135-144.
2. William Hesseltine, Civil War Prisons, p. 45.
3. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence Letter Copy Books, Letter and Order Copy Book #1, pp. 135-140.
5. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Feb. 28, 1862.
the city were pledged to make it regularly for hospital use.

Prisoners were allowed to receive gifts of clothes from friends but this system was spasmodic and inefficient. Governor Morton, learning that three hundred Fort Donelson captives were deficient in clothing, telegraphed the secretary of war for orders to have their wants supplied by the United States quartermaster at Indianapolis, and General Heig then ordered Colonel Hoffman to furnish from the stock of condemned clothing in depots such articles as were absolutely necessary to prevent real suffering. But from April 30 to October 1 neither drawers nor socks were allowed except for the sick, and though blankets were issued to those who had none, a sudden drop in the temperature caused suffering among those southern men unused to the rigors of a northern climate. The government followed a rather general practice of issuing both clothing and blankets because the garments worn by the captives when they arrived were often filthy and unsuited to the winter weather. The men had suffered exposure for many weeks and for four days before their capture they had lain in ditches near rifle pits without food or sleep. Human endurance was nearing its limits with them and many were restless and disgruntled. Colonel Owen provided them with whatever relief he could command.

1. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Mar.11,1862.
4. Ibid.,IV,152.
5. Indiana Adjutant general's Office,ms.report, quartermaster, U.S.A. to Captain Ekin.
8. S.A.Cunningham, Memorial,p.10.
and the citizens, too, did their part in helping to care for
them.

The Ladies Patriotic Societies and the Sanitary Commiss-
ion, appointed soon after the fall of Donelson primarily to
give aid to Union soldiers, were generous in their response to
the calls of the authorities for assistance. There was very
little complaint of poor treatment during 1862 as compared with
the avalanche of criticism of the years 1863, 1864, and 1865, and
there were many evidences of very good feeling on the part of
most of the prisoners after the first few weeks. The state in-
tended to give them every attention that their necessities and
well being demanded; anything further was not allowed and their
friends were cautioned to remember that they were rebel prison-
ers and could not be given comforts and luxuries. "Rigid rules
for their safety were of necessity enforced. The guards were
ordered to admit no one to camp, to hold no conversation with
the prisoners and to permit no one else to do so. In an ad-
dress on Sunday, Colonel Nicklin, in charge of police, told the
prisoners they would be well treated and that they would not be
molested as long as they obeyed camp rules.

Doubtless much credit is due to Colonel Richard Dale Owen,
commandant from the time the first prisoners arrived in Febru-
ary, 1862, to June of the same year, for the good care which they
received. But for his efforts the period of inefficiency and
confusion at Camp Morton would probably have been longer for he

1. William F. Terrell, Report of the Adjutant General of the
   State of Indiana, I, 457.
2. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence Let-
   ter Copy Books, Letter and Order Copy Book #1, pp.143-144.
was busy all day and much of the night doing what he could to ameliorate conditions. He was criticized for showing too much consideration for the rebels but he firmly believed the Union would be restored and that he could win the regard of the south through his good treatment of the prisoners. He thought that such a plan would make them less restless in their confinement, and likely, when they returned to their homes, to spread among their friends and acquaintances the idea that they had been deceived regarding northern men, to aid in keeping the prisoners occupied and contented he allowed the sale of books and magazines at the sutler's stand and all were to have as much liberty and comfort as was consistent with orders and the means at his disposal, provided there was no abuse of privilege. On one occasion he allowed some prisoners to go under unarmed guards to shop in town, on their promise to do nothing else, but they went into a saloon, brought criticism on Colonel Owen, and as a result of the broken promise, he had to countermand his order permitting prisoners to shop. He worked out and submitted to the government a set of rules for camp Morton according to which the whole camp was to be divided into thirty units each in charge of a chief selected from among the first sergeants of the unit by the men themselves. It was a kind of self-government plan under which these chiefs would be responsible for the general appearance, welfare, and police of their

1. S.A. Cunningham, Memorials, p. 4.
3. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Ms. in file Box "Rebel Prisoners".
5. Ibid., 515.
divisions, but apparently the federal authorities did not accept the scheme. He encouraged the men to improve the appearance of the camp and in order that it might be kept neater he furnished clothes-lines so that no bedding or other clothing need be put on roofs or fences.

As long as no rules were disobeyed prisoners might amuse themselves as they wished. A veteran prisoner tells the story of a celebration in camp over one of Lee's victories. Pieces of candle were issued from time to time which prisoners were allowed to light and use until taps when they were speedily blown out. Failure to observe the rule occasionally cost a human life and the men were therefore careful to obey. Consequently many remnants of candles accumulated in camp. On July 4, 1862, news came throughout the north that McClellan had defeated the Confederates, that Lee's army was routed, and that the federals were in possession of Richmond. There was great rejoicing in the city of Indianapolis that night and a grand illumination with much speech making and cheering which the prisoners could see and hear. The next day it was learned that the report was reversed; that Lee had defeated the federals. Then those remnants of candles were brought out and during the day were placed upon stumps of trees, on pumps, on bunks, everywhere throughout the camp. When dark came they were all lighted. There was no speech making or cheering but small groups stood or walked about speaking in whispers. Some of the citizens complained to Colonel Owen for allowing the prisoners to thus ex-

2. ibid.
press their joy at a federal loss, and said it would be demoralizing to the guards, but, it was reported, Colonel Owen, "good, true, brave old veteran that he was", replied that citizens of Indianapolis had rejoiced when they heard Lee was defeated and now, with more recent news, he would not stop the prisoners so long as they observed the rules of the prison. At least they were not interfered with, but when taps were sounded, the lights were extinguished and all was in darkness.

Colonel Owen allowed the messmates and close friends of those who were in the city hospital to visit them in groups of six to ten with only one or two guards under a sergeant. The sentiment was prevalent that if any prisoner should seek to escape through Colonel Owen's kindness he would be punished by his fellow prisoners. As one of these groups of rebels marched up Meridian Street attended by a guard, it is said a spectator asked him how he felt. "I am", said he, "doing well enough. I have two governments to support me—Uncle Sam feeds and clothes me, Uncle Jeff will pay me".

Even after the organization was perfected the duties of the commandant were very heavy with the "inspection of letters, large issues of stores, wood, and straw, detailing for hospitals and squads for the burial of the dead, the answers to an infinitude of written and verbal questions, the receipt and disbursement of money, the attention to health and cleanliness, the policing of premises, the adjusting of small grievances and difficulties".

Under great handicaps colonel Owen administered his duties and enforced discipline so that all requirements were fulfilled, yet he gained the confidence and respect of the men. When they heard that he was ordered to the front with his regiment they very generally signed a petition to governor Morton to retain him as commandant, or to use his influence to retain him. He was sent to Kentucky, however, some thought because he showed too much consideration for the prisoners. When he was captured with his regiment at Mumfordville in October, general Buckner, the confederate general in command, thanked him for his kindness to southern prisoners at Camp Morton, returned his side arms, and gave him unconditional liberty. By this time a general exchange of prisoners had taken place and as colonel Owen's regiment had all done duty as guards at Camp Morton, it was said that there was a general shaking of hands all around when the boys of the Sixtieth Indiana were marched into the rebel lines where they met hundreds of former prisoners over whom they had kept watch. Both parties seemed happy to meet and joked over the vicissitudes of war.

A further tribute to the kindness of this beloved first commandant of Camp Morton is the bronze bust which now occupies a niche on the main floor of the Indiana State House. Mr. S.A. Cunningham, for many years the editor of the "Confederate Veteran" and himself a prisoner under colonel Owen, conceived the idea of placing a bronze memorial tablet somewhere in Indianapolis and in 1862 gained permission for its erection, but so

2. S.A. Cunningham, Memorials, p.6.
3. Ibid., p.7.
many southern soldiers and friends of soldiers made contributions to the project that the final result was a larger memorial in the form of this bronze bust done by Miss Belle McKinney, a daughter of a confederate soldier. The words on the pedestal read:

COLONEL RICHARD OWEN
COMMANDANT
CAMP MORTON PRISON 1862
TRIBUTE BY CONFEDERATE PRISONERS
OF WAR AND THEIR FRIENDS
FOR HIS COURTESY AND KINDNESS

Since the army officially referred to him as Richard Owen the middle name "Dale" was omitted from the tablet.

The hospital arrangements made for the union troops in 1861 were adapted to the use of the rebels. On arrival, the prisoners, especially those from forts Donelson and Henry, were ill from the terrible exposure to which they had been subjected during the siege, followed by the journey to Indianapolis in crowded boats and cars during one of the most disagreeable months in winter. Lack of accommodations when they reached Camp Morton made matters worse, and scores of them sank under disease. The day after the main body came the surgeons of the city prescribed for more than five hundred and the sick list for some time increased rapidly. Dr. Jameson held "sick call" at the receiving hospital in the Tower Hall building 'almost perpetually', assisted by several of the prisoners, who, though not regular surgeons, had more or less knowledge of medicine.

As the original plan of removing the more serious cases to

1. S. A. Cunningham, Memorials, p. lff.
the city hospital each day was soon interrupted because of crowded conditions there. Captain Eakin was authorized to erect an addition to it, and to enlarge the receiving hospital at Camp Morton by putting in a second floor or a half floor, but until these additions could be provided buildings were rented outside the camp and converted into infirmaries. The third floor of the gymnasium at Meridian and Maryland Streets was fitted with two hundred beds under the control of Dr. J. S. Bobbs, with Dr. W. B. Fletcher as assistant. A few days later the upper floor of the old post office building on Meridian Street was equipped. Captain Eakin, in charge of preparations, did not confine himself strictly to the red tape rules of the army and when he could find no mattresses he appealed to the young ladies of Miss Merrill's school, who made one hundred and fifty straw ticks and pillow slips during a day and night. Many others volunteered their help and in twenty-four hours Mr. Bullard and his son were in charge of one hundred and thirty patients there. Another temporary hospital was a large frame building near the old Bellefontaine car shops. The women of the city who assisted were so eager that they overdid the nursing and it was reported at the time that because they were so assiduous and over indulgent the doctors decided it was best to dispense with their services as soon as possible. The

2. Ibid., 400-401.
4. Ibid., Mar. 6, 1862.
5. Ibid., Mar. 8, 1862.
story was told that a Miss Dessie Morris, one of the socially prominent ladies of the city, approached several different patients and asked each, with a voice full of sympathy, if there were anything she could do for him, but each thanked her and said, "No". Finally, in desperation, with a towel and a pan of warm water, she asked a man who seemed to be suffering, if she could not do something for him. He answered, "No, I thank you. "Can't I wash your feet?" she queried. The poor man then raised his eyes and with a look of resignation said: "Well, I don't care, if it will be any pleasure to you, but they have already been washed three times today."

Most of the nurses were fellow prisoners, however. The doctors were either hard to please or the prisoners very unsatisfactory as nurses for there were repeated requests to Colonel Owen to send the most "intelligent and sprightly" Dr. Fletcher at one of the emergency hospitals said about half he had had were entirely worthless and asked for some German or Irish of good habits to take the place of those he would return. Colored men among the rebel prisoners, too, were used as servants in the hospital.

As rapidly as patients recovered in the emergency hospitals they were sent back to camp and by the last of May, with warm weather and decreasing illness among the prisoners, these buildings were abandoned as the enlarged city and camp hospitals were then adequate. For a time prisoners were allowed to be removed

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to private residences where they could be cared for to better advantage than in crowded hospitals, but General Halleck ordered the practice discontinued.

Dr. P. H. Jameson, in charge of prisoners needing medicine but not ill enough to require a place in the hospitals, made a report in June 1862, in which he told something of his work.

Compared with the other duties in camp, the care of the "Receiving hospital" was a very trifling matter; the furnishing of the prisoner's part of which, consisted of twenty-five bunks, with as many bed sacks; a large stove, and a few other articles of less value. To save the unnecessary expense in the way of furnishing, each patient when admitted was required to bring his bed-covering with him; which in case he was sent out, was returned to his quarters. The Steward, wardmasters, nurses, cooks and others on duty, being prisoners, have received no compensation for their services, except a few small presents from myself, such as books, papers, and money—the last in very small amounts. The rebel cooks have prepared the food, not only for their own, but also for the sick of the federal troops. Besides those belonging properly to the hospital—steward, wardmasters, nurses, cook, &c. Five or six who have been on duty at the dispensary, at "sick call," together with several others on duty, sent to our quarters by Col. Owen have been boarded at the hospital. It has cost no more to subsist such persons at the hospital, than in any other part of the camp; and it has been done as a mere matter of convenience, and to encourage those who assisted at "sick call" without compensation. The whole number kept in this way varied from four to twelve.

The receiving hospital opened March 11, 1862.

| Number admitted prior to June 1 | 700 |
| sent to hospital in city | 653 |
| returned to quarters | 127 |
| died | 1 |

He also said that about March 20, without any known exposure a case of smallpox occurred. Virus was procured and more than half of those confined in camp were vaccinated. This was an arduous undertaking under the circumstances, but owing to its timely accomplishment there was but one case of varioloid after—

2. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Mar. 27, 1862.
ward in that group of prisoners.

A careful account was kept of rations due the hospital and the rations drawn and the difference put into a fund known as the hospital fund from which articles were to be purchased for the benefit of the sick. After the health of the prisoners began to improve and fewer were in the hospital this fund did not accumulate very fast so only small purchases were made from it and larger ones had to be made from the camp fund.

In the main the prisoners were given good care at this time. During the first days when there was lack of preparation the citizens of Indianapolis, terre Haute, and Lafayette joined in furnishing suitable nourishment, delicacies, and attention; both men and women volunteered their services as nurses and attendants and prominent members of the medical profession were particularly kind. Pillow cases, sheets, and underclothing sufficient to insure cleanliness were furnished by the government. Dr. John S. Bobbs was medical director; the sub-physicians reported to him and he to the surgeon general, and inspectors from Washington examined the camp and hospitals at stated intervals. After spring weather came the health of the men improved rapidly and they were generally cheerful and as happy as could be expected.

But despite all the efforts made, the mortality was high the first two months. Three soldiers belonging to a Mississippi

1. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Report of P.H. Jameson, June 1, 1863, in file box "Rebel Prisoners".
5. The Soldier of Indiana in the War for the Union (Compilation), I, 539.
regiment died February 25, and by direction of Governor Morton a lot was secured near the city cemetery for their burial. Weaver and Williams, undertakers, removed the bodies from the camp accompanied by a detail of rebels under guard to dig the graves, and the party marched down Washington street to the cemetery attracting the attention of many citizens but without insult of any kind. Hospital stewards at the various hospitals for rebel prisoners were required to make out and transmit to colonel Owen weekly reports of deaths in their respective hospitals, giving date of admittance and death, name, company, and regiment of the deceased, what effects were left and what disposition was made of them. All were buried in plain wooden coffins and the graves marked with boards having a number which corresponded to the number on the books of the undertakers so that relatives could identify the location of their dead.

