

Notes for a 'History of the Confederate Secret Service'

Author's name not given but presumed to be Stephen F. Cameron, former
Chaplain to the First Maryland Regiment, C.S.A.

Pages 1-13 omitted

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Preface

This treatise purports to explain things which are held to be very mysterious to the American public. The author was in part an actor in these scenes, and though he performed a subservient part in them, yet he had access to those who were the chief actors, and acquiring their confidence, became familiar with what was done or attempted to be performed on the Canadian frontier. His object is to give an unvarnished statement of facts in order to demonstrate the strict honor which controlled all of the measures that were attempted by authorized agents. It is not strange that so great an obloquy should be attempted to be fastened upon those who were supposed to have originated acts which have exacerbated so greatly the Northern mind. He claims no merit for that of fidelity to the South, making no opinion that cannot be demonstrated by the written proofs, and confining himself to the circumstantial relation of facts, must atone for every deficiency of historical accuracy.

The chief object in compiling this work is to do justice to those who have-----from a sense of patriotic duty in an arduous-----of the public service. Every government has its secret service, even in time of peace, and sometimes the most important results are effected through their agency. The universality of its adoption by nations supposes its efficiency, and the importance of such an arm of the service and the character of the agents appointed only consist of those in whom the greatest confidence can be placed and who have already won reputation and distinction in the political scene. The secret agent in the War of 1812 was Edwards, who had access to and communication with all of the leading politicians of that war, and through whose agency it is well known the Hartford Convention was held. Daniel Webster, when Secretary of War, made free use of agents in this service, as demonstrated by the controversy which pour out of the disbursements of the funds. Lord Palmerston did not hesitate to dispatch his paid emissaries to America to furnish-----and-----which were only -----too-----of results, and, with these precedents in view, it is not surprising that an organized government in time of war struggling for the acknowledgment of its political existence should use every means recognized among nations to effect the advancement of their cause and the accomplishment of their ends. It does not follow, however, that everything that is not sanctioned by a scrupulous regard for the principles according to the -----law of nations would be done. There is no reason when the events here have passed why the world should not know all that was attempted in order to refute the miserable suspicions and unjustifiable charges which mystery enables partisans to throw on the unexplained conduct of those engaged in the Secret Service of the South.

Dedication 'To my Soldier Friends of the late Confederate States Army'

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Department of State,
Richmond.

December 30th, 1864

Dear Sir,

I send you by present conveyance duplicate of papers forwarded about a week ago and copies of some former letters. On the 6th inst. I wrote you by private hands a letter from which the following is an extract:

The political objects contemplated at the time of your departure from Richmond being at an end, the President supposes you may desire to return home etc.

24

I have now to inform you that from reports which reach us from trustworthy sources we are satisfied that so close espionage is kept upon you that your services have been deprived of the value which is attached to your further residence in Canada. The President thinks, therefore, that as soon as the gentleman arrives who bears this letter of which I have given you an extract above, it will be better that you transfer to him as quietly as possible all of the information that you have obtained and the release of funds in your hands and then return to the Confederacy.

Hoping soon to see you and to obtain from you in person a full account of all that has occurred since we parted, I have the honor to remain

Very respectfully
yr. obdt. st.
J. P. Benjamin
Secretary of State

Hon Jacob Thompson,
Toronto, C.W.

(This letter was entirely in the handwriting of Mr. Benjamin).

25

Department of State,
Richmond.

November 27th, 1864

Dear Sir,

I learn that an order on your for \$20,000 drawn by me on the 17th of Oct. in favor of Mr. Stuart has not been received. I wrote you on the subject of this draft on the 8th instant and hope you have received my letter.

26

My present purpose is to explain to you that Dr. Stuart proposes to engage in the same business as that which you have controlled, and that, as we supposed you would be returning home very soon, it would be desirable you leave with him means sufficient to enable him to act with efficiency. As, however, you will probably remain abroad during the winter, you will understand that no intention was entertained of interfering with your control of the business, and you will therefore (instead of paying the \$20,000, as heretofore ordered) give to the Doctor such sums of money from time to time as shall in your discretion be deemed sufficient to execute the business which he has undertaken, which he will explain to you and in relation to which you will exercise your judgment.

I enclose this letter to the Doctor, who will hand it to you. It is written in accordance with the instructions of the President and is the expression of his desires in the subject.

I am

Yours very respectfully,

J.P. Benjamin,

Secretary of State

(Signature of the above in Mr. Benjamin's handwriting. The Body of the letter that of a clerk.)

Letter was prefaced as follows:

Richmond

November 27th, 1864

Dear Sir,

I have your note of the 23rd instant. In enclose you a letter for Mr. Thompson which is written under directions from the President and which will explain to you what he had decided to do. I suppose that will answer all the ends you desired.

I am very truly,

Yours, etc.

J.P. Benjamin,

Sec. of State

Dr. K.J. Stuart,
Toronto, C.W.

(Signature of letter in handwriting of Mr. Benjamin: body clerk).