Since the rations determined upon were considered too much for men leading a sedentary life portions of the issue were ordered withheld. That there might be still greater savings in rations, colonel Hoffman, constantly interested in economy, substituted "farmer's boilers" or large kettles for the customary camp equipment of small kettles, thus enabling the men to cook in messes rather than in individual portions. The sale of this surplus food to the commissary at the contract price then in

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Feb. 28, 1863.
2. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence Letter Copy Books. Letter and Order Book #1, p.133.
force created a "prison fund" which was paid semi-monthly to the
commandant and expended for the benefit of the prisoners. Strict
account was kept of all transactions. This fund was used for
such articles as were necessary for the health and comfort of the
prisoners and which would otherwise have to be furnished by the
government-table furniture, cooking utensils, wheelbarrows and
tools for policing purposes, bed ticks and straw, improving and
enlarging of barracks, the extra pay of forty cents a day allowed
clers who had charge of the camp post office and who kept ac­
count of money deposited with the commissioned officers by pris­
oners, tobacco, stationery, stamps, scissors for cutting hair,
leather for mending shoes, thread for repairs, and for addition­
al vegetables such as potatoes and onions, and some extra sup­
plies of molasses. Payment of employees of the city hospital
and "any reasonable expense" for the benefit of the sick pris­
oners not covered by the hospital fund, was also made from this
1

prison fund.

The amount grew so rapidly that in addition to all these
expenditures a hospital, and a bakehouse with ovens, were built,
and yet there was a surplus of twenty-four hundred dollars June 1,
1863. Colonel Hoffman "inspected" this fund very carefully,
sometimes criticizing severely those in charge; payments for
stamps seemed too large; for tobacco too frequent; for the pur­
suit of escaped prisoners of doubtful propriety. Once when he
found them paying a citizen fifty dollars a month as paymaster,
he ordered him discharged and made the non-commissioned officer

2. Ibid., III, 562-563.
who received and examined the mail the paymaster. For a while newspapers were furnished from this fund, but Colonel Hoffman, fearing that the benefits of economy were leading to extravagance ordered the procedure stopped.

In all prison camps the national government allowed a sutler, entirely under the control of the commanding officer, who was supposed to see that he furnished proper articles for the prisoners' purchase and at reasonable rates. For this privilege of maintaining a stand in camp the sutler paid a tax into the general prison fund commensurate with his trade. Governor Morton established two men as post sutlers, the business to be run for the benefit of the Sanitary Committee but managed and conducted under the rules and regulations of Camp Morton. The commanding officer was to prevent any one else from selling articles in camp though some of the regiment sutlers refused to close their stands until authorities threatened to arrest them and to take possession of their establishments.

The bake house was at first only one large room of upright boarding, battened, with a floor and a shingle roof. It was equipped with two ovens of the most approved kind large enough to bake for five thousand men, but it was enlarged from time to time during the war until it had a capacity of eleven to twelve thousand loaves daily. Though it was built and partly

2. Ibid.,153.
3. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence Letter Copy Book. Letter and Order Copy Book #1,pp.157,
maintained the first year by profits arising from the prison fund, in September 1862, when Governor Morton directed General Stone, quartermaster general of the state, to take charge of bread gratuitously furnished to families of after the general exchange of the Fort Donelson prisoners, it became a profit producing institution in itself. Flour was purchased on proper requisition by the commissary of subsistence and the bakery delivered to the soldiers the amount of bread the army regulations allowed them. At the end of each month there was a surplus of flour on hand. A given number of pounds of flour will furnish an equal weight of bread and leave a surplus of thirty-three and one third per cent of flour. This surplus the commissary of subsistence purchased at the price fixed by the flour contract then existing and in the kind of funds with which such contracts were paid. Sometimes payments were received in checks for certificates of indebtedness and the bakery had to take a discount of from two and one half to four and two thirds per cent to cash them.

even with this discount large profits were made by the state for with its increased capacity the bakery furnished bread for all camps in and about Indianapolis, hospitals, military and assistant soldiers several hundred dollars worth of other prison, soldiers' home and ladies' home. At the beginning of general Stone's management in September 1862, after paying all expenses, there was a profit of $1,288.83; October 1, $1,458.70; November 1, $3,355.27; and the last year of the war, Captain Pope of the Department of Indiana said he paid general

Ston from $6,000 to $8,000 every month for the "savings" on flour. The total profit was nearly $157,000 in addition to $1,000 worth of bread gratuitously furnished to families of impoverished soldiers in and around Indianapolis, estimated at the set money value of six cents per loaf.

The funds made from the bakery were of great advantage to the quartermaster department. Out of it were supplied all stoves for barracks in Camps Jarrigan, Sullivan, and Shank, in Noble Barracks, and in portions of Camps Morton and Burnside.

It furnished carpenter's tools, nails, and materials for repairs, the entire supply of coffee boilers, coffee mills, tin buckets and frying pans for all drafted men raised in the state after October 1862 as these articles were not furnished by the general government. It was not until toward the end of the war that the government furnished plates, knives, forks, cups, and spoons, and until then the fund furnished these. In addition it met the payroll of all hands employed at the state armory after March 1, 1864, and fuel and light there; the salary of the quartermaster from September 1862, when he took charge, and salaries of clerks and assistants besides several hundred dollars worth of other claims, and the cost of additions to the bakery itself.

There seems to have been little or no complaint during this first year that money or articles of food and clothing sent prisoners by friends failed to reach the ones for whom they were in-

4. Ibid.
tended, though jellies and other delicacies were kept by officials and divided among the rebel sick in the hospitals. All packages were received by an officer who was held responsible for their proper delivery.

Any money which the prisoners had or received was taken charge of by the commanding officer who gave receipts for it to those to whom it belonged. A special order from the adjutant general of Indiana in May 1862, allowed the men only one or two dollars a week for actual necessities and incidentals at intervals of one or two weeks, five dollars per month being deemed enough for ordinary wants, though larger amounts might be allowed in particular cases if the commandant thought proper. A later circular from the federal government to all camps arranged that the men should buy from the sutler such articles as they wished, "which were not prohibited", and then give an order on the commanding officer for the amount, to be kept as a voucher with the individual's account. These accounts were kept in a special book and this, with the vouchers, was always to be ready for the inspection of the commissary general of prisoners.

When the first prisoners arrived Governor Morton, through Colonel Owen, gave them permission to acquaint their relatives of their whereabouts, but as many of them had no funds except confederate scrip, a request was published in the newspapers for donations from citizens of stamps and money for stamps. At the

3. Ibid.
same time citizens were asked to send newspapers, books, and pamphlets to the chaplain of the sixtieth regiment, and the response was very generous for both stamps and reading matter.

By the middle of March Colonel Owen's duties became so heavy that he appealed to Governor Morton for someone who could take charge of the post office and the inspection of presents for prisoners which duties were taking the entire time of two important officers. As a result, Abel Evans was appointed special postmaster for Camp Morton to take charge of all mail. After carefully inspecting the letters written he endorsed each envelope, "prisoner's letter", "inspected", and signed it, then mailed all that were within northern lines and returned to the adjutant general's office those directed to points within the rebel lines to be forwarded under a flag of truce. Likewise, he took charge of all letters arriving for prisoners by mail or otherwise, and inspected the contents before delivering them. Letters of improper character were not allowed to pass either to or from any prisoner. Deliveries were made between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, daily.

Because of the great labor involved in inspecting the mail, an order was issued at this time that letters were permitted only to relatives and immediate friends, and should be limited to one page but evidently the request was not obeyed for adjutant gen-

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Feb. 27, 1862.
3. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Letter, Owen to Morton, in File Box, "Rebel Prisoners".
General Noble, nearly a month later, sent Colonel Owen a number of copies of the order to distribute "freely" among the prisoners. In the message accompanying the order Noble complained that the increase of unimportant friendly letters made it necessary to enforce the rules so as to relieve the acting postmaster of extra work. He said that he, himself, had burned a number of letters from four to eight pages long; also half of the letters, or more, were to mere acquaintances and of little importance, and that he would expect Mr. Evans to reject and destroy all such. A federal order later in the summer, sent to all camps, demanded that letters must be one page only, and the matter of a strictly private nature.

These inspections sometimes resulted in absurd disclosures. The following whimsical epistle, from a southern girl to her cousin, was published in the newspapers.

"I will be for Jeff Davise till the tenassee river freezes over, and then be for him, and scratch on the ice, Jeff Davise rides a white horse, Lincoln rides a mule; Jeff Davise is a gentleman, Lincoln is a rascal."

For the first few days visitors were allowed to see prisoners but this privilege was soon restricted. Because so many came to visit the Kentucky prisoners a notice was sent to the Louisville Courier Journal advising friends that communication with prisoners at Camp Morton was absolutely forbidden, but

1. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence, Letter Copy Books. Letter and Order Copy Book 1, p. 316.
3. The Soldier of Indiana in the War for the Union, I, (Compilation), p. 327.
4. Ibid.
in spite of the order many came, expecting to gain admittance by
appealing to the governor. They were refused, however, with the
explanation that the matter lay entirely in Colonel Owen's hands.
The governor received many letters, too, asking special permis-
sion to visit at the camp. One group of citizens in Paris, Ken-
tucky wanted to send one of their townswomen with clothing, books,
and small tokens from loved ones at home. A relative of a pris-
oner asked if the wife might not visit her husband—he said the
case was a "peculiarly sad one" but he did not wish to give de-
tails until he found whether there was a chance of his wish be-
ing granted. The notation on the letter read: "ans. No." In
another, an ardent northerner with missionary zeal wanted to
meet some of the more intelligent prisoners and by degrees, mix
in among them generally, with the idea of converting them to the
north's side. An officer, finally took the path of allegiance.

These first rules concerning visiting were local rather
than federal and quartermaster skin wrote Secretary of War Stan-
ton that this rigid exclusion of visitors from Camp Morton had
had an "excellent effect" and advised the same for other posts,
so by July similar rules appeared in a circular of general or-
ders. Visitors who came out of curiosity were not to be permit-
ted under any circumstances. Those having business with offi-
cers could, with the permission of the commandant, enter the
camp only long enough to transact their business. When prison-
ers were seriously ill, parents, wives, brothers, or sisters, if
loyal people, could make short visits.

1. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Feb.28,1863.
2. Indiana Adjutant General's Office,Miscellaneous letters
   of citizens to governor Morton, in file box,"Rebel Pris-
   oners".
The prisoners’ daily life was as varied and as pleasant as the circumstances would allow, and special efforts were made to keep them employed and amused. In addition to magazines and newspapers which Colonel Owen permitted, about seven hundred volumes of books were sent, at his suggestion, by the superintendent of public instruction for the entertainment of the prisoners. Athletic exercises and outdoor games were encouraged. As the men had no regular quoits, horseshoes were used instead until Colonel Owen watched the game and then the next day the group of players found to their surprise and gratification that a number of quoits had been supplied by the colonel himself.

There were some amateur actors among the prisoners who arranged for dramatic entertainments. One of these who became a “trusty” and was allowed to go to the city to the theatre with an officer, finally took the oath of allegiance, became a member of the old Metropolitan Company, and remained in Indianapolis long after the war. Then there were musical events, also. A glee club and a band of “Ethiopian minstrels” gave concerts occasionally. The band of the United States regulars gave concerts within the prison, and one time a group of the southerners serenaded their officers by singing “Dixie” and other secession songs. A Masonic Lodge was organized and met in the building known as the headquarters of the board of

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Apr. 11, 1862.
5. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, May 13, 1862.
6. Ibid., Mar. 20, 1862.
agriculture. Permission was granted Charles L. Vaje to operate a "Daguerrean or photographic establishment" in camp Morton. He was allowed to employ only two persons and they were not to have any intercourse with the prisoners except "to conduct said business" nor were they to carry any messages or letters to or from the prisoners. Ministers of all denominations of the city held religious services from time to time and visited the sick.

In general, the Johnson prisoners seemed grateful for kindnesses shown them. Some Tennesseeans, in a letter to Governor Morton thanked him for making their conditions as comfortable as possible and for granting as many privileges as were consistent with the rules and regulations for their safetykeeping. The following note was sent to the editor of the Sentinel:

Mr. editor,

We would return our sincere thanks to the Ladies of Indianapolis for their kind and benevolent attention towards the sick of our soldiers who have been confined in hospitals of your charitable city who were taken prisoners at Fort Donelson although they have been moved far from their own homes where they left there affectionate wives & families some there mothers & sisters that they have been received with the endearing kindness of strangers & whose sick bed has been bathed with tears kind faces in visiting them in their time of trouble and many a kind tale will be told of the Ladies of this town by those who are spared to return to their own firesides and we hope that these Ladies May Never have a Husband Father Son or Brother to undergo the hard ships that your humble Patients have gone through and May the great giver of all good reward you with health and Prosperity through this Life and that which is to come.

W.P. 1st Miss Regt.

1. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Jul. 28, 1862.
Kind Sir

if it Might Meet your pleasure to insert the above in your valuable Paper you would confer Many thanks on the Prisoners of the 1st Miss Regt

In spite of the general feeling of satisfaction there were naturally attempts to escape from time to time though none of the persistent efforts of 1863 to 1865 when conditions were doubtless very bad. Many of those who escaped this first year were hospital assistants who, while on duty, could slip from a window or door as the guards there were frequently inadequate. Governor Morton appointed a special officer to arrest and return to Camp Morton escaped prisoners either from hospitals or camp and then ordered Colonel Owen to send them and any others who had made a like attempt, to the Marion County jail for close confinement in irons. One young nineteen year old boy attempted to escape dressed in women's clothes and occasioned much merriment the next morning as he was led to jail personating a “blushing secession damsel”. Groups of comrades sometimes petitioned the governor on behalf of an offender held in jail. One such petition, signed by about seventy-five, asked that a George McCormick be allowed to return to camp and share their “comparative light imprisonment”, on promise of good behavior. These prisoners kept in jail were an extra expense to the government; however, so in August, Colonel Hoffman ordered them returned to camp for imprisonment there, except in a few cases where circum-

1. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Letter to Gov. Morton from prisoners, in file box, "Rebel Prisoners".
2. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence Letter Copy Books. Letter and Order Copy Book #1, p.196.
3. Ibid., p.196.
4. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, June 7, 1862.
5. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Letters and petitions to Governor Morton, in file box, "Rebel Prisoners".
stences made it necessary to leave them in jail. There were frequent rumors of escapes and attempts to escape, often unwarranted, for several days stories circulated, exaggerated as they went, that arms had been smuggled into Camp Morton for the use of the rebel prisoners at the first favorable opportunity. The fact was that some prisoners had been allowed to retain knives of all sorts and such "antique" pistols as they had brought with them since they were not considered good enough to be dangerous and the knives could be used for slicing bacon. Colonel Owen, on hearing the rumor, ordered all these "arms" delivered to him, and promptly and willingly the prisoners produced forty or fifty pistols and three times as many knives, all of which were labeled with the owner's name so they could be returned to him when he left. Sometimes such rumors or bits of secret information may have served a real purpose in preventing trouble. On one occasion Governor Morton was secretly informed that a stampede was planned, and as a result, Colonel Owen warned the sentinels to be more watchful, and instituted a system of patrol throughout the camp at night. Until the last of April, 1862, only thirteen of the four thousand or more there, had escaped from the camp proper, but during the summer many more succeeded in getting away.

In June a half dozen Kentuckians stampeded and escaped.

5. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, June 2, 1862.
A few days later five prisoners gained permission to bathe in Fall Creek and when out of view of the camp they turned on the three guards who were escorting them and overpowered them. The largest number escaped the night of July 15. At first Captain Kin informed Secretary Stanton that there were fifty of them but the newspapers later reported only twenty-five. During a violent thunder and rain storm between ten and eleven o'clock at night, this group attempted a stampede in accordance with a pre-arranged plan. By means of a lever under the lower boards they raised the fence posts at the north east corner of the camp near the road, then rushed violently against the fence causing two or three panels to fall almost flat. The guard instantly sounded an alarm and nearly all who could be spared joined in the pursuit. Colonel Hose, the commandant at the time, took command; one group went to the left of the turn pike, one to the right, and one kept to the center, so the prisoners were almost surrounded. Thirteen were reported retaken the next day, some were wounded, and within four days all were back in camp.

But after this strict orders were given to prevent prisoners from looking over the walls; they were ordered back three times, then shot if they did not obey. One Sunday night a Baptist minister, attracted by the noise made in changing guards, ascended the embankment which afforded him a chance to overlook the outside grounds and watch while the guard was being posted.

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, June 14, 1862.
He said he was interested in that and didn’t hear the order of the sentry, who fired and wounded him when he did not move in response to the order. Many wild rumors were circulated concerning bribery of sentinels and underground passages, but though there was a great deal of tunneling later during the next three years, there seems to have been no such attempts made by this first group of prisoners.

Throughout the year many individual prisoners tried to gain freedom by petitioning Colonel Owen, Governor Morton, Secretary Stanton, or even President Lincoln for parole or release with the privilege of taking the oath of allegiance. Letters from the office of the adjutant general of Indiana show that the reasons for these appeals were almost as varied as the letters themselves. Rachel and John Gasaway of Gentryville, Indiana, petitioned Governor Morton concerning their son who, they said, was deluded into joining the rebellion while they were visiting relatives in Tennessee, and they sent the necessary surety bond; a group of citizens of St. Joseph county, Indiana, petitioned the governor on behalf of a neighbor who lived there in 1859-1860, was impressed while in New Orleans, deserted and attempted to get north, but was impressed again at Memphis and was captured at Fort Donelson; some residents of Kentucky and Tennessee who were of Union sympathy wished release because their families needed them; a Scotchman, impressed during his employment in the south promised to return to his native land; a German, in fine German script, told Governor Morton that he was never naturalized and therefore wished to be

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, May 6 and 7, 1863.
released to return to Germany; there were pleas for younger sons or brothers who went into the southern army under the persuasive influence of friends and who later regretted; of colored men impressed as cooks; and recommendations for release by doctors or officers of some who were ill. Four prisoners who were odd fellows petitioned Colonel Owen as a "brother" to grant them parole on honor, promising to give bond and never to divulge the secret, or war against the union. One prisoner, because of having written an article of union sentiment for the Journal had incurred the ill will of his fellow prisoners who were "hot against him" and wished to be discharged to escape their enmity. 1

As there was no provision made by the government for transportation, Noble advised Colonel Owen to give one boy who was granted his freedom a written statement of his case and recommend him to the charity of all railroad and steamship agents enroute to his home. 2

There were also petitions that the governor should not release certain ones who were seeking it because they were known to be at heart disloyal. Some of the petitions for freedom were granted, some endorsed "No", but all were irregular and individual cases. The federal government then provided that any loyal citizen in prison by mistake should appeal only to the comissary general of prisoners, Colonel Hoffman. 3

1. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Miscellaneous letters and petitions, in File Box, "Rebel Prisoners".
2. Ibid., Correspondence Letter Copy Books. Letter and Order Copy Book #1, p.174.
3. Ibid., Miscellaneous letters and petitions, in file Box, "Rebel Prisoners".
In June, rumors at Camp Morton that arrangements were being made for a general exchange of prisoners, encouraged many of the men there just as it did northern men in southern camps. July 23, 1862, a cartel was agreed upon by Major Generals D.H. Hill and John A. Dix, and in August the exchange was effected.

Before the cartel was arranged, one entire company in camp requested authorities not to permit them to be exchanged or discharged until the war was over. Others expressed a desire to join the union army and still more petitioned to take the oath of allegiance and be released. Then when it was known that negotiations for formal exchange were being made, many as individuals and also as delegates from whole companies, stated verbally and in writing that they did not wish exchange. Colonel Owen reported that two thirds of the Tennesseans were of that feeling and would regret any circumstance that would cause them to take up arms against the Union. Captain Skin appealed to Secretary Stanton as to what rule would be adopted. He answered that those desiring the oath would not be exchanged, but that the governor of Tennesse would send a commission to examine and liberate such of them as he might designate on taking the oath and complying with such other conditions as he might prescribe. Captain Skin thought these Tennesseans should either be discharged or removed as the feeling of the other prisoners was very bitter toward them because of their willingness.

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, June 17, 1862.
5. War Department, Letters Received, Secretary of War, Letter from Captain Skin to Colonel Hoffman, June, 1862.
to take the oath. A few days later when a group of five hundred of them took the oath at one time and marched out to be released the remaining prisoners attempted to mob them and to intimidate them with taunts and jeers. These released men were given transportation to Nashville.

When the cartel was arranged Colonel Hoffman ordered the commandant to prepare the rolls including all absent on parole. Those taking the oath were to be released, and the others, except guerrillas and political prisoners, were to be sent to Vicksburg, Mississippi for exchange. They were divided into three parties of about one thousand each to go by train to Cairo, where they embarked on steamboats for Vicksburg. Each party was guarded by a company of the Indiana Legion and the commander of the guard turned over with the prisoners complete rolls, and the money belonging to the group with accounts showing the amount due each man. The guerrillas and political prisoners were sent to Sandusky, Ohio. Though the orders from Washington designated at just what time the different groups should leave Indianapolis it seems there was a delay of three or four days, but all were gone by August 28, 1862, except one hundred and seven sick and nurses who remained in the city hospital until the middle of September when the last of them was able to leave.

2. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Aug. 16 and 22, 1862; Jacob Platt Dunn, greater Indianapolis, 1, 228.
4. Ibid., 318-319, 415-420, 422.
Colonel Hoffman directed that all books and records pertaining to the prisoners should be packed in a box, properly marked, and given to the quartermaster, captain, or officer in charge of the prison fund and to see that the buildings were protected and cared for. He was also to take charge of all property purchased with the prison fund and to see that the buildings were protected and cared for. Now that the prisoners were gone and the camp was clear for contemplated improvements, it was renovated, thoroughly cleaned, and again put in condition for the occupancy of troops. Certain companies of the Fifth Cavalry were assigned there temporarily and furnished with nails and tools to complete the quarters with bunks. As soon as possible all thirty day men, who had been enlisted for guard duty, were mustered out and paid. Irregular regiments were then assigned to camp Burnside from time to time for guard duty with special instructions as to the preservation of fencing and buildings. 

But the camp was soon pressed into use again for paroled prisoners and returned northern soldiers. On Saturday, September 6, the state house grounds were crowded with these men, most of whom had been engaged in battles near Richmond, Kentucky; after considerable delay they organized and fifteen or sixteen hundred of them marched to Camp Morton, except the sick and wounded who were allowed to go home. These paroled prisoners were to be drilled and fitted for duty as they expected to rejoin their regiments as soon as they were exchanged. In No-

Groups of prisoners were sent in to be served for by the recruit-

2. Ibid., 2, IV, 453-463.
3. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Aug. 28, 27, 1862; Sept. 4, 1862.
November there were three thousand of them in camp and many of them were so rebellious that the work of guarding them was very difficult. This group, too, complained bitterly of their treatment. Letters appeared in the newspapers pleading for better conditions, saying they had been ordered into camp "to drill, be rearmed, and reclothed and await exchange" but they had barely escaped starving. When they finally received enough food they had nothing to eat it with, because, they were told, the government did not furnish those things to paroled prisoners. They said getting whipped at Richmond was their misfortune not their fault, and as the men were drilling cheerfully about seven hours a day in order to be fully prepared to do good service again, they felt they deserved better treatment. Others complained that while drafted men had comforts, they, as paroled prisoners, after a month in camp were without necessities and their company officers still without quarters. These days seem almost as strenuous as when the rebels were there. A letter states that there was no observance of Sunday; it was hard work every day, though there was preaching in the evening there was none during the day as the men were kept busy cleaning the grounds.

When the terms of parole expired these men were mustered out and joined their regiments as fast as they were formally exchanged. Thus, for the remainder of 1862 Camp Morton was temporarily discontinued as a rebel prison camp, except when small groups of guerrillas were sent in to be cared for by the recruit-
ing officers stationed there.

CHAPTER III

July 1863 to the end of the war.

After 1862, the state authorities set no longer charged
the War Department with the custody of prisoners as the United States was in control
of the state of Indiana. 3

During the latter months of 1863, Camp Morton was rather quiet
than the previous years. 4

1. William H. Terrell, Report of the Adjutant General of
the State of Indiana, 1,462.

2. William H. Terrell, Report of the Adjutant General of
the State of Indiana, 1,462.

3. Indiana Adjutant General’s Office, “Adjutant’s
File No. 470,” “Camp Prisoners.”

CHAPTER III
FROM 1863 TO THE END OF THE WAR

After 1862 the state authorities were no longer charged with the custody of prisoners as the United States was in control; and since only comparatively small groups were sent there during the spring months of 1863, Camp Morton was rather quiet until the Vicksburg campaign in June. When the trains arrived with the Vicksburg prisoners crowds gathered along the line of march much as they had done when the Fort Donelson prisoners came the year before. Groups came and went; some were sent on to other prisons and from then until the end of the war the number confined at Camp Morton varied from three to six thousand.

Complete records were kept as the generals in the field sent rolls with the men showing their regiment and when and where captured, and a copy was forwarded to the Commissary-General of Prisoners. The regular army order of the day determined the routine as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:00 a.m.</td>
<td>Dinner call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30</td>
<td>Breakfast call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00</td>
<td>Surgeon's call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>First Sergeant's call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>Guard mounting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Fatigue call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Recall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Indiana Adjutant General's Office, Circular #190, in File Box, "Rebel Prisoners".
5. War Department, A.D. Orders, v.126, p.3.
As before, the officers were sent elsewhere and privates only remained at Indianapolis. One group of officers quartered at the Hotel at Waiting orders was sent to Camp Morton temporarily, much to the gratification of many citizens who complained through the newspapers of these hated rebels being allowed to stay in the principal hotel, even though they were not permitted to talk to any one. The principle was followed that medical officers and chaplains should not be held as prisoners of war and any who had been captured were ordered immediately and unconditionally discharged.

Because of the number of secession sympathizers and anti-war and anti-administration politicians in and near Indianapolis, it was considered unwise to keep many rebel prisoners there without a strong guard under officers of firmness and experience; consequently there were frequent requests for increasing the guard and for repairing and strengthening the fence surrounding the enclosure. There were forty-three guard posts requiring about one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men each day to maintain them.

For several months in 1863, the regiments serving as guards were composed chiefly of paroled men who, though good material, were demoralized as the result of having been captured. They were without sufficient commissioned officers and a sergeant was sometimes left in command. To remedy this condition, the secretary of war, in September 1863, authorized

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2. Indiana Adjutant General’s Office, Circular #190, in File Box, “Rebel Prisoners”.
4. Ibid., 2, VII, 71: 2, VI, 651.
ized that units of sixty day men be enlisted especially for

guard duty, organized in accordance with the rules governing

the volunteer infantry in the United States army, and regularly

mustered into service by the United States mustering officer

of the state. In order to increase their efficiency the guards

were armed with revolvers in addition to muskets for a sentinel

on a post with a musket could give only one shot in case of at-

tack, while with a revolver he had the strength of two or three

guards without such arms. Still later; in 1864, after there

had been many attempts to escape, the guard was increased to
two full regiments and part of a third, and supplied with a bat-
tary of six pounders and a battery of mountain howitzers. The

men at Burnside Barracks called these howitzers their "sorrel

pets". Though drawn by a mule, a man could move one of these

guns easily and each could throw one hundred and twenty grape

shot twelve hundred yards seven times a minute.

The camp was evidently in a very bad state of repair even

though there had been some effort to remodel after the first

general exchange; but no improvement had been made except such

as could be done with little additional expense to the govern-

ment. All through 1863 and until the middle of 1864 reports

of the inspecting surgeon were to the effect that the barracks

were in a dilapidated condition, chiefly without floors, with

bunks of all shapes and designs, and though mostly warmed by

stoves, some had no means of heating. Ventilation was insuf-

2. Ibid., 2, VI, 492-493; 534-535; 550.
ficient and the barracks so overcrowed that the inspector said "it is only to be wondered at that the sick report is not larg-
er than it is". By the use of ridge ventilation and frequent whitewashing they were made satisfactory for the summer of 1864 but new barracks had to be provided for the winter as one fourth of the men had been in tents in July. Seven rebel officers were confined in one small room about ten by twelve feet and eight feet high, where they slept, lived, and cooked. One and temporary hovels suffice for the protection against Indian group of half a dozen prisoners who could command the means were given the privilege of having constructed at their private ex-
spenditure, a small one room shanty and of living in it.

Surgeon Alexander continually stressed the overcrowded con-
ditions because the enclosure was too small for the number confi-
ined in it, 4,485 in less than five acres. The barracks then occupied were: five, one hundred and forty feet by twenty feet, averaging four hundred and eighty-four inmates; two, one hundred feet by twenty feet, averaging four hundred and thirty-six inmates; a shed, three hundred and fifty feet by twelve feet with five hundred and fifty-four inmates, all overcrowded and not sufficiently policed. There were one hundred and ninety-eight common, three Silby, seventeen wall, and sixteen bell tents oc-
occupied, all overcrowded and the locations never changed for want of room. Colonel Hoffman then began to investigate the cause of the overcrowding and necessity of more rooms, possibility and cost of enlargement. As the prisoners had been moved to the another parole, returning at night, as necessary.

1. Official Records, 2, VI, 661; 878-880.
2. Ibid., 2, VII, 95, 96.
5. John Allen Wyeth, With Sabre and Scalpel, p. 298.
confined in the west end of the fairgrounds enclosure, the east fence was moved so as to include about ten acres more

land. Tents were moved to new locations, additional barracks were built, old ones repaired, new hospital wards were built

and the old ones used for barracks. But all of the sugges-
tions of the surgeons were not followed for Hoffman wrote:

It is not expected that any thing more will be done to provide for the welfare of rebel prisoners than is absolutely necessary-
keep this in mind. Structures ordered for them must be cheap
and temporary though suitable to give protection against inclem-
ent weather and to serve the war. Hospitals will not be fitted
up with all the conveniences provided in hospitals for federal
soldiers, but enough allowed to insure good police and to meet
all necessary wants of the sick.

As long as there were only a few hundred prisoners in camp
their general condition seems to have been very satisfactory.