Department of State,
Richmond.

December 6th, 1864

Dear Sir,

I enclose your copy of a letter I sent you on the 29th ult. by way of the Re. D.

This letter will be delivered to you by Brig. Gen. E.G. Lee who is especially recommended to you by the President as meriting your entire and well deserved confidence. I have stated to General Lee many things which could not be committed to paper, and he will give you full information of my views which in this instance are but the reflex of those of the President.

I trust you will have received information from your colleague which I conveyed to him by means of a 'personal advertisement' in the Richmond Enquirer requesting him to inform you that he wished you to remain in Canada till you heard from me. I knew that General Lee was going there for his health, and arrested his departure in order to send you this safe by his hand.

You are requested by the President to furnish Gen. Lee such funds as he may want, and his receipt will be considered as sufficient----- by this Dept.

The political objectives contemplated at the time of your departure from Richmond being at an end, the President supposes that you may desire to return home. If you should wish to do so without awaiting news from us you are at

30 liberty to entrust to Gen. Lee all monies remaining in your hands and he can replace you as our agent for the time being. I beg you to understand that this suggestion is not intended as an instruction, that we desire your return, but, knowing that you did not contemplate a long delay in Canada when you left Richmond, it is thought to be due you to provide a substitute if you prefer returning.

I have never heard from you since your arrival in Canada. The President got a letter from you.

I remain with great respect.

J.P. Benjamin
Secretary of State

Hon Jacob Thompson,
Toronto, C.W.

(All is in the handwriting of Mr. Benjamin. Apparently in answer to an application by Gen. E.G. Lee Colonel Thompson directs the following answer to a letter addressed to him by Gen. Lee)---

31 Montreal, C.E.

April 9th, 1865

Brig. Gen. E.G. Lee

My dear Sir,

32 Your long and earnest letter of yesterday handed me by yourself has been read and answered by me with the greatest care and in the most friendly and confidential spirit, and my deliberate conclusion is that, while it shows your thorough conviction that in the language of Mr. B--- you 'wnat' the money and want it without any contingent delay, yet it fails to persuade me to depart from the position specified in my first letter. Nothing has occurred up to this time which implies in the remotest degree that I--who have been trusted unreservedly and without-----by the President and Secretary of State heretofore with all matters and policies to be carried out in these Provinces---are not to be trusted still. You think you are not authorized to do this and in your letter decline to do so, but you still expect me to play the subordinate but responsible part of supplying you the means of carrying out a policy in your judgment and responsibility without any order from the Government. This you must expect me most respectfully to decline.

33 In regard to your postscript in which you claim \$10,000 I have to say that prior to the receipt of Mr. Benjamin's last letter I expected to pay over to you whatever monies remained in my hands, and I believed this was the wish of Mr. Benjamin. But in that letter he directs me to pay you only \$20,000, knowing I hold a much larger sum in hand. I am to inform you that you would have to depend upon the Government at home for any further advances. So far as I was concerned I fixed a ----- for me, therefore I cannot recognize this claim for the \$10,000, which happened to be paid you before the receipt of the letter, and there is no hope of an agreement between us on this subject. Last evening I estimated that I would return \$30,000 until you could hear from Mr. Benjamin. On second thought, however, I am unwilling to consent to this arrangement because it will hamper my movements and might prevent me from availing myself of a favorable opportunity of returning home--

in other words, when I leave here I intend to be a free man.

With great respect and confidence,
I am, dear Sir,
your obedient st.
J. Thompson

(in handwriting of Mr. W.W. Cleary)

Department of State,
Richmond.

March 2nd, 1865

Hon. J. Thompson

Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your several dispatches of the 4th, 8th, and 22nd January as well as your full report from the hands of Col. Dawson. The President instructs me to forward to you the following directions on the various points embodied in your correspondence.

- I. In regard to our escaped prisoners. Place in the hands of some person in whom you have confidence such sum of money not exceeding \$10,000 as you may deem necessary, to be expended solely to the purpose of assisting such of our soldiers as may need aid to return to the Confederacy. No money is to be supplied to any who do not wish to return here.
- II. In regard to Dr. S-----. The President does not wish any more money to be advanced to him, nor does he desire that any enterprise of any kind be undertaken by the Dr. We are determined not to permit any just complaint to be made of breach of neutral rights by our authority or sanction.
- III. Pay over to the gentleman referred to in my dispatch of December 30th last \$20,000, to be used by him at his direction in our service and to be accounted for by him. Should he hereafter need more money, inform him that I will send it to him on being notified of his wants.
- ..IV. Reserve in your hands such sum as you may need to pay for your expense here.
- V. Remove the entire remainder in your hands to Messrs. Fraser, Trenholm & Co. of Liverpool to be placed to my credit in a separate account. Make this remittance as soon as possible and let me know the amount of it, as we are in pressing need of these funds abroad for important service there.
- VI. Procure for us a complete record of Burley's case, that we may make it the basis of official action. (From the beginning to the final judgements in the Appellate Court.)
- VII. Return to the Confederacy as soon as you can. Your own discretion must be exercised as to the best route. I would, however, suggest Havana, thence to Matamoros by neutral vessel, thence through Texas. This route is long, but is the only one that can be considered entirely safe.

I believe this covers all points. I am necessarily brief in order to conceal this dispatch more securely. As soon as you receive this publish in the NEW YORK HERALD an advertisement for one week as follows:

For Sale ----- acres of Illinois prairie lands. For
description, price and terms apply by letter to
N.O. Donalson,
Chicago, Illinois

37

Fill up the blank before the word 'acres' with the number of pounds sterling that you remit to Fraser, Trenholm & Co.

I am Sir, very respectfully,
your obedient servant,
J.B. Benjamin
Secretary of State

38-54 Sixteen pages entitled 'Introduction' are omitted.

55

St. Catherine's
Canada West

October 22nd, 1864

Fraser, Trenholm & Co.

Dear Sirs:

Your telegraph has just been answered. I am no less surprised and shocked and disturbed by the St. Albans affair than you can be. I will explain to you fully when we meet. I have full proof that I discountenanced it in advance. If the town had been burned I should not have been surprised or condemned the act, although I did not know that anything would be attempted. You will be advised in person in due time of all I know about the matter.

I think, however, it is my duty to those who are arrested to try to save them from death or imprisonment, and I will do so. I believe that they were trying to serve the country, notwithstanding it looks like mere selfish plunder.

56

I telegraphed to Mr. Cameron at Hamilton, Royal Hotel. ----- receipt of yours that I wished to see him particularly and asked if I could so do at Ft. ----- or where. I will go in next train. If he says 'Toronto' I will telegraph you to see him and hope you will do so. I will employ him to go and defend the prisoners. I will pay fee, and he responsible to the Government for it. I am sure that the Secretary of War authorized Y----- to do anything in the way of injury to the enemy that had been done by them against us. If the town had been burned I should have felt no distress about the affair, but so it is only retaliation in fact, although it may not be so appearing in law.

You must feel comfortable in knowing something of this affair.

In haste for mail,
Very truly,
C.C.C. Jr.

57

Liverpool.

March 30th, 1865

Herr -----,
Montreal.

Dear Sir,

We have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your two favors of the 11th inst., the contents of which are carefully noted, and in hand. We also received from the Ontario Bank, Montreal, three treasurer's warrants to ourselves for each \$20,618 --11--1, and their draft on Gilpin, Mills in London for a similar amount. Our letter of the 9th inst., which has doubtless reached you ere this, will have informed you that the Treasury funds in our hands was insufficient to meet their warrants, which are consequently held over for the present. The draft of our partners Gilpin, Mills & Co., however, with the further amounts which you proposed to remit us shall be placed at the credit of the State Department, and

58 the secretary shall be advised accordingly by the first opportunity which presents itself.

We have the honor to be
Very respectfully,
Fraser, Trenholm & Co.
Depositaries.

59-71 Newspaper clippings relating to trial of John Surratt and to correspondence between Secretary Seward and General Rufus King, U.S. Minister in Rome. Omitted.

72 Reasons which led to appointment of Commissioners to Canada. Political Organization in the North and Northwest. Niagara Convention.

In the month of May, 1864, Grant was advancing upon Richmond with an army supposed to be 200,000 strong which was opposed to that of General Lee of 80,000 effectives only. Sherman was advancing upon Johnston at Chattanooga with an army supposed to be 150,000 strong while Johnston's force numbered about 40,000. Thus the comparative disparity of the respective forces in numbers.

73 The world is evident of the progress of the respective generals with their overwhelming forces towards the points they were aiming to reach, but for our purpose it is only sufficient to say that the friends of the Confederate cause everywhere felt the greatest concern and anxiety that the disparity of forces would end by the overthrow of the Confederate armies. It was under these circumstances that the Commissioners from the Confederate States reached Canada. In consequence of information received from reliable sources the Congress of the Confederate States believed that there was an organization in the Northern and Western states (especially in the latter) consisting of talented and true men who believed in the doctrines of Jefferson and States Rights, and that in the overthrow of the Confederate States they saw the destruction of all rights of the states. Believing as the Congress did that all that was necessary to bring this organization into action was a sufficient amount of means to support themselves until they could make their position known.

74 The purpose of this organization is wholly misunderstood by the people of the Northern states. It did not seek to secure the service of discussion, it did not seek a separation of the states, it sought to establish what was conceived to be the correct principles of the government, and by their concerted movements they desired to become strong enough to command the peace between the North and the South. To say to the South, 'You are right in the principles you aver. You are entitled to be an equal in the Union. You are entitled to ample protection of your property, and upon the restoration of the Union the faith of the Government shall be pledged to maintain inviolate all your rights as states and all your privileges as equals in the Union in respect to any species of property.' To say to the North, 'We will be no party in the overthrow of States Rights and the Constitution and in the destruction of property. You must stay your onward career, ground your arms of invasion and submit all the questions in dispute to the arbitrament of reason and right, allowing to each member of the Union all the rights secured to them by the Constitution as construed by the Supreme Court.' With this understanding of the movements contemplated by the North and West the Congress of the Confederate States made an appropriation of \$5,000,000, and directed the President that he should through proper Commissioners known for their skill and capacity put himself in communication with this organization with a view to supplying its wants and strengthening it in its primary movements.