Through the spring and summer of 1863 reports indicated that the
prisoners were well provided with quarters and fuel, had ample
space for exercise within the sentinel lines, and were clean and
neat. In March, when there were only six hundred and fifty-two
in camp the barracks were in good order, "floors cleanly scrubbed
and swept"; bedding well aired and clean; the wounded well cared
for and as cheerful and happy as could be expected under the
usual circumstances. They were held in better subjection, performed
their police duties more willingly, and indulged in more active
games and amusements than at any other post. Some of the pris-
oners who were thought trustworthy and honorable were al-

owed to go out on parole, returning at night, and to engage in

1. Indianapolis News, Jan. 16, 1918; John Allen Wyeth, With
Sabre and Scalpel, pp. 288-289.
3. Ibid., 2, VII, 400.
4. Ibid., 2, VII, 311-312.
pursuits by which they earned a little money to send their families. Newsboys came with the leading dailies and some did a thriving business in purchasing rings made of canal coal, breast pins made of bone, and curious articles carved of wood by the prisoners. On the whole, the first part of 1863 the local newspapers seem justified in boasting that the prisoners were as comfortable as the nature of the case permitted, and that Indiana would certainly treat its prisoners of war as men unfortunately in their hands. But as the number to be cared for increased the conditions became gradually worse.

Consequently, throughout the winter of 1864-1865 there were frequent requests for better accommodations and suggestions that the needed improvements could be made with prison labor, but even so, there was much delay and many things went undone that could have been done if there had been less red tape and more cooperation among the authorities. One thing accomplished during this period was the construction of a new military prison for those undergoing or awaiting sentence of court martial, and for other desperate characters. This building included four substantial cells each fifteen feet square, a main prison room twenty-four by thirty feet, a dungeon sixteen feet square, an office and guard room, and a cook house and equipment to care for sixty men. January 28, 1864, there were thirty persons confined there. The prison quarters were well ventilated.

2. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Aug. 31, 1863.
lated and lighted from above through substantial iron fastened openings and the walls, floors, and ceilings were a double thickness of two inch oak plank, one placed transversely to the other for greater strength and security.

After the fall of Vicksburg there were frequent disturbances which required the interference of the guards, and health and cleanliness were reported only "fair". From that time until the camp was finally enlarged and repaired in the autumn of 1864 conditions were doubtless very bad, most of the time though efforts were made to improve the situation. Drainage was poor from lack of attention and the state ditch across the enclosure became a receptacle for the refuse of the whole camp. Later, in April, 1864, this ditch was deepened and widened, the streets were graded and graveled, and another ditch was dug around the entire enclosure just inside the fence to serve the double purpose of a drain and a safeguard against prisoners' escape by tunneled under the fence. Water secured by pumps from five wells was considered good and sufficient, but cleanliness of clothing and of men was deplorable because of insufficient laundry and bathing facilities. One inspector said he found a bath and wash house used for storing straw, so evidently such facilities as they had were not always properly used. The condition of men in the barracks was foul and in the hospital miserable. By January 1864, hospital conditions were reported much improved except for need of additional clothing, but the barracks were

1. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Jan. 28, 1864.
2. Ibid., Sept. 23, 1862.
4. Ibid., 2: VI, 424-426.
5. Ibid., 2: VI, 395-396; VII, 160-161.
So in April of that year Colonel Stevens was directed to take immediate and sufficient measures to cause a complete cleansing of quarters and barracks and to adopt a more rigid discipline with both guards and prisoners. Thorough policing of grounds and barracks and the appointment of a camp inspector helped matters. The men were obliged to keep clean for they were inspected every morning and if found dirty, were taken from their bunks and bathed. But in cold weather the policing was less thorough, and it was impossible to keep clean when the men had to eat in their barracks. The inspector asked then that mess houses be provided for each division and that all barracks be floored. Inspector Davidson's reports indicated that the camp was kept as well as possible with ground floors, "which, by being constantly in use as they are by the filthiest set of men in the world", becomes most unsanitary. They were damp all the time, especially in wet weather, and as there was no under current of ventilation there was an offensive odor which made for sickness. The men tried to make as much dirt and trouble as they could and the lack of modern sanitation created a constant problem. The inspector wanted the buildings raised at least two feet from the ground and supplied with good substantial floors that could be scrubbed every day, if needed. This would provide ventilation from beneath and also prevent efforts to escape by tunneling.

After 1884 conditions seem to have been fairly satisfactory.
for the severest critics of the camp say that the situation was better during 1865, when the 1865 legislature met there had been so many rumors of bad treatment of prisoners that when the question of a committee of investigation was brought up, Governor Morton asked the legislature to go and see for themselves. Accordingly, February 15, both houses spent from nine until twelve o'clock visiting the grounds, hospitals, sleeping quarters, investigating the arrangements for furnishing food and the quality of food, and talking with the prisoners. They said they had no word of complaint of treatment or of food and expressed themselves as well pleased with all they saw and heard.

Citizens disliked having this and other camps within the city, however, and felt that because of poor drainage and lack of sanitation they were a menace to the health of the people. General Hovey presented to the war department an elaborate plan for removing and consolidating all the camps of the city on high ground west of White River above the outlying suburb known as "Stringtown". According to his scheme the prison was to be located in the center with other camps surrounding it, thereby making the prisoners safe without maintaining units for special guard duty, but the war ended before any change was made. 

For at least a part of the time clothing and blankets were of poor quality and inadequate to the needs of the men. Letters

from prisoners vary; some criticising severely, others saying they were well cared for; and official reports, too, vary from month to month, sometimes reporting clothing good and sufficient, and again, insufficient; sometimes the bedding was found adequate, sometimes not, probably varying with conditions, the number of men there, the severity of the weather, or even the temper of the inspector. The greatest lack seems to have been in the winter of 1863 and 1864. In a letter to Commandant Stevens, November, 1863, Colonel Hoffman said some clothing had been sent to the camp for the prisoners but that "for the present" none should be issued except in cases of utmost necessity. So long as a prisoner had clothing upon him, however much torn, none should be issued him, nor should he be allowed to receive clothing from any but members of his immediate family and then only when in absolute want. If the family sent supplies the material for outer clothing was to be gray or some dark mixed color, of inferior quality, and only what was needed for immediate use was allowed. When it was necessary to issue clothing the buttons were ordered taken off the coats and the tails cut short so the prisoners would not be mistaken for union men. 1

About the same time Colonel Hoffman warned Colonel Stevens to keep constantly on hand shirts, drawers, and sox to supply the needs of the prisoners in the hospitals on the recommendation of the surgeon in charge. Additional purchases of these articles were ordered and the supply seems to have been adequate then, but not sufficiently clean because of the lack of laundry

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facilities. By the latter part of 1864 conditions were better out. Lieutenant Davidson, inspector of the camp, reported, in August, that to make the men comfortable for the winter they would need twelve hundred pairs of shoes, eight hundred and fifty shirts, and three hundred and fifty coats, as the majority of the prisoners then were of the poorer class of the Confederacy and could not obtain the means for supplying themselves with enough clothing and bedding for comfort. Throughout October and November he received and issued these articles as fast as actual cases of necessity were discovered. In December, he considered the bedding insufficient for extreme cold weather and suggested that straw be issued; a week later he reported both bedding and clothing "good". At the end of that year an arrangement was made between the United States government and the rebel authorities that each should furnish its own prisoners with the necessary supplies, and brigadier general William N.R. Beall was appointed agent of the rebel government to cooperate with the commands of the military prisoners.

Much of the complaint and criticism concerning suffering at Camp Morton centers in the mid-winter of 1863-1864 when there was unusually cold weather for Indiana. Thursday, December 31, at 1 P.M. the thermometer was forty degrees above zero; it dropped rapidly and reached zero by eleven o'clock and twenty degrees below zero before daylight on New Year's morning. The highest temperature during the day was twelve below and the mercury did

2. Ibid., 2, VII, 694, 960, 1008, 1135, 1146, 1165, 1185.
3. Ibid., 2, VII, 1430.
not go above zero until Saturday morning, thus being more than thirty-six hours below zero. The cold wave extended to all parts of the north and as far south as Nashville, Tennessee.

The Mississippi River froze solid at St. Louis and heavy teams passed over the ice for several days. At a party in a large residence at North and Pennsylvania Streets the guests were compelled to put on their wraps, overcoats, and mufflers to keep warm though the furnace, fireplaces, and stoves were all running.

The quarters at Camp Morton, whether occupied by friend or foe, were not built for such weather. The barracks, enclosed with upright boards, had strips over the cracks to keep out the rain and snow. Some claimed that the boards had shrunk and that many of the strips had disappeared, leaving wide spaces through which the wind and snow came. This report is refuted by those who maintain that if any strips fell off or were pulled off by the prisoners to make ladders for escape, no complaint was made to authorities, and that if such a condition existed there was no reason why prisoners should not have nailed other strips on as there were plenty of nails and material, and prisoners often aided in repairs of this sort. From the conflicting reports it seems likely that there might easily have been cases where the snow did sift in, but the extent of that condition was probably exaggerated. The prisoners' barracks were the same con-

construction as those occupied by the guards and were, in the main, probably about as comfortable as such buildings could be, and much more comfortable than tents; but there was undoubtedly much discomfort and, indeed, some, severe. They were, in the main, probably about as earmf ort as such buildings could be, and much more comfortable than tents; but there was undoubtedly much discomfort and, indeed, some, severe. Given the extremely severe winter for which the camp was unprepared.

Stoves were not installed in all the barracks until 1863, but at this time there were four to each of them. They were the regulation camp kind, large cast iron box affairs taking in a four foot stick of wood, and were placed at intervals of twenty feet in the eighty foot barracks, making a radius of ten feet for each stove. Some prisoners claimed that only the strongest men could fight their way to the heat, but this seems hardly possible. Double rations of wood were furnished during the extreme cold, and Captain King made a raid on the wood yards of the city in order to prevent suffering. Where in authority spoke of material for large camp fires which were available to all. The men did not have sufficient clothing because they came into the camp in a dilapidated condition but the authorities seem to have to each man an extra blanket; and that six thousand were issued met the emergency of this notoriously cold New Year's day as best they could, or at least with the intention of preventing excessive suffering. Some prisoners said there was no straw for bedding and that each man was allowed only one blanket, so that they huddled together in groups with one blanket under them and two newspapers reported one death from cold and others badly over them, sleeping "spoon fashion" and taking turns for the

coveted center position. Yet, others insist that there was plenty of straw for banks and liberal quantities of fuel. Official reports show the following record:

November, 1863 - wood - 542 cords; straw - 16,000 pounds.

December, " " 675 " ; " 24,376 "

January, 1864 of "coal 600 " ; "here 12,938 eighteen deaths in

Colonel Stevens, the commandant says:

I remember the cold January very well and worried a great deal over the men, without authority I made a requisition on the quartermaster for several hundred blankets. I was liable to be hauled over the coals for doing it, but something had to be done. Indianapolis never had such weather before nor since, and we were not prepared for it. I was so worried about the condition of the prisoners that I could not sleep and almost froze myself. They suffered no more than the rest of us after the new order for blankets was given out.

He then sent duplicate requisitions to headquarters, hoping what he had done would be approved, and explaining that he had been obliged to obtain and distribute clothing and blankets at once in order to prevent suffering. Others in authority speak of "super human" efforts to secure blankets which were issued "that night" to each division as they marched by headquarters, giving to each man an extra blanket; and that six thousand were issued in one day. These defendants of the camp say that if some did not receive blankets it was because they had friends who had sent them from home and that they were therefore already supplied.

Newspapers reported one death from cold and others badly in-

jured, but refuted the report two days later with a warning to citizens about starting untrue rumors, because many, from political or sinister motives were ready to circulate stories that reflected unfavorably on those in charge of the camp. The most severe critic of conditions said there were eighteen deaths in one night from freezing, and was supported by others who did not know the number but claimed that there were frozen bodies carried from the bunks to the deadhouse. Such reports are rather definitely refuted by officers and records. The assistant commissary inspected the camp every morning and said he heard of no single case of freezing; the war department record showed that during the months of December 1863 and January 1864, the mortality was never above nine on any given day; and the books from the undertakers who buried the dead at Camp Morton showed the largest number of deaths in any one day was nine, January 25, 1864. Mr. Elijah Hedges, who lived on East New York Street, Indianapolis, as late as 1861 was an employee of this undertaker's firm and he said, "there never were eighteen bodies in what was called the dead house at any one time".

The guards suffered as much as the prisoners. Sentry beats were changed from the "walk" around the fence to the ground inside the enclosure as a means of protection from the wind, and the guards were relieved every hour instead of every two hours, and an extra supply of vegetables could be secured.

camp sutlers were allowed to sell the desired foods in such quantities as "would be necessary for health", the commandant being responsible that the privilege was not abused. But this last arrangement was near the end of the war, and helped only those who had private funds of their own to spend, and too, the sutlers were accused of charging exorbitant prices.

The official inspector also criticized the method of preparing the food as the prisoners were still cooking by squads, or each man for himself, over campfires and with insufficient utensils. The inspecting surgeon urged the erection of cook houses adequately furnished, where the cooking could be done by detail. He thought they would soon pay for themselves in the saving of rations and fuel, in the prevention of illness caused from badly cooked food, and in the improvement of sanitary conditions of the camp. The kitchens were finally erected, and by December 1864, the prisoners received their food well cooked, in messes from ten to twenty each. Bread baked in camp at the bakery was of good quality but for at least a part of the time commanding officers of companies had the option of drawing either bread or flour for their commands.

The official ration was changed from time to time. In December 1863, the molasses ration was reduced from a daily portion of one quart per one hundred men to four quarts per one hundred men twice a week, and tea could be issued in lieu of

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2. Ibid., 2, VI, 370-380; VII, 95-96, 934.
3. Ibid., 2, VI, 370-380.
of coffee with such reductions as the commandant saw fit. In
April 1864, Colonel Hoffman ordered reduced rations for all
prisoners to supersede the regulation of July 1862, and asked
that the guard be strengthened should any prisoners rebel, but
only at Camp Morton was there any serious danger of rioting
and there the guard was increased. Though coffee and sugar
were included it was recommended that these be supplied only
every other day instead of daily. As this ration was con-
sidered really in excess of the needs of inactive men, it was
further reduced June 1, 1864, but with some modification for
men who were working. The most objectionable change was the
withdrawing of sugar and coffee or tea from all but the sick,
wounded, and working men. Again in January 1865, further re-
ductions were made, chiefly in salt, vinegar, and soap rations.
The following table shows the changes which were made.

**Regular Prison Rations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>April, 1864</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hard Bread --- 14 Ozs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soft Bread --- 13 Ozs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn Bread --- 16 Ozs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon or Pork --- 10 Ozs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans or Peas --- 6 Qts. per 100 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hominy or Rice --- 8 Lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar --- 14 Lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee, ground ---3 Lbs. or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea --- 8 Ozs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap --- 4 Lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles, damman-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tine --- 5 Lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles, tallow --- 6 Lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt --- 2 Qts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molasses --- 1 Qt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinegar --- 3 Qts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes --- 20 Lbs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Official Records, 2, VI, 734.
2. Ibid., 2, VII, 130-131, 193.
In the January, 1865 ration, though no potatoes were mentioned in the table, dehydrated compressed potatoes or dehydrated mixed vegetables could be substituted for beans, peas, rice, or hominy, and if salt, soap, or vinegar rations were found insufficient, these supplies could be increased as deemed proper by the commanding officer, not to exceed the quantity allowed union men.