76 The President immediately after the appropriation was made telegraphed to the Hon. Jacob Thompson, who was connected with the Army of the West as well as a member of the Legislature of Mississippi. Mr. Thompson had been associated with the President in public life, and had filled the highest offices of state and federal appointments to the credit of his country. Late Secretary of the Interior under President Buchanan, his abilities were recognized as of an eminent order, exhibiting in the laborious sphere of his duties the greatest vigilance and strict impartial discharge of his office. Possessing from his business capacities the full confidence of the Confederate Executive, he has occupied the delicate post in the British Provinces. With this gentleman was associated the Hon. Clement C. Clay, who was formerly in the United States Congress and who had likewise been a Senator in the Confederate States Congress until the close of the session which preceded the appointment.

77 These gentlemen ran the blockade from Wilmington, N.C., and arrived in Canada early in June. The first few days spent after their arrival was in ascertaining the number and strength and disposition of the organization of which they had become members. All the public questions were freely discussed, and the most patriotic feeling was exhibited in all sentiments expressed by those who were leaders in the organization. They declared that the success of the North in the War would result in a total revolution in the Government and subversion of the Constitution, that the then existing state of things demonstrated that they had lived under absolute despotism in which every man's life and property and reputation was under the control of the solitary figure at the head of the Government. That it mattered not whether the South of the North seceded--disunion seemed to be inevitable. If the South seceded they would form an independent Confederacy. If the North seceded they would in effect abolish the Constitution, establish a centralized despotism, and they believed that the time had come for all good and true men who loved the government of their fathers to incur every hazard and subject themselves to every deprivation to avoid either result. Agents were sent behind the lines of the Federal States to communicate with those men who were known of this political faith to prepare the way for a decisive action which would result in stopping the War and recalling the country to the necessity of ending the conflict by an appeal to reason, and securing to all the rights they claimed under the Constitution. All saw and felt at one time that nothing could be effected without military organization which should be sufficiently strong to control the three Western states of Indiana, Illinois and Ohio. These three states were supposed to hold the balance. The names of the thousands who were connected with the Order were prepared with proper officers and men to begin an enterprise which promised so much for the future. About this time the politicians of the Order became impressed with certain adroit movements made from Washington. Through the ends of Horace Greeley they-----that these aims could be accomplished more successfully and with less danger by an appeal to the ballot box. Moreover, about that time general belief pervaded the Northern mind that General Grant would be unable to take Richmond or General Sherman to reach Atlanta. The failure of either would be fatal to the success of the Northern arms, and the exhausted condition in which the Southern States would be left would dispose both parties to listen to proper terms of adjustment which would secure property and restore the Constitution. About this time also discoveries were made of the arms which were provided, and they were by the public authorities, which tended to break up the Order and

the determination of those who were prepared to make a movement.

At this time also a combination of escaped Confederate prisoners of war had determined to make an effort to effect the release of their comrades in arms, which were suffering untold deprivations and hardships in the prisons of Chicago, Rock Island. Owing to the indiscretions of some of these men the Federal authorities became aware of the effort about to be made, and by doubling the guard and otherwise exercising precautions that which at one time appeared to be feasible became an impossibility. This movement this early defeated was the only one sanctioned by both Commissioners. Any subsequent effort was independent of the sanction of Colonel Thompson. The chivalrous desire on the part of many escaped prisoners to minister to the relief of those who had been less fortunate and still languished as captives in the prison houses of which they had experienced the horrors prompted many of the acts which were clearly sanctioned by the laws of war, dictated by the promptings of humanity and evincing a lofty spirit in self-sacrifice and devotion to duty. Had they been successful history would have marked them as heroes, deserving the highest mark of praise. As they failed, simple justice to the -----, all must regard with approbation the lofty daring that prompted the enterprise.

Perhaps no contest in the world ever afforded similar opportunities for acts of individual daring than did the late embittered feud between the North and the South, and in no department was there more scope for the exercise of adroit courage than was afforded by the Secret Service. Those who acted in this sphere were mostly escaped prisoners of war, who had purchased their liberty by superior energy, and those by the fortunes of war on the Canadian frontier eagerly embraced every opportunity to embarrass and assault the common enemy. With no coercion of military discipline they were united, and acted in co-operation with the leaders in whom they had confidence. Discipline was maintained, secrecy observed and orders faithfully obeyed solely through the impress of honorable obligation to these commanders and a sense of duty to the Cause. Of individual minds who exercised a controlling influence over their followers I shall speak in detail in another part of this work, but it is due to all who were called upon to serve in the Department of the Secret Service to claim that superior merit of noble endurance which the exigencies of their position------. Their orders were often of a sealed character, they willingly performed the duties assigned and incurred risks without number of which there would be no record made. Always with the prospect of capture before their minds and perhaps the ignominious death which befell several, they were not deterred by the fate of their comrades but coolly filled the place of the victims in the performance of their duties. When it is remembered that this service was composed of youths of character and education unused to hardships, the record of their acts is worthy of an enduring place in the Hall of Fame. In this spirit was undertaken the task of releasing the prisoners on Johnson's Island.