It was concerning this period that very bitter complaints were later made both of shortage of food and of general ill treatment of prisoners. The avalanche of criticism seems to have been begun by an article, "Cold Cheer at Camp Morton," by Dr. J. A. Wyeth, an ex-prisoner, published in the Century Magazine of April, 1891, picturing the mistreatment and hardships of prisoners. These accusations aroused the anger of Hoosiers and the article was answered in the September number of the same magazine by Mr. Wyeth.

2. Ibid., 2, VIII: 52.
magazine by Mr. Holloway, secretary to Governor Morton during the war, followed by a rejoinder from each side in January 1892. Both men have support for their contentions. Dr. Wyeth has testimony after testimony from other ex-prisoners who verify his criticisms, but these are all of necessity unofficial as he depended largely on statements of personal experiences. The refutation of Mr. Holloway has not only the testimony of citizens in private life, but the reports of officers associated with the camp, and the official records. Many articles bearing out the criticisms were published in the Confederate Veteran, which magazine might be expected to be rather partisan in its point of view, and most of these were published after the original article by Dr. Wyeth, which therefore may have inspired them. Though it is strange that if conditions were as bad as pictured, they were not exposed sooner, yet the same stories come from too many sources for them to be absolutely unfounded; and it is probable that such conditions may have existed in at least isolated cases. Reports of officers and official records would seem the more dependable sources, yet it is quite possible that officers really did not know or did not care to know the whole story, and that some things may have happened that did not get into official records. There were probably reasons for both points of view due largely to the difference in the intention of the government regarding the treatment of prisoners, and the inefficient, or sometimes, impracticable working out of those intentions in a few or even in many instances, plus the two points of view and the partisanship of the two groups.

The above table concerning rations is from official records.
and it is possible that, though the prescribed ration was ade-
quate the prisoners may not always have received what they were
supposed to receive. Some ex-prisoners insisted that for part
of the time the ration consisted of one loaf of bread and four
ounces of beef a day varied by bacon and six hard tack crackers.
They reported that the men were so hungry that the daily ration
was eaten immediately and that sometimes they would go from
eight in the morning until late in the evening of the following
day without food, when they would stand and look for the wagons
to come through the gates; that when possible they would pick
up potato peelings thrown out from the cook rooms, roll them
into balls, cook and eat them; that beef bones were broken in-
to small pieces, boiled in clear water, the grease sold as bone
butter for ten cents a half cake and considered a great delicacy;
that crawfish were caught in the ditches, boiled, and con-
verted into soup; that even a sutler’s dog was killed and bar-
becued. Others claimed that those who had money bought black
tobacco from the sutler and traded it for bits of bread or oth-
er food to those who preferred to go without something to eat
for tobacco to chew or smoke, as that was not issued. In fair
weather there was almost a regular market place in which the
unit of currency was a chew, (pronounced “chaw”), -tobacco cut
about one inch square and one half inch thick, and given in ex-
change for leaves of bread about three and one half inches wide
and deep by seven inches long, known as “duffers”, or for crack-

2. Elder J.K. Womack, “Treatment of Prisoners at Camp Mor-
ers, known as "hard tack".

except for a few months when the sutler was not allowed in
camp those who had money could buy additional supplies from him,
but prices were said to have been extortionate, and there were
hints that he had to divide his profits with headquarters offi-
cers. Some claimed that while his shop was closed rats as well
as dogs were eaten, and that refuse from the hospitals was
stolen for food. These critics said that strict censorship pre-
vented any news of a shortage of food from reaching friends as
every line written was scanned and any reference to this condi-
tion was destroyed.

There is no indication in official records of any such in-
adequacy of food and there are unofficial and semi-official tes-
timonies which refute in large measure these severest criticisms
of the prison. A surgeon in charge was repeatedly assured that
the prisoners received the full rations authorized and he said
that he had no personal knowledge of the men's eating rats or
dogs; a guard reported that he often saw men go about with loaves
of bread under their arms, offering to exchange them for tobacco,
and remarked that hungry men would not trade their food; a cap-
tain of the guards said some of the prisoners traded their ra-
tions for tobacco then gambled the tobacco, and it became nec-

assay to see that those men ate the rations issued them under supervision of the guards; an employee of the undertaker who cared for the bodies of the deceased prisoners said he was in Camp Morton almost daily, and that before the coffee ration was cut off by the retaliatory order, prisoners offered to sell both him and the driver of the dead wagon whole bucketsfull of good coffee that they had saved from their rations, then worth from three to four dollars, for fifty cents; a builder who had contracts for building barracks and hospitals in Camp Morton formerly lived in Kentucky, and at the request of a prisoner's father, furnished a group of rebels with some high top boots, soft hats, and suits of clothes, but he said that this group never asked him for food, though they knew he was authorized to get anything they needed. And so the controversy remains unsettled, each side maintaining its own point of view; the truth probably lying somewhere between the two extremes.

There were varying and conflicting reports as to unnecessary indignities and cruelty to prisoners, and most of these criticisms, too, date from the Wyeth controversy of 1891 and 1892, or afterward. Here also, there is probably some truth in both sides of the case. An unpleasant experience or an incident of cruel treatment may easily have become magnified in the telling, as the years passed. War and the maintenance of war prisons is not a gentle art at best, so it is quite probable that under the guise of necessary discipline there might have been cases of severe treatment which did not get into the official

records—either purposely omitted, or considered as a matter of course, a mere incident in the day’s routine, not worthy of particular mention. In general, the policy for the care and control of prisoners as indicated by official orders seems reasonably good; how far those in charge failed in the execution of this general policy during certain periods of the camp’s existence and in particular cases, it is difficult to determine definitely, of one corporal, what she sent a prisoner for leaving.

The careless shooting of prisoners was guarded against by orders that both the sentinels and the captives should know the rules of the camp, and that if it were necessary for a sentinel to shoot a prisoner he must be able to show that he was obeying orders and that the prisoner had wilfully refused to comply with his request. The circumstances of each such case were to be carefully investigated by a board of officers to determine if the shooting were justifiable. While strict discipline was of course necessary, no cruelties were to be committed.

Yet there are enough testimonies of cruelty to indicate that there must have been cases of careless shooting and of inhuman treatment. Commander Stevens insisted there was no intention to misuse the prisoners but there had to be discipline, and as all the officers were sent on elsewhere only privates were left at Camp Morton. Some of them were vicious and had the habit of throwing stones and bottles filled with water at the guards at night; so, one of the officers admitted it was not improbably that some stray shots went flying around when they should not have done so. Also, the men were sometimes...

very insulting to the guards, and individual soldiers might have been rude in return, though strict orders were issued that they never answer back and that they never use force except when violence was threatened. Even officers could hardly visit prisoners without receiving irritating words and sometimes very rude treatment.

Several different ex-prisoners complained particularly of the cruelty of one corporal Baker who shot a prisoner for leaving ranks one bitter cold morning to warm himself at a fire a few feet distant, before being dismissed. This accusation was refuted by Commandant Stevens, and there is no record of Baker having shot anyone, but several of the prisoners claimed they were eye witnesses. Another cruelty frequently mentioned by those who wrote of their experiences, was tying prisoners up to trees by their thumbs or wrists for several hours, or for all night. One particular such incident concerned four men who were caught trying to escape by tunneling. The ex-prisoners' stories make it seem a most inhuman procedure. They said the men were tied to a tree, arms full length above their heads all night, until they were completely exhausted; however, one of the guards maintained that their arms were not above their heads but were merely tied behind the tree, that they were compelled to mark time but were given frequent rests and plenty of water to drink, and that "they did not seem especially tired when released, but..."

2. Ibid., XLII (Sept. 1891), p. 770.
4. William B. Cooper, Indianapolis, Personal Interview.
did seem to feel they had got off very easily!" The tying up of offenders by their wrists or thumbs was a punishment used among the northern soldiers themselves, who guarded the prisoners. A veteran from a guard regiment told the writer of a group of northern soldiers who tied four comrades up for the night because of critical statements about President Lincoln, so such treatment, if meted out to prisoners, would not have been done necessarily with a desire to punish them in an especially severe manner just because they were rebels.

Other cruelties complained of were caggling, bucking, marking time, forcing men to carry a heavy piece of wood until exhausted, shooting into the barracks at night, and beatings if the prisoners did not move quickly enough, or did not answer quickly. In 1865 a joint select committee appointed to investigate the condition and treatment of prisoners of war reported that in many cases the prisoners received kind and considerate treatment, but also, in nearly all prison stations in the north, camp Morton mentioned among others, men suffered from insufficient food and were "subjected to ignominious, cruel, and barbarous practices". Yet the private secretary to governor Morton until June 1864, whose residence was in Indianapolis during the war, said, as it was his duty to visit the camps and to learn something of their management, he talked with prisoners almost daily, visited their barracks and ate their food. If they were hungry or maltreated they made no complaint to him.

or to any one he knew, but since official records recognized
the existence of criticisms to the point of investigating condi-
tions, and after investigations, mentioned Camp Morton as one
place in which there were at least some cases of ill treatment,
it seems that prisoners could hardly have been as well satis-
fied as Mr. Holloway indicated. Yet, government officials on
tours of inspection were prone to be most critical and to see
everything in just as unfavorable light as a local official
would be prone to see the same things in a favorable light.

Gifts and supplies to prisoners created another problem.
A gentleman from Kentucky bought twenty blankets from an Indi-
anapolis firm at six dollars each for the use of prisoners a-
mong Morgan's men. As the commandant could not permit this
procedure the donor had to return them to the store. Military
headquarters were besieged daily by an average of from fifteen
to twenty persons from Kentucky, most of them from "best fami-
lies", wanting permission to give something to prisoners.

Complaints were made that boxes and letters with money
rarely reached those for whom they were intended. This charge
was refuted by those in command and by the Indianapolis express-
man who said there was scarcely a day when packages were not de-
ivered to camp Morton and he heard no complaint of their not
having been received. Of course there were restrictions as to
articles which could be accepted. Lack of clothing led Colonel

Hoffman to permit prisoners to receive certain articles from relatives, but not from friends. Any excess over what was required for immediate use was considered contraband, as was all uniform clothing, boots, equipment of any kind for military service, weapons, and intoxicating and malt liquors. Boxes of food containing nothing hurtful or contraband were ordered delivered until late in the summer of 1864, when no food of any kind could be sent, except in cases of illness when relatives were permitted to send such food as the surgeon approved. Money sent prisoners was kept for them and issued in certain prescribed amounts. When the men were transferred the money belonging to them, with a statement of the amount due, was sent with them to the officer to whom they were delivered and when they were paroled their money was returned to them.

Though critics of the camp claimed that prisoners had no opportunity to make their condition known because letters containing news of maltreatment were not sent, those in authority maintained there was never any restriction on correspondence except what was necessary to prevent plots to escape and to limit the length of letters to one page. The postman brought unsealed letters to headquarters where they were censored by several attachés, but there is no record of any further restrictions than those of the system established in 1862, when there was no objection to the rules.

While many bore witness of cruel treatment, others expressed a feeling of general satisfaction with their prison life and an
appreciation of the good care given them. After the war was over some of the prisoners presented mementoes to Mrs. Stevens, wife of the commandant, as tokens of their thankfulness for the kindness of Colonel Stevens. Among these gifts were a table and a box made by two prisoners while in camp. Surgeons also received letters from ex-prisoners for many years after the war expressing gratitude for courteous attention.

While some, perhaps many, prisoners felt that they were maltreated at times, there were occasions when the citizens and officers thought the captives were given too many considerations. Such was the case concerning visitors in the summer of 1863. After the capture of Morgan’s men, objections came to the commissary general of prisoners because of the large number of southerners who came to Indianapolis with permits from Major General Burnside to visit their relatives held in prison. One officer said that “taking all together, we were waiting on them all day and were compelled to get up our office work at night.” An irate citizen complained equally bitterly that though he was loyal and loved his country and her free institutions he could not consent to see such favors extended to rebels as were constantly given at Camp Morton and remain silent. He wrote that hardly had Morgan’s men “reached here until their friends crowded to see them, furnishing them with money, clothing, and various articles of food, treating them and talking to them as martyrs and heroes, and confirming them in their rebel sentiments.”

men from Kentucky flourishing their permits and boasting of the prowess of their relatives in the Confederate army. And in an hour or two you can see the same parties at camp Morton enjoying the society of their rebel friends, condoling with them in their misfortune in being captured, and at the same time see them waited on by our own soldiers who have been prisoners to the rebels and who complain bitterly of the treatment awarded to these desperadoes." This letter was sent to the Secretary of War with the endorsement that the charges were of grave character, though presented in "questionable" form, but it resulted in more strict regulations for permits to visit prisoners. A little later still more strict regulations became necessary and then only those having official business were admitted to the camp enclosure, and they were not allowed to have any communication whatever with the prisoners.

The arrangements with the sutlers varied somewhat from time to time. In November, 1863, sutler shops were permitted containing nearly everything except liquors, including cider, butter, eggs, milk, canned fruits, boots, underclothing, and "all minor articles usually found in a sutler's stock", from which the prisoners were allowed to purchase. But December 1, 1863, by the direction of the Secretary of War, Colonel Hoffman sent an order to several prisons, among them Camp Morton, that no prisoners of war be allowed to trade with the sutlers. Colonel Stevens in acknowledging the order, said the deprivation of tobacco through this plan would cause more trouble and

1. Official records, 2, VI, 162-165.
2. Ibid., 2, VII, 75.
3. Ibid., 2, VI, 561.
discontent among prisoners than the short allowance of clothing. This order was in effect only three months and in March, 1864, trade with sutlers was again permitted though it was restricted to some extent. They were to have only a small room where supplies for a day or two could be kept on hand. None but articles enumerated were to be sold and every precaution was taken to prevent abuse of the privilege either by the seller or the prisoners. No sale was to be made before eight o'clock in the morning or after half an hour before sunset in the evening, and as prisoners were not to have any money in their possession, all purchases were to be made with orders on the person having the money in charge. The list of articles was still long and included tobacco, cigars, pipes, snuff, writing materials and stamps, buttons, tape, thread, suspenders, sox, scissors, opossum, glassware, tinware, and a long list of groceries. April 20, 1864, a report to the inspector general of the United States indicated that the sutler was then selling pies, cakes, soda water, and candies to the prisoners. These articles were not permitted, so in August, a circular was issued giving a still more restricted list accompanied by definite orders that these items only should be sold. They were: writing material and stamps, tobacco, cigars, pipes, matches, combs, soap, tooth brushes, hair brushes, clothes brushes, scissors, thread and needles, handkerchiefs, towels, and pocket looking glasses.

There were suspicions that certain abuses existed in the business relations of the sutler and the camp officials. An ex-

2. Ibid., 3, VI, 1014-1015.
3. Ibid., 2, VII, 573-574.
prisoner among the group of critics after the Wyeth controversy said that in 1863 it was generally understood the sutler had to divide profits with headquarters' officers. There were evidently similar accusations current at the time for a report in April 1864, assured the inspector general that no pecuniary transactions were discovered between officers and sutlers or persons furnishing supplies for prisoners; again in 1865 a released prisoner wrote to Washington concerning similar abuses which he thought existed. He did not directly accuse Colonel Stevens of having pecuniary interest in the sutler's business but said the suspicion was strong among the prisoners that such was the case because of the system followed in handling prisoners' funds. Money sent prisoners by friends was deposited with Colonel Stevens and turned over to the sutler who then gave it out in checks, usually for one dollar. No change was given back unless at least thirty cents worth was dealt out, and then change was given in smaller checks. If a man wanted simply a plug of tobacco, he could not get it without purchasing something besides. In the same letter the writer also said that the sutler smuggled in articles not allowed to be sold by him, such as small gingerbread cakes worth not exceeding two cents, and turned them over to a certain prisoner attached to each division who paid the sutler at the rate of eleven cakes for one dollar and then sold them at from fifteen to twenty-five cents each. Other things were mentioned that the prisoner felt should be corrected.

3. War Department, Letters Received-Secretary of War, 8103.
and Colonel Hoffman considered the accusation sufficiently seri-
ous to recommend to the secretary of war that an investigation
be made, though there seems to be no record of the result.

The prison fund which accumulated as a result of the dif-
ference in rations allowed by the government and the rations
actually issued, provided a convenient sum from which many and
varied expenditures were made during 1862. In addition to arti-
cles "necessary to the health and comfort" of the prisoners,
which would otherwise have to be purchased by the government,
(and the list was a long one), extra pay for clerks was provided
from this fund, and a hospital and a bake house were built.
(Chapter II, pp. 40-41.) Later, prisoners employed on public
works other than the proper policing duty were compensated from
this fund and in April 1864, a circular fixed the extra pay of
stewards and mechanics as well as clerks at forty cents per day,
and laborers at twenty-five cents per day. To safeguard against
careless expenditure these persons could never be employed with-
out the sanction of the commissary of prisoners, and the rules
further required that no improvements of barracks should be made
without submitting plans and estimate of cost to the secretary
of war through the commissary of prisoners. In June of the same
year a third circular reduced the extra pay of mechanics to ten
cents per day and of laborers to five cents per day, to be placed
to their credit in the hands of officials holding the prisoners'
money, though this allowance could be paid in tobacco to those
who wished it, and small quantities were authorized to be pur-
chased from the prison fund for that purpose. The quartermaster
or the commissary was to procure all articles and to hire all
clerks and employees on order of the commandant who was responsible for the authorized purpose of the expenditure, careful accounts were kept of all transactions and a report was sent each month to Colonel Hoffman, the commissary general of prisoners.

After 1864, the tax from the sutler became a part of the prison fund and the total was sometimes quite large. The commissary for the Department of Indiana said he often paid General Stone, in charge of the bakery, six to seven thousand dollars a month for savings on flour alone. The following list of balances for certain months taken from various reports indicate the trend of the amounts concerned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 30, 1863</td>
<td>$959.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 26, 1864</td>
<td>$4,205.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 20, 1864</td>
<td>$6,060.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 21, 1864</td>
<td>$7,793.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 31, 1864</td>
<td>$30,015.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Accompanying these reports were statements to the effect that the fund was well managed and the purchases judiciously made.

A hospital fund accumulated from the difference in the allotted ration and that actually issued was used primarily for hospital expenditures, but was considered as a part of the total prison fund. A report from Colonel Hoffman to the commissary general of subsistence at Washington showed the amounts from these two funds transferred to the subsistence department at the closing of the prisons. The names of twenty-six camps and hospitals were given, among them Camp Morton.

2. Ibid., 2, VII, 54.
These funds had been used to meet heavy expenditures in purchases of supplies for barracks and hospitals and for many expenses of the prisons, yet this large sum remained.

Men took desperate and sometimes fatal chances in an effort to escape. The high board fence surrounding the camp was smooth on the inside, while the parapet was so placed that only the head and shoulders of the sentinels could be seen by the prisoners. At night, strong lamps with reflectors flooded the yard with light making the fence and the sentinels almost invisible. After dark, the deadline was within ten feet of the fence, the guards being ordered to fire on any one who did not withdraw when ordered back, for a prisoner's presence there at night was regarded as an intention to escape. Any effort to scale the wall was exceedingly dangerous yet many attempted it and some succeeded in gaining their freedom.

A young Texan made a ladder by tying fragments of planks together with twine and twisted clothing; he watched through the snow until he thought the sentinels were about one hundred and fifty feet apart, then rushed to the wall about seventy feet from his quarters, placed the ladder against it and escaped. The sentries did not see him and the ladder was not found until

morning. Encouraged by this success nine others made a dash for the fence but two were killed, one was wounded, and four were recaptured and disciplined, ex-prisoners claim, by being tied up by their wrists to trees for the remainder of the night, their toes barely touching the ground. Another time, between thirty and forty picked men quietly organized themselves, selected a leader and agreed upon a plan. Ladders were constructed by splicing bits of plank taken from the berths with strips of blankets and clothing. Just as the bugle sounded for taps and before the patrol reached the prison yard, these men, armed with stones, pieces of wood, and bottles filled with water, rushed in a solid body for the fence, some pelting the sentinels with rocks and sticks, while the others located the ladders. The guards were completely surprised and the assaulting party gained the outside, though some were recaptured.

When prisoners were shot investigations were usually made to determine whether the guard was justified in using his gun. In one such case early in 1834, Colonel Hoffman asked if the prisoner had definitely refused to return to the barracks or merely did not go, and if there were sufficient time allowed between the order to return and the shooting. He warned those in command against too hasty action, saying, "We must strive to avoid giving the rebels an opportunity in shooting down unoffending prisoners on trifling pretexts". Testimonies of other guards seemed

to justify this case of shooting and at the close of the investigation the commandant reported that he was satisfied it was the intention of the deceased prisoner and his comrades to trifling with the guard, if not to escape.

Again in September of the same year Colonel Hoffman investigated the shooting of two prisoners. From the report and the testimonies it seems there was an extensive and deep laid plot of prisoners to escape. Their plan was to commence throwing stones at the sentry on the walk, draw fire, then rush for the fence. The portion of the line selected was guarded by troops armed only with muskets and bayonets; had they been equipped with revolvers in addition the prisoners could not have escaped. One was killed, one mortally wounded, and three succeeded in getting away, though a patrol was sent out immediately. There were twenty or thirty in the party and nine ladders made from tent poles and planks were found near the fence.

There was so much unrest that in June 1864, Colonel Stevens had three pieces of artillery with ammunition placed so as to cover the angles of the enclosure. Stones had been collected in large numbers, and the prisoners had destroyed some of their utensils and had talked with so much defiance because their rations were reduced, that the regular guard was doubled. Insubordination continued throughout the summer with frequent attempts to escape. November 14, a group made a break on the guard, and though the camp inspector’s report says “several”

3. Ibid., 2, VII, 193.
escaped, part of whom were recaptured, Colonel Hovey said fifty escaped because of the inefficiency of the guard.

The captives devised many and sometimes novel ways to escape. While being transferred from Camp Chase to Rock Island, a group of desperate fellows cut out a hole in the bottom of the car through which ten slipped to the ground. The ringleader was recaptured near the eastern Indiana state line and was pre-lodged at Camp Morton where he probably incited other efforts to escape. Eight or ten prisoners who were allowed to go to the creek to bathe, overpowered their guards, disarmed them and got away, though some of them were later recaptured. One method frequently tried was getting out of the grounds with wagons or trucks hauling refuse away. Between eight and nine o'clock one morning when six men were detailed as guard to nine prisoners taking a truck of refuse from the hospital, one attempted to escape by running into a cornfield and was shot when he did not halt. Another time, five prisoners seized two guards who were with them in taking a garbage wagon outside the walls, disarmed the guards immediately and succeeded from the sentinels by it. The prison barracks are carefully inspected each day by an officer. Tunneling was perhaps one of the most frequently attempted methods, at least for a while. This plan seems to have been used first in the quarters along the north side where it was comparatively easy to dig a way out under the nearby fence. A stove and the writings from the floors of their quarters while group worked there twelve days, finished their tunnel, and would have escaped but one of the number informed the commandant of the

1. War Department, N.D. Letter Book, v.70, 100.
3. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Aug. 18, 1864; Aug. 19, 1864.
the plot; and when they emerged outside a waiting guard captured them.

On the nights of February 10 and 11, 1864, a general escape was planned, both by tunnel and by storming the fence, but information of the conspiracy reached the commandant who strengthened the guards at the most dangerous points, especially at a post where several had escaped the night before. Even with this precaution, about eighteen escaped and at least one was shot. The officer of the day reported that the one who was killed, when first discovered by the guard, had reached the outside of the fence and was issuing from a tunnel, closely followed by his comrades, when they were fired upon by two of the guards. At the same time an attempt was made to break over the fence at another point, but it was promptly repulsed when several shots were fired, which, in consequence of the extreme darkness did not take effect.

Commandant Stevens wrote Colonel Hoffman:

The tunnel had been opened beneath a bunk in the west end of barrack 0, and had escaped the observation of the inspecting officer, the prisoners having concealed it by replacing and nailing down the boards immediately over it each day. The outlet of the tunnel was under the guard walk and concealed from the sentinel by it. The prison barracks are carefully inspected each day by an officer especially charged with that duty, and as an additional precaution a patrol is constantly on duty during the night to see that the prisoners retire to their quarters at the proper hour and that nothing of an unusual character occurs. The tunnel in question was about eleven feet in length, and from information since received, was several weeks in construction, the dirt from it being carefully conveyed in buckets mixed with ashes from stoves and the sweepings from the floors of their quarters while policing each morning.

Within the following month four similar attempts were made but they were unsuccessful.

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Sept. 24, 1863.
3. Ibid., 2, VI, 946-947, 1043-1044.
4. Ibid.
completed tunnel led were crowded with prisoners belonging to other parts of the camp who admitted that they had expected to escape, and many had supplied themselves with extra rations and dry bread; when it was emptied the digger would pull his ears, and were bearers of letters from prisoners to friends in Dixie.

An ex-prisoner said that in order to put this tunnel "out of business" after discovery, the hospital scavenger wagon that was hauled daily and emptied outside the prison, was brought to the mouth of the tunnel and its contents dumped into it.

As a precaution against escape, the commandant ordered a trench dug between the barracks and the fence and also had twenty-foot dug beneath, either joining, or, for indirectly placing ten feet taken off those barracks nearest the fence. But this did not stop the practice and one ex-prisoner tells of his experience the night they were to cut to the outside. He was interested in two tunnels, one to be abandoned because it was filled with water. In the other was completed on the day preceding the night they were to cut to the outside, someone told of the plan. During the summer of 1864 the barracks became so crowded by new prisoners that several rows of tents were placed between the barracks and the fence. His tunnel was from one of these tents, and the open-water was covered with blankets. Sixteen men were in the secret tunnel. It was slow work. They began in June and it was not begun and worked in details. A shaft about ten feet deep was sunk, one man using a pick and the other, a rope and two feet from the bottom of this the tunnel started, running the number was missing. One had informed the officer of the level with the surface of the ground until the tunnel was reached, where it dipped down to avoid opening into it. One man worked in the tunnel, cutting the loose earth with a case knife and then using his hands to fill a sack at his side. This sack was at-

1. Indianapolis Daily Journal, Feb. 15, 1864.
attached to the middle of a cord and when full, a slight pull on the string was a signal for the man at the opening to hand the bag out; when it was emptied the digger would pull his end of the cord until the sack was again at his side. Because of the frequent inspection by the patrol, it was impossible to conceal any large quantity of fresh earth and it became necessary to dispose of it every day. When the picket on duty signaled that the patrol was approaching, blankets were thrown over the loose earth and the orifice of the tunnel and the men would lie down upon them, either feigning sleep or innocently playing cards. Toward sunset, and just before they were corralled for the night, the earth was disposed of. Each man would tuck his trousers into the tops of his socks, then fill the legs with as much loose earth as he could walk with, and go to the "Potomac" as the men called the state ditch across the prison. When he reached the middle of one of the planks laid across the little stream as a bridge, unobserved, he would give his trousers leg a sudden pull, allowing the dirt to dump itself into the water where the current soon obliterated all trace of his offense. It was slow work. They began in June and it was September before they were ready to cut through. On the last day one of the number was missing. He had informed the officers of the tunnel and was round behind the guard lines at headquarters, where he remained until the end of the war. Another prisoner said in derision, that this traitor was taken outside the prison enclosure and employed around office quarters for protection.

from his betrayed comrades.

in spite of the difficulties and discouragements tunneling continued. A prisoner estimated that over one thousand such attempts were made during 1864. The camp inspector urged the raising and flooring of all barracks so they could be inspected and policed underneath each day; and General Carrington finally ordered a second strong board enclosure built within the old one and a deep trench sunk to gravel level around the entire camp. To further control this and other attempts to escape Colonel Hoffman advised that Colonel Stevens seek out and employ detectives among the prisoners who could obtain information concerning improper communication of prisoners and outsiders and plans to escape. These men were to be paid from the prison fund, not by the month but by each item of information given, according to its importance.

Closely associated with attempts to escape is the whole story of the Knights of the Golden Circle. This organization had been maintained in the South for several years before the war for the formation of filibustering schemes, with a few branches in the northern states. About the time the secession movement was inaugurated, it was revived and adapted to the purposes of the rebellion, after which it spread first into the disaffected of the border states, then to the north and

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west. Its object was to educate the masses of the Democratic party to bitter hatred of the administration, and to weld all hostile elements in the north. Its purpose was carried forward by newspapers, addresses, and the proselyting of humbler members in an attempt to make this order and the malcontents throughout the land, aided by released rebel prisoners, one united hostile mass to be hurled, at the proper time, against the government. As began it was discovered that there were

The organization became rather strong in Indiana where there were numerous southern sympathizers, as many of the people were either from the south or descended from southerners, and also because of the trade with the south through the Ohio River which furnished an outlet for surplus products of Indiana farms and factories. But during the greater part of 1861 the patriotic indignation of the people was too strong to allow it to make any but secret progress. It spread rapidly, however, and in May 1862, its members in Indiana were estimated at fifteen thousand. By that time its operations had become bolder, were traced home, and the grand jury of the United States circuit court found it so dangerous in its plans to resist or thwart the enlistment of volunteers and the payment of national taxes, that they were compelled to make a thorough investigation of its character. The inquiries extended over a period of several weeks and witnesses came from many counties. Investigation showed that they had their castles or lodges in various parts of the state, common pass words, and signs that could be dis-

tungished at great distance so that if any of their number should be forced to enlist in the union army the rebels could recognize them and shoot above them when in battle, and also for the purpose of getting members on the grand jury in case of legal prosecutions. Not all of those enrolling sanctioned its treasonable plans, however, and in many cases individuals abandoned the order when they learned its true nature. After the investigation was begun it was discovered that there were members among the prisoners of war at Camp Morton, who refused to testify because their evidence would implicate friends in the state and injure the cause of the confederacy. The extent of the findings of the grand jury alarmed all loyalists and by the time for the legislature there were many rumors of bold revolutionary projects such as taking possession of the arsenal, deposing the governor, overthrowing the government, and releasing rebel prisoners.