Previous to this time Captain Cole had been sent through the lines to ascertain the naval strength of the United States on those waters and to devise some plan for the release of the Johnson's Island prisoners. This island is located on Lake Erie.

He placed himself at the town of -----, three miles from Johnson's Island, and became acquainted with the officers on board the gunboat MICHIGAN. He ascertained that the obstacle to the escape from the Island was the presence of the gunboat between the Island and the mainland and by the capture of that boat the escape of the prisoners was easy and inevitable. Falling upon diverse expedients which proved in his judgement ineffective before trial, Captain J.Y. Beall was sent to his assistance, and they together devised the scheme which

87 resulted in what popularly has been known as the 'Lake Erie Raid'. This raid was intended to aid and effect the release of the prisoners on Johnson's Island. The plan required courage and self-sacrifice, and the part which each was to play in this scheme can only be made known by a faithful explanation of the plan devised and the manner in which it was executed.

88 Captain Cole, being resident at -----, was to remain and seek access to the gunboat by his intimacy with the officers. He found out means of communication with the prisoners off war. It was determined that upon a given night, the 5th of September, Captain Cole should go to the MICHIGAN and remain on board all night. The prisoners were advised to be in readiness for any signal which might be given from the gunboat. In this means while Captain Beall was ordered to collect men within the United States and to concentrate them along the Detroit River and to hire a boat, apparently for a pleasure excursion.

89 The scheme having been devised and approved, each began to perform their respective parts. Beall, finding himself unable to hire a boat for the excursion contemplated, was reduced to the necessity, in order to fulfill the preconceived arrangement, to take his men on board the packet boat PHILO PARSONS, which made regular trips from Detroit to Sandusky. His men hastily gathered together, consisting entirely of escaped prisoners, men of daring and chivalry without any previous organization were at different points along the Detroit River. On board the PHILO PARSONS a hasty organization was effected and the part for each to perform ascertained. Beall was instructed in advance to avoid acts of violence and to respect in every instance private property. As soon as they found themselves within the jurisdiction of the United States and their hasty organization was arranged they seized the PHILO PARSONS and took command of her in the name of the Confederate States. The flag of the United States was lowered and that of the Confederate States hoisted in its place. Finding themselves without a sufficient supply of fuel to make the trip contemplated, they were forced to land at -----.

90 While lashed to the shore the steamer ISLAND QUEEN came alongside with more than forty Federal soldiers on board, who with the passengers greatly outnumbered their strength. The moment had come for some decision. Immediately Captain Beall gave the orders to board the ISLAND QUEEN, and without much violence they became the masters of the boat. One of the engineers offered some resistance, but he was soon quieted. They then determined to parole the soldiers and land the passengers, and whilst landing the latter each one was asked if they had lost any property, and it was discovered that not one of the passengers had lost any article of value. Although it was known that many carried large sums of money, which fact was known to Captain Beall. They universally thanked the Confederates for the honorable treatment which they had received at their hands. Captain Beall, now finding himself in the undisputed possession of two boats, which more than he needed for his purpose, it became a necessity to sink the inferior boat, which was the ISLAND QUEEN. This was accordingly done a few miles from the Island.

92 They then steamed for the Bay of Sandusky, but as they had not received the messenger of Captain Cole who was previously arranged to have met them at Boss Island, they became apprehensive that all was not going well. When they came in view of the MICHIGAN they could see none of the preconceived signals, and then it was that a council was called. The men refused to make the attack on the MICHIGAN on account of the Union superiority of force, although they had encountered the hazards of capturing two boats and nearly two hundred prisoners. They forced themselves forced to decline the attempt to board the MICHIGAN on account of the Union, and Captain Beall, chagrined, and -----, gave the order to return to Detroit River. Perhaps in doing so he acted wisely, as his men did not feel willing to incur the hazard.

93

In the meantime it is necessary to turn our attention to Captain Cole. Two hours from the time he was to have sent a messenger to meet Captain Beall he was arrested on suspicion and was taken on board the steamer MICHIGAN as a prisoner. The part which he had agreed to act on board the boat, shows the chivalric daring of the man. He expected to go on board the boat, and at the signal of the arrival of Beall was to place himself with two revolvers at the door of the armory of the boat and defend it against the whole crew of the boat until Captain Beall's party could board the vessel and come to his rescue. However, an unexpected guest defeated him in his willingness of self-sacrifice, and made him a prisoner of war.