A committee was appointed to investigate a riot in Brown County, which resulted in the exposure of grips, passwords, and signs. The leaders then decided to reconstruct their order and make more secret its mysteries. Consequently, in the autumn of 1863, it was organized under the name of Order of American Knights, or O.A.K. and was frequently called the "Host", "Mighty Host", or "Circle of Honor". Some of the leaders became alarmed at the open treason in the oath and at a meeting in New York, February 23, 1864, struck the more apparent treason from the ritual and renamed the organization the Order of the Sons of

2. Ibid.
Liberty, frequently referred to as the U.S.L.

During the summer of 1863 there were so many rumors of activity of the Knights of the Golden Circle, as they were yet called in Indiana, that Brigadier General Wilcox thought it "highly impolitic" to keep rebel prisoners at Indianapolis. In the first place, the situation in Indiana was such that all troops might be required any day to resist men organized and armed against conscription in various localities. In the second place, should there be an extensive revolt, the insurrectionists would seek to free and arm rebel prisoners, while this was hardly expected, the presence of any considerable number of captives caused uneasiness in the public mind if it did not actually give a sense of strength to the possibilities of insurrection. A number of suspicious individuals had been trying to communicate with prisoners and Governor Morton had thought it unsafe to have so many in camp. Though the officials pledged themselves to do their best if it were necessary to send more prisoners to Indianapolis, they asked that some other camp be used, if possible. Colonel Hoffman replied that some of the rebels could be sent on to Fort Delaware, but, though Camp Morton was not very satisfactory under the existing conditions, it was about as good as other places and it could not be dispensed with as all the prisons together would not hold more than twelve or fifteen thousand. Extra guards were then provided for Camp Morton and those in charge were asked to make the best arrangements possible for the security of the prisoners.

2. Ibid., 2, VI, 3, 18, 33.
3. Ibid., 2, VI, 5.
In the summer of 1864 two or three rebel officers visited Indianapolis to arrange with the chiefs of the Order for the release and arming of the prisoners at Camp Morton, Camp Chase at Columbus, Camp Douglas at Chicago, and on Johnson's Island, and to take command of the force that was expected to be formed of them. Later investigation revealed that there were among the prisoners two thousand sworn members who had organized into battalions and selected officers.

A general outbreak was planned for July but was postponed until August when the order in Missouri was to rise, assisted by revolts in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky. Railroad and telegraph lines were to be cut, arsenals at Indianapolis, Columbus, and Springfield seized, and rebel prisoners in those states armed. The combined forces of released prisoners and sons of Liberty were to join the rebel army in Louisville and permanently occupy Kentucky. Cities were to be sacked and burned, and the government brought to terms with the rebels and forced to assent to the establishment of a Northwestern Confederacy. A committee of ten had been appointed to assassinate Governor Morton. The confederate government furnished $2,000,000.00 for the carrying out of the plan and Jacob Thompson, of Canada, furnished and Indianapolis leader with $75,000.00 for the purchase of arms.

The projects in Illinois and Missouri partially failed; loyal-
which followed, revealed the full and plain plans of the order, but 
alists raised a militia in Posey and Vanderburg counties and 
who raised it. Many left the order when 
ecutives included the leaders of the 
and its contemplation. Data were seized, and the leaders 
know of their scheme for domestic war. Early in August a 
pletely seized and held by military authority. The most consci- 
member of Congress and a member of the order from the southern 
part of the state came to Indianapolis and tried to dissuade 
many, and their demonstrations on charges of support 
the leaders from their plans, but were able to secure a promise 
riage against the government; for offering aid and comfort to 
of postponement only; however, "the broken meshes of the net 
the rebels against the authority of the United States, of indi- 
could never be knit together again", and prompt action effective-
ly crushed out the Sons of Liberty.

Soon after this delay, came the discovery of a large ship- 
ment of arms to the chief commander in Indiana, H.H. Dodd, fol-
sought to barricade the roads where the scaffold was actually built. Then 
followed by his arrest with several other officers and important 
the execution was postponed, the sentence changed to life im-
bers. Information came to governor Morton that there were 
 certain boxes marked "Sunday School books" in Mr. Dodd's print-
resolution of the judges, and ordered their release from 
ing establishment, and when his office was examined there were 
four hundred large navy revolvers and one hundred and thirty-
five thousand rounds of ammunition, boxed and addressed pre-
and were sealed for fear of harm. Concerning the activities of the 
closely as stated in the letter. Mr. Dodd disappeared, but 
ights of the golden circles to which he was generally called, 
was traced from city to city and was finally arrested after 
they really did not accomplish anything, and there was probably 
general Ludge offered $2,000.00 for his delivery. Fifty kegs 
been even more rumors of their power than the facts judicially 
gunpowder were found in a saloon, but the owner denied all 
knowledge of it. Also invoices of arms were detected, variously 
the medical department was under charge of Assistant Surgeon 
designated.

The discovery of these tangible evidences of a conspiracy 
the Seventy-first Indiana Volunteers, with the medical 
tant, Drs. A. M. Plankkner and E. H. Jackson, physicians employed 
the release and arming of prisoners, and the treason trials

1. William H. Terrell, Report of the Adjutant General of the 
2. Ibid.
which followed, revealed the well laid plans of the order, but
the rebels did not cooperate as arranged, the designs of the
services were seized and held by military authority. The most conspic-
ous of the treason trials were against the three leaders, Bowles,
Milligan, and Horsey, and their accomplices, on charges of con-
spiracy against the government, for affording aid and comfort to
the rebels against the authority of the United States, of inciting
insurrections, of disloyal practices, and of violation of
the laws of war. All three leaders were condemned and sentenced
to hang May 19, 1865, on the parade ground between Camp Morton and
burnside barracks where the scaffold was actually built. Then
the execution was postponed, the sentence changed to life im-
prisonment, and finally, the president, in 1866, directed the
remission of their sentences and ordered their release from pris-
on.

So, though there was a great deal of talk and excitement
and some real reason for alarm concerning the activities of the
Knights of the Golden Circle, as they were generally called,
they really did not accomplish anything, and there have probably
been even more rumors of their power than the facts justified.

At the beginning of this second period of the camp's activ-
ity the medical department was under charge of Assistant Surgeon
A.N. Weir of the Seventy-first Indiana Volunteers, with two as-
stants, Dr. D. Funkhouser and P.H. Jamison, physicians employed

2. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, May 25, 1865; Indianapolis
3. Official Records, 2, VII, 6-11, 532-533, 543-549, 583-587,
   596.
by contract from the city of Indianapolis. During the first months of 1863, hospitals were reported as "clean, well regulated, but somewhat overcrowded," "general health quite good and mortality not high" considering the condition of the prisoners on arrival. But after the Vicksburg campaign in June hospital facilities were wholly inadequate and the death rate became so high that additional buildings and changes in the staff were ordered. Through delays and inefficiency it was six months before any of the units were complete, and with the increasing demands, facilities were not really adequate until late in 1864.

In June, 1863, Quartermaster Skinn asked for additional hospital accommodations and stressed the urgency of the need. There were then only eighty-three beds, many of them double, and in some wards only three hundred and fifty cubic feet of air were allowed per person. Bedsteads were all old wooden bunks, "moderately clean" but the supply of bedding was inadequate and as there were one hundred sick in the hospital many were forced to use the double beds.

July, 1864, and a special inspection of the addition to the city hospital large enough to care for three hundred patients had been built in 1862 for the accommodation of prisoners, and had been used by both prisoners and federal troops until the joint demands overtaxed its capacity; then it was used for federal troops only and all the prisoners

2. Ibid., 2, V, 741, 742.
were kept at Camp Morton. General Wilcox now suggested that this addition be used for its original purpose and that the federal sick occupying it be cared for elsewhere. Dr. Bobbs, the medical director for the district of Indiana, objected to this plan because, in the first place, the entire city hospital addition was needed for the Federal troops, and in the second place, they had found it much more satisfactory not to have both prisoners and union troops in the same hospital as they could then avoid the necessity of additional guards at the hospital and also the frequent collisions and difficulties which grew out of the proximity of the two classes of patients and their attendants. Many of the prisoners at the time were Morgan men and Dr. Bobbs thought there would be much objection from both citizens and soldiers if they were placed in the city hospital, especially when the beds were needed for the Federal sick. Therefore orders were given for rebel sick to be placed in tents, if necessary, until cots could be secured or additions could be built. Latrines were the only vegetable, and the stockhouse was unsanitary. The highest death rate was in July, 1863, and a special inspection was ordered to determine the cause of so much sickness and mortality among the prisoners. Overcrowded quarters, imperfect ventilation, and lack of hospital accommodations were, of course, basic causes, but the policing of the grounds was very unsatisfactory also, and the lack of sanitation was appalling. Prisoners generally disregarded rules of cleanliness, dead animals were near the camp, and refuse was thrown on the ground thirty paces from the quarters. Also the post mortem rooms and

the dead house were not in good condition. Drainage was deficient. In hot weather the water in the ditch dried up except for stagnant pools, and much of the water from kitchens and from washing ran into it. The diet was poor as there were no fresh vegetables and rarely potatoes. The two hospital additions were fine. There was very little improvement and late in October another inspection was made. The hospital additions had not yet been built and the sick were still housed in the two old buildings: one, the former guard house, good, but much overcrowded; the other, the main hospital, so dilapidated that it really was unfit for use as the ward patients were obliged to fasten their blankets along the wall for partial protection from wind and weather; and six hospital tents without stoves or other means of heating. One hundred and twenty-five sick who should have been in a hospital were in the barracks. Policing and hospital discipline were still poor. Very little attention was paid to diet and cooking. While the food was abundant and of good quality, potatoes were the only vegetable, and the cookhouse was unsanitary. Inspectors attained to ensure that there shall be no want

task. Reports and records were carelessly made, there were no surgical instruments, and though medical supplies were sufficient they were not kept in order. As a result of this criticism Dr. Funkhouser was succeeded by Dr. W. A. Johnson and conditions gradually improved. The two hospital additions were finally completed about December 1, and by the last of January reports of the inspector were satisfactory on every point criticized before. One foot long, and nine and one-half feet high were open. The necessity for repeated investigations and the seemingly useless delays in providing these much needed buildings may be partly explained by the temporary character of the camps which might be used only a few months or a year or two, at most. Colonel Hoffman wrote Surgeon Clark, who was making a tour of inspection of camps, that "it is only desirable to put things in such a condition as to make the sick as comfortable as the promptings of humanity demand during the time they may be occupied. It is not expected that the hospitals be fitted up with all conveniences, but it is hoped the essentials will be sufficiently attained to insure that there shall be no want of comfort", and added that whatever was done should be done with due regard to economy.

The death rate continued to decrease until May of the next year, 1864, but with the warm weather of July it was doubled. There were then nearly five thousand men in the camp enclosure of about four and one-half acres. The diseases were attributed chiefly to crowded, poorly ventilated barracks and the exhal-
tions from the earth floors where thousands of men had been sta­tioned since the beginning of the war. There was an average allow­ance of only eighty cubic feet of air space per man, and the tents were even more crowded with no room to change the loca­tions. Accordingly, a plan was submitted for enlarging the ground by removing the east fence and adding the ten acres as mentioned above. Additional wards, twenty-five feet wide, one hundred and ten feet long, and nine and one-half feet high were erected with a clothes room, bathing room, and closet in each ward. There were eight windows on a side, eleven feet apart, giving room for three beds in each space between windows and a total of fifty beds to a ward. There was also a building sixty feet long and twenty feet wide for kitchen and mess purposes; and an administration building for office dispensary and store room. All were erected without framing; the posts were set in the ground and three by eight joists were spiked to them; they were covered with felt roofing and floored one foot from the ground to insure ventilation. In the autumn four of these wards were constructed at a cost of about $915.00 and the old hospital was converted into barracks. In January 1864, three additional buildings of the same dimensions were approved by the secretary of war to be paid for from the prison fund and constructed with prison labor as nearly as practicable. For the remainder of the war regular inspections indicated that hospitals were at last satisfactory.

2. Ibid., 2, VII, 823, 1067-1070, 1102-1103, 1134, 1155, 1166.
3. Ibid., 2, VIII, 137.
4. Ibid., 2, VIII, 2, 44, 113, 144, 209-210, 310, 558, 412, 656.
Prisoners were used as nurses as they were in 1862, and one of them made the most of his opportunities. In the hospital store room where wines and whiskey were kept for medicinal purposes a stove pipe hole had been cut in the ceiling. One of these nurse prisoners by the name of Whitehead, succeeded in getting a string through the hole and with a slip noose lassoed the necks of the bottles on a shelf at the side of the room and drew up seven or eight of them, then threw down and broke three or four others to cover his guilt. As he wished, the persons in charge supposed rats had knocked the bottles over until the trick was discovered by a detective and the ingenious whiskey lover was placed in the guard house and his "bitters" stopped.

Personal effects left by deceased prisoners were taken possession of by the commanding officer of the camp. Money and valuables were reported to the commissary general of prisoners and if claimed by a legal representative of the deceased, the claim, with proof, had to be reported. Clothing of any value was given to such persons as needed it. In 1864 it was decreed that money left by deceased prisoners or accruing from the sale of his effects should be placed in the prison fund.

The dead were buried near Greenlawn cemetery in the lot which Governor Morton had secured for that purpose in the first year of the camp's existence as a military prison. As in 1862, the graves were marked with wooden boards bearing a number for the purpose of identification. When there were several burials to be made the same day the bodies were placed side by side in

1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Nov. 3, 1865.
2. Official records, 2, IV, 130, 131; 2, VII, 72, 73.
a single grave, but each individual space was marked with the same type of numbered board as that used for separate graves.

After the war some of the bodies were exhumed and shipped to the relatives, but as late as 1897 the list of names with the corresponding numbers of the graves was said to be in possession of Elijah Hedges, the undertaker who had charge of the burials.

In the course of the years Greenlawn Cemetery ceased to be used as a public burial place and Crown Hill superseded it. Gradually industrial developments encroached upon the old site, the graves became neglected and overgrown, and the headboards decayed and disappeared. Occasional inquiries were made by officers of confederate associations as to the condition of the graves, indicating that it was proposed to care for them, but nothing was ever done toward renumbering them or improving their condition.

In 1870 the Vandalia Railroad, wishing to build an engine house and additional tracks on part of the site of the soldiers' burial ground, exchanged some property on the west side of the cemetery for ground on the north line in which there were two tiers of graves. They then removed and reburied the bodies in two parallel trenches about two hundred feet long but without markers. In 1906 Colonel William Elliott, detailed by the war department to locate and identify the place of burial of the

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1. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, Jan. 31, 1865.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid; report of Corps Area Inspector, Fifth Corps Area of the War Department, Feb. 17, 1901; Major David T. McCormick, Indianapolis, personal interview.

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confederate dead, decided on the basis of his investigation at
the time, that a plot about forty-five feet wide by two hundred
feet long near where the diamond chain plant now stands, was the
spot on which the railroad company had made the reinatment in
1870. This space was afterward enclosed by an iron fence and in
1913 the federal government erected a monument there in honor of
the confederate prisoners buried in greenlawn cemetery.

Though thus marked and enclosed, the spot had been so en­
croached upon by a growing industrial section that the Southern
Club of Indianapolis asked the Board of Park Commissioners for
permission to have the monument relocated in Garfield Park. In
1928 this change was made and the monument now stands in the
southeastern part of the park. It bears a plate giving the date
of its removal from greenlawn cemetery and the following inscrip­
tion:

Erected
By the
United States
To Mark
The Burial Place
Of 1618 Confederate
Soldiers and Sailors
Who Died Here
While Prisoners
Of War
And Whose Graves
Cannot Now Be
Identified

Large bronze tablets across the top of the monument give the
names and organizations of the dead.