This enterprise was one that would fill with enthusiasm the soul of a Confederate soldier. It was the release of many beloved officers with whom they had encountered many a danger. The means devised depended upon the fortunate coincidence of the successful actions of different agencies. Their success would have won for the others the names of heroes that would have gone down through all history. Its failure was apparently accidental, but there is no generous heart which can attach odium or blame to the daring spirits which undertook it. The captain of a boat with a large number of passengers in one end and a large amount of armed soldiers in the other and having control of a large amount of money, declining to take a single dollar (saving that which belonged to the coffers of the boat, which was considered legitimate prize money), reflects credit upon them which must command the admiration of all who are not deeply steeped in prejudice. And the subsequent hanging of Captain Beall for these acts will go down in posterity as an eternal shame, and that which its victim pronounced with his last breath as a brutal murder.

There is one phase in the adventures of the late lamented Captain Beall that in justice to his memory demands the fullest explanations and which must remove from his character the obloquy which has been sought to attach to his memory. In his efforts to effect the return of certain Confederate officers (General Marmaduke among others) the plan adopted was apparently very feasible. The men of Erie were to take people from that place to Buffalo, while another portion at a point agreed upon were to place obstructions upon the track as a stop or throw of the engine off the road. Prior to----- this point it was the apparent duty of those who travelled as passengers to uncouple the engine from the cars so that the train would be within their control, without injury to the voyagers. The expectation was that in the confusion which would arise they would be enabled to pass through the train, release their friends and escape in the general confusion. Unfortunately the party whose duty it was to uncouple the train found himself unable to accomplish this part of the task, and when the engine struck the obstruction it had the appearance of an effort to throw the train off the track. In the trial of Captain Beall an explanation was received of what appeared to be a wanton desire to inflict damage upon passengers. This explanation carries on its face the impress of truth, because it is not profitable to any unpolitical mind that an effort would be made which would produce a catastrophe which was as likely to prove fatal to friends as to foes.

But perhaps no better indication can be offered of the motives that----- all Captain Beall's movements than to append his own written report of the affair compiled from original documents in my possession. The first movements against the borders of the United States with the view to effect the liberation of the Confederate prisoners of war confined on Johnson's Island was suggested in the appended letter:

Sandusky, Ohio

August 27th, 1864

Captain C-----, C.S.A.

Sir,

99

I have the honor to ask to be placed on Secret detached Service in order to capture the U.S. steamer MICHIGAN off Johnson Island, Sandusky Bay.

A combination of forces can be made in the enemy's country to effect that object without infringing the laws of neutrality of Canada.

I send this by special messenger. An immediate answer solicited.

Respectfully,

----- Capt., C.S.A.

It may be well to state that in all the purposes sought to be accomplished a strict adherence to the letter of the law was rightly observed against infractions of neutrality--obligations due to a foreign government in accordance with instructions received from Richmond to that effect. The following answer was therefore sent to the foregoing communication by properly authorized agents:

100

Capt.----- C.S.A., Lt.CS.N.

August 29th, 1864

Dear Sir,

By virtue of the authority in me vested, reposing special trust in your courage, discretion and skill, you are assigned to secret detached service for the purpose indicated in your letter. To aid you in this undertaking Junior Officer Beall, Master in the C.S. Navy, has been directed to report to you for duty. In all you may do in the premises you will carefully abstain from violating any of the laws and regulations of the Canadian or British authorities in relation to neutrality. The combination necessary to effect your purpose must be made up of Confederate soldiers and such assistance as you must draw from the enemy's country.

101

Your obedient servant,

Acting upon this authority as a preliminary move to accomplish the design, the following report was made by a brave officer at the risk of his life within the lines of the enemy's country:

(Report of Capt. C-----)

If any should demand the services of the officers who thus fearlessly exposed their lives in the service of their country it may readily be explained as dictated by the highest sense of honor and humanity. Twelve thousand of their officers in ----- languished in the prison here, from which many who participated in this enterprise had already escaped. Transported from the warm and sunny clime of the South, they found a Liberia of exile in the gloomy island of near Sandusky, were insufficiently clad and fed. They experienced every discomfort that could be inflicted by the ingenuity of their enemies. Perhaps, were the cases reversed--had the South conquered in the conflict and been free to declare the truth--they might have presented an offset to Andersonville, and for one atrocious a hundred of its counterpart presented on the other side. The experiences of the South, the deprivations of her soldiers in the field and the famine that threatened every household in the land may have entailed limitations of rations to her captured enemies, but no such excuse can be offered on behalf of those whose illimitable resources procured every advantage which were ungenerously denied to the prisoners of war.

102

The report made by Capt. C----- is as follows:

103

Upon the reports of these two officers and their consultation with the Hon. Jacob Thompson, the plan was definitely decided upon.

The attempt was made to secure the boat, but it so happened that when the agent was sent to Detroit to hire a pleasure boat they were all engaged and would so continue until a period beyond the time when the attack had been agreed upon. As Captain C---- had returned to Sandusky to perform his part, it became a necessity that Capt. B.----- deviate from his orders and bring his men upon the PHILIP PARSONS in order to carry out the orders which he had received.

104 (Previous to their plan of the forcible seizure of the MICHIGAN Capt. Cole had remained for two months in Sandusky endeavoring to ----- means to secure control of the steamboat MICHIGAN, which for some time promised simple.)

In order to show the -----that controlled the young men who participated in the St. Albans Raid it is necessary to call to mind the events that had just preceded the occurrence of this enterprise. The War, as it drew towards its conclusion, deepened in horrors and atrocities waged not only against the enemy in the field but extending its hostilities against all non-combatants, women and children. The policy adopted appears to be that of exterminating warfare, in depriving the peaceful citizens of the invaded land of every means of subsistence. The track of the advancing and triumphant Federal forces was a blackened waste that extended over an area of twenty miles on either side of his triple column and worked its progress from Chattanooga to Atlanta, having previously completed similar destruction through North Alabama. Sheridan had already destroyed in his sweep through the Shenandoah Valley the farmhouses that ----- his -----, and with them as well all of the agricultural instruments that were the means of subsistence of dependent families. This swarm of locusts in Egypt even brought greater waste to a fertile land than the passage of the invading army to the Southern people. It may be that this wholesale destruction of property was without the order of authorized parties though in more than one case it was expressly performed by their commanders. It is likely that many of the most revolting crimes committed against person and property were the acts of the foreign mercenaries who filled the ranks of the Federal Army and who, having no common feeling of respect or kindred tie of brotherhood, did not hesitate to butcher, violate, insult and destroy all that fell within their power. But it is equally certain that, in this work of diabolism and destruction of property they had worthy rivals in the men of New England, especially those from Vermont who, filled with Radical combatants in the South from the very beginning of the War. The Church at Centreville before the Battle of Bull Run was occupied by these troops, who desecrated not only the walls and furniture but even used the Bible and Register Book of the parish to record deeds of their infamy. The names of the parties was attached to vulgar and insulting phrases, and they appeared to glory in their deeds of shame.

105

106

As the struggle advanced the bitter feelings engendered developed themselves in acts of intense hatred--to burn, pillage and kill was the order of the day. That which could not be carried off was to be destroyed and, if the lives of the conquered were spared, they were only exposed to the ----doom of starvation, in the destruction of every means of subsistence. Pistols were presented to the heads of the aged and infirm ladies, with a demand for the silver which they had secreted, and no age or position was exempt from such revolting atrocities. The dwelling houses of defenseless women were burned to the ground, and they were called upon to witness the destruction of their homes, whilst they vainly implored protection from personal insult. The tobacco houses at Richmond were fired by incendiaries of the North, and the cotton warehouses at Wilmington met the same fate, and the united destruction in these two single instances is estimated at -----.

107 When we add to this from written reports of Federal officers we discover that the total amount of property destroyed by military order is -----.

108 When the total amount of private pilfering of the immense armies that covered for four years the rich possessions of the South, we arrive at a sum even in excess of that destroyed by the order of military commanders.

The lamentable sufferings of Federal prisoners has been largely dwelled upon in the trial of Wirz and evidenced one fact--that it was as much the absence of all means of subsistence resulting from this described system of wholesale destruction as from any cruel desire on the part of the commanders. Be that as it may, Wirz has suffered for his delinquencies and revisited to the last even the promises of pardon by the compromise of an innocent man. The story of similar atrocities has not been developed on the part of Southern prisoners who suffered from such barbarities in every Northern fortress. It would be poor justification of the same offense to urge they were of a retaliatory character. All that has been assumed is that the sufferings of the prisoners in the South was the result of a scarcity produced by the wholesale destruction of property, and in which their own soldiers and people were equally the victims. No such plea can be offered in extenuation on the part of the North, for their superabundant resources render this applogy impossible. The bad and insufficient supply of water at Fort Delaware and the removal of men accustomed to a tropical clime to the bitter atmosphere of the North worked its toll of destruction upon the unhappy victims as effectively as a fixed policy of destruction. The inevitable scarcity of provisions in the South destroyed by the invading army reduced the rations of Federal prisoners in equality with that of their own soldiers in the field.

These remarks are not introduced as recriminations, for the time is past when bitterness or animosity should be indulged, and the era of good feeling so desirable to be restored might be best recalled by an oblivion of the past. But, in noting the history of the acts and recalling events that had in the past a determining influence upon the minds of opposing parties, it is necessary to review the position from the partisan feelings held by those who had been suffering. Few of the men in the service of the South had not a rankling wound to remember, if not smarting from personal severity inflicted by the hand of the common enemy. Remembrances of insults and injuries to friends and families, the destruction of homesteads, the slow wasting from want of exiled parents, all these might be the ----- that should madden the minds of young, live and enthusiastic youth.