There have been many changes in the appearance of the area
of the old cemetery even in comparatively recent years and now
the plot designated by Colonel Elliott in 1906, overgrown

1. Indianapolis News, Nov. 29, 1906; Report of Corps Area
Inspector, Fifth Corps Area of the War Department, Feb. 17,
1931.
with weeds and grass, is three or four feet below the level of the surrounding land. Earth and refuse have been filled in along the north side almost to the top of the iron fence which is in such a poor state of repair that some of the panels lie flat on the ground.

An old resident who claims to have been an eye witness of the reinterment made by the railroad in 1870 states that the reburial then made was at least one hundred yards southwest of the plot chosen by Colonel Elliott in 1906 and that excavation would prove his statement. No effort has been made to excavate where he is sure that most of the bodies would be found as the ground there has been filled to a depth of three or four feet above the original surface and is partially covered by tracks and buildings, but it has been proved that there were at least some burials within the enclosure mentioned, either reinterments or original graves, for the war department, in October 1931, excavated the fenced plot and removed to Crown Hill Cemetery the remains of about twenty-five bodies. These were buried along the north side of Section 32 in Lot 83 and a simple soldier's stone was placed to mark the location pending the erection of a more pretentious monument at some future time. In February 1934, though the temporary marker had been removed in preparation for the placing of the permanent stone, the exact location of the two parallel rows in which the remains of the prisoners had been placed could easily be determined by

1. Report of Corps Area Inspector, Fifth Corps Area of the War Department, Feb. 17, 1931; Major David I. McCormick, Indianapolis, personal interview.
2. Crown Hill Cemetery records.
3. Ibid.
the appearance of the sod.

It is probably impossible to determine just how great an area the original burial plot in Greenlawn Cemetery covered, the exact location of the reinterment there in 1870, or the number remaining interred there now. It seems that during the years following the war some of the bodies were moved by friends and relatives either to their home communities or to Crown Hill Cemetery but these were only individual cases and there were probably not very many of them. When the Greenlawn Cemetery was sold for industrial purposes opportunity was given friends and relatives to make such reinterments as they wished but even the private citizens buried there were not all removed as portions of unidentified dead were frequently exposed in excavating for buildings. Some older residents thought that a large group of the confederates were removed at that time to Crown Hill but as there is no mention of it in the cemetery records there was evidently no en masse reinterment.

Many rumors that bones were exposed in excavations for railroad projects in the vicinity of the soldiers’ burial plot, coupled with the testimony of older residents, would indicate that not all the bodies were located in the space now enclosed by the old iron fence; nor would the estimate of the number of bodies moved to Crown Hill by the war department in 1931 indicate that there was only that small number buried there, because of the disintegration which had probably taken place with the passing of the years. So the problem may never be solved, but

the monument in warfield park will stand as a memorial to the spirit of the men who died at camp morton in the interest of a cause they considered just, and the stone which is to be erected at crown hill will serve to mark the plot of land where lie at least some of the remains of the mortal bodies that have not already become one with the earth that covers them.

During the latter half of the war prisoners were released from time to time in different ways—by taking the oath of allegiance followed by enlistment in the union army, by exchange or parole, and by taking the oath of allegiance for the purpose of dismissal. As early as the summer of 1863 some two hundred and fifty Tennesseans were allowed to enlist in the union army after taking the oath of allegiance; in August other groups enlisted, one or two hundred at a time, and were assigned chiefly to the Seventy-first and Seventy-third Divisions, and to the Twelfth Michigan Battery. Altogether about six hundred and twenty prisoners enlisted in the United States service. One enthusiastic unionist asked permission to visit camps of confederate prisoners for the purpose of enlisting such men of foreign birth as he thought had been forced into the confederate army against their will, but the request was denied him.

A group of five hundred and twenty-nine, most of them cap-

tured at Murfreesboro, were exchanged on parole in August 1865, and in October 1864, all invalid prisoners not able to perform field service for sixty days were ordered exchanged, if they so desired. Medical officers and nurses were to accompany them together with a suitable guard who would return any blankets or other property taken with the convalescents. In February 1865 a cartel was agreed upon and Colonel Stevens was ordered to prepare muster rolls for three thousand prisoners in exchange for a corresponding number of union men. The problem then arose concerning prisoners who did not wish to be sent south but preferred to remain in the union, taking the oath of allegiance in terms with Lincoln's proclamation of amnesty. Only three hundred and thirty-six prisoners from the already conquered states were willing to be sent from Camp Morton, and Stanton ordered that the others remain there until the oath could be administered.

Many had wished to take the oath of allegiance and be released during 1863 and 1864 but nothing could be done except to receive their sworn applications for the privilege.

One outstanding case prominent in the records concerned a group of three hundred and fifty or four hundred Louisianians who refused parole and claimed the right to take the oath and be released. They were nearly all French creoles from the vicinity of New Orleans who said they had been conscripted into rebel

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1. Indianapolis Daily Journal, April 7, 1865.
service, and when captured at Vicksburg they had been promised by General Logan that the oath would be administered when they arrived at Memphis, but instead they had been sent on to Camp Morton where they had been held since August 1863, remaining in a sort of detached colony by themselves. One of their leaders, Louis Lefebvre, in June 1864, after nearly a year of imprisonment, began a long agitation for their release, but it was December 1865 before the order was granted. In May 1864 a petition was presented to the war department by Governor Hahn of Louisiana concerning these men but at that time the amnesty oath was interpreted as not intended for prisoners of war but only for those persons who, being yet at large and free from any "arrest, confinement, or duress, shall voluntarily come forward and take said oath." Many letters were written concerning the case which involved a decision as to who were rightfully entitled to the benefits of the amnesty proclamation. No one was willing to assume the blame for having promised release to these prisoners or to take the responsibility of granting their plea. General Logan denied having made any promise to them, Major General Sherman said Grant must know it if any one did, Grant denied any knowledge of the promise but recommended that the oath be administered and the prisoners released; several other persons in high places recommended granting their request, and finally, in January 1865, they took the oath of allegiance to the United States and left the prison.

1. War Department, General Orders #128, May 30, 1864. Adjutant General's Office, Indiana, in file box, "Rebel Prisoners".
for their homes. On the camp, July 12,1865, showed only eight
of the commandant at Camp Morton, the governor, the secretary of war, and the president received numerous letters from individuals or groups of individuals at Camp Morton or from friends and relatives elsewhere, seeking the release of prisoners there for many and varied reasons. Some were accompanied by signed petitions and some were merely personal letters setting forth the circumstances which the writer thought warranted individual consideration, but each represented a different situation and the pleas were sometimes granted, sometimes denied.

After the fall of Richmond and the virtual close of the war about one hundred per day took the oath of allegiance, until the total of these was over two thousand and six hundred. Others were exchanged and the last of the regular prisoners except the sick, left the camp June 12,1865. Some sought employment in the state, others returned South, but almost all of them presented a sorry plight with dilapidated garments and colorless faces as a result of their long confinement and previous hard service; nearly all were without money and most of them were many miles from home and friends.

5. Indianapolis Daily Sentinel, June 13,1865; Indianapolis News, June 1,1865.
An inspection of the camp July 10, 1865, showed only eight of the sick remaining to be transferred to hospitals; one citizen held as a spy, to be released on taking the oath; and seven prisoners of war, deserters from the regular army, also to be released on taking the oath. In addition to these there were found forty veteran reserve corps prisoners guilty of mutiny, who were recommended for dishonorable discharge without pay. After these few men were properly disposed of the guards were relieved and all property which had been purchased by the prison fund, except buildings, books, et cetera, was appraised and sold at public auction. Camp Morton, the rebel prison camp, was no more. The buildings and grounds were then returned to the peaceful purpose for which they were intended and the old camp again became the state fair grounds.

A general campaign to mark locations of state's interest throughout the country resulted in a desire on the part of many citizens to erect some type of appropriate monument on the site of Camp Morton. Some talked to the two or three different groups and organizations with tentative plans, some of them even setting an date for the unveiling of such a memorial. For June 24, 1872, the fiftieth anniversary of the last prisoner leaving camp, was designated for the monument. It was a unit, an honor among our times, will exalt the story of the hated prison. For some reason all these early plans failed and building was accomplished until 1919. That the teachers and pupils of several years erected a simple stone marker at

As nearly all of the trees on the camp site were destroyed and the grounds injured by the four years use as a military prison, the city voted three thousand dollars for restoring the property so that it could again be used by the state fair board. Later, an exposition building was constructed, the grounds were improved, and were used by the fair association until the early nineties. Then under the pressure of a growing population the property was sold, the state ditch was filled and supplanted by a part of the city drainage system, streets were built, and the whole area was platted as a residence district, now known as Morton Place.

A general campaign to mark locations of historic interest throughout the country resulted in a desire on the part of many citizens to erect some type of appropriate monument on the site of Camp Morton. From 1913 to 1915 two or three different groups and organizations made tentative plans, some of them even setting the date for the unveiling of such a memorial for June 12, 1916, the fiftieth anniversary of the last prisoners leaving camp. One design then contemplated for the monument was a shaft, a bronze cannon of war times, with tablets bearing the story of the noted ground. For some reason all these early plans failed and nothing was accomplished until 1916. Then the teachers and pupils of School forty-five erected a simple stone marker at

1. Ignatius Brown, "Historic Indianapolis from 1816", in Logan's Annual Indianapolis City Directory, 1888-1899, and in Indiana Pamphlets, I, 64.
Alabama and Nineteenth Streets near what was probably the main southern entrance to the camp enclosure. The unveiling ceremony was a part of the Memorial Day exercises, May 30, 1916, in commemoration of Indiana's centennial year. Miss Charity Long reviewed the aim and purpose of celebrating Indiana's centennial and Captain Wallace Foster described scenes as he knew them in the early days of camp Morton. The large blue boulder of natural stone bearing a bronze tablet inscribed with the words

The inspector general, Washington, D.C.,

AMP MORTON 1861-1865

ERECTED BY SCHOOL FORTY-FIVE 1916

serves as a symbol of stirring events of other days when our fathers and our grandfathers did their duty as they saw it—making many mistakes, no doubt, but meriting the charity of which we shall probably stand in need when a still later generation reviews our deeds.

The plot lies in what is now an industrial section, next to the diamond chain company plant, and near the interurban tracks. The surface is in fair condition.

3. As no information was at hand to indicate where, if any, Confederate dead were buried in the plot, diligent inquiry and investigation was made as to its origin. Old residents who were presumed to have knowledge of it were sought out and interviewes, and the records of the Indiana historical society, of the state library were consulted. From these sources it was learned that the bodies of about 1,000 Confederate prisoners, more or less, died at a prison camp at Indianapolis. The greater part as a result of a small-pox epidemic, were buried during or soon after the civil war, in what was then the crescent cemetery at Indianapolis. This very large cemetery was early assumed by varnish and a few of it were discontinued years ago. A legal title was established for the heirs of the original grantees and the ground was sold to railroad and industrial interests. An opportunity was given interested relatives and organizations to re-inter such burials as might be desired, and the majority of the civilian interments of 1862 were removed. 

Subject: Inspection of confederate Greenlawn Cemetery, Indianapolis, Indiana.

To: The Inspector General, Washington, D.C.

Through Commanding General, Fifth Corps Area, Fort Hayes, Ohio.

February 17, 1931

The Indianapolis Star of December 14, 1930, states that

1. This inspection was made February 12, 1931. There is no record or knowledge of any previous inspection having been made.

2. The plot in question is about 40' x 300', and surrounded by a steel fence which is in poor condition. There is nothing to indicate what it is or to whom it belongs. It contains one headstone bearing the following inscription:

"Charlottie Jenny
Died June 25, 1819
Age 60."

The plot lies in what is now an industrial section, next to the Diamond Chain Company plant, and along the interurban tracks. The surface is in fair condition.

3. As no information was at hand to indicate what, if any, confederate dead were buried in the plot, diligent inquiry and investigation was made as to its origin. Old residents who were presumed to have knowledge of it were sought out and interviewed, and the records of the Indiana Historical Section and the State Library were consulted. From these sources it was learned that the bodies of about 1,600 confederate prisoners, most of whom died at a prison camp at Indianapolis, (the greater part as a result of a small-pox epidemic), were buried during or soon after the civil war, in what was then the Greenlawn Cemetery of Indianapolis. This very large cemetery was poorly managed and burials in it were discontinued years ago. A legal title was established for the heirs of the original grantors and the ground was sold to railroad and industrial interests. An opportunity was given interested relatives and organizations to re-inter such burials as might be desired, and the majority of the civilian residential burials were removed. Extensive filling and ex-
excavating have since taken place, and portions of unidentified dead have been frequently exposed.

4. The Indianapolis News of November 29, 1906, states that Colonel William Elliott, detailed by the War Department, was then making an investigation with a view to locating and identifying Confederate soldier dead. It indicated that many of these bodies had been removed before 1874, and that railroad tracks then (1906) covered part of the burials. (Many changes have taken place in this part of the city since 1906). However, it appeared that Colonel Elliott then selected the site described in paragraph 2 as that which contained at least a part of these burials. The city, the plot described in paragraph 2 now resembles an excavation more four or five feet deep the surrounding.

5. The Indianapolis Star of January 5, 1910, announced that the Vandalia Railroad had deeded to the federal government land on which a number of Confederate soldiers were supposed to be buried "without knowledge of the railroad company officials until found a number of years ago."

6. The Indianapolis Star of December 14, 1912, states that the federal government had erected a monument 25' high x 27' wide, to the Confederate dead buried in Greenlawn Cemetery. This monument stood in the plot described in paragraph 2. According to a plate the monument, now in earfield Park, "was moved from Greenlawn Cemetery by the United States and re-located here A.D. 1928 under grant of Board of Park Commissioners on petition of Southern Club of Indianapolis." The monument bears the following inscription: "Erected by the United States to mark the burial place of 1616 Confederate soldiers who died here while prisoners of war and whose graves cannot now be identified." Bronze plates on the monument give the names and organizations of the dead.

7. Major David I. McCormick, Superintendent of the Indiana Battle Flags Commission, Room 225 State House, Indianapolis, Indiana, states that, as a young man he witnessed the following in the year 1870:

a. Numbered wooden headboards in the old Greenlawn Cemetery marked the graves of about 1600 Confederate dead.

b. During that year the Vandalia railroad put a switch through that part of the old cemetery, after removing the bodies and re-burying them without markers in two parallel trenches about 200 feet long.

c. He passed this place repeatedly while they were being moved, and in later years while the trench mounds still showed, and he states positively that these trenches are at least 100 yards southwest of the present plot.

d. Upon what is now the fenced plot he states there was then but one grave, that of a Captain of the Confederate Army. This grave was marked by a marble headstone,
the only Confederate grave he ever saw in the city of Indianapolis which was so marked.

a. The actual burial site has been long since covered with rubbish and the surface is now considerably higher than when the burials were made.

f. Major McCormick affirms that he can now definitely locate these burial sites, and that his statements can be proved by excavation.

8. Due to the filling and raising of the surface in this part of the City, the plot described in paragraph 2 now resembles an excavation some four or five feet below the surrounding surface.