A single instance may suffice to give an idea of individual sufferings that called for the retaliation to a limited extent by those who had suffered from the barbaric atrocity of the enemy. The scene where this incident occurred is the Blackwater near Suffolk, which I find in the PETERSBURG EXPRESS, Page 363. ----- Rebel-----Vol. I

"Mr. Smith resided about one mile from the town."

112-115 Four pages of poetical quotations (omitted)

There are three charges which have been made against the Hon. Jacob Thompson as the Commissioner most prominent in Canadian operations, the utter falsity of which can readily be demonstrated by a simple statement of the facts. He was accused of being cognizant of advising and abetting the assassination of President Lincoln, as having authorized the St. Albans Raid and of being accessory to the attempt to burn the city of New York. We propose to examine each of these charges in the grade of their supposed enormity.

In the case of the assassination the first intimation which Mr. Thompson ever had that he was in any way implicated in the assassination of Mr. Lincoln came from the proclamation which emanated from Washington charging him with being party to this diabolical scheme whilst he was on his way from Canada to return to the Confederate States. The largest offers were made to witnesses to induce them to implicate him in this design. As a consequence, when testimony is called for by a great government with a promise of compensation for information, it was but natural that such persons would be found ready to prejure themselves to attain the reward promised. Unfortunately there was at that time a man whose duty it was to collect this testimony by the name of Joseph Holt who, although ----- himself to commit perjury, was perfectly willing to use suborned testimony to blacken the character of men of higher tone and bearing than himself. The testimony which

he relied upon to connect Mr. Thompson with the assassination bears on its face the marks of its falsity. Men of no character, no position and of inferior intelligence were allowed to come before this man Holt and rehearse conversation which they said they had held with Mr. Thompson. Separate and apart from any other fact, the known caution which Mr. Thompson was accustomed to deal with men must have been satisfactory proof to a mind except one governed with malignity that it was impossible that he should have held such conversations, as they asserted in detail, with such men on a subject of this character.

The belief in Washington that Mr. Thompson was totally devoid of caution, common sense and prudence--even if we are willing to admit that a scheme so diabolical would have entered his mind. This suggestion alone is sufficient to throw all the probabilities against the truth of their statements, and then force him to take into account ----- every conversation which they pretended to have had with him. The testimony of ----- the ----- that he was not resident at the times and places alleged. The whole charge falls to the ground and displays the utter infamy and malignancy which pretended to place any reliance upon such purchased testimony. Holt himself had been under the highest obligation to Mr. and knew him well as an honorable, high-minded man, but the very obligations conferred seemed only to add venom to his persecutions. The only motive of such a man in adopting this course could have been a desire to ingratiate himself with the envenomed portion of the Radical Party which at that time had the control of public affairs.

It is a fact that cannot be contested that Mr. Thompson never knew Booth, Payne or any of the parties or had any dealing with them directly or indirectly. Yet a reward of \$25,000 was offered for his apprehension, and he was branded as an escaped felon fleeing from justice. This proclamation was made by a great government against an individual, and when the public sentiment, convinced of the utter falsity of the charges and that it was a shame to disgrace and pursue a private citizen without proof, an order was quietly and obscurely made in the Department withdrawing the reward for his apprehension. Thus a great and powerful government had not the manliness to change its own justice in the manner in which it was made but sneaked from a false position thus shaming the character of the man who controlled the whole movement. He has the ----- and spite to charge an honorable man with crime, but has not the courage to support the charge when made, and when he is told that it is false he shunts like a dastard from the responsibility of his position.

In the St. Albans Raid the testimony already advanced before the Investigating Committee in Congress proves incontestably that not only Mr. Thompson disapproved of it, but that he ordered the leader of the party to return to Richmond and report himself for duty, and when he showed evidence of a determination to disobey the order, he appealed from relief from this order to another Commissioner. (Vide Lt. Young's letter to Mr. Clay adduced before the Congressional Committee). This makes it clear that Mr. Thompson refuses to sanction the raid upon St. Albans because he was under the impression that the Government would never sanction such a movement. It is true, however, that when these young men were arrested under the extradition treaty that Mr. Thompson, in generous compliance with the solicitation of the parties, stood by them to the last in order to save them from being delivered up to enemies who would be incapable of giving them a fair trial. In so doing he discharged a simple act of justice and duty.

As to the burning of the city of New York, irritated by the wanton-acts of destruction with which Federal officers have devastated the fair homes of the South, he was willing at any time to go to the length of Federal officers in the destruction of private property, but to authorize the destruction of public property wherever it could be done. The public property in New York was immense, the public stores were without limit, its Navy Yard was refitting ships with rapidity which were carrying destruction to Southern homes. To burn them, and to that

124 extent to cripple the enemy, Mr. Thompson felt willing and authorized as a belligerent at any time to attempt. But, when the effort to burn these was unavailing he at no time and in no way sanctioned the effort to destroy the property of non-combatants, for, however much this might be justified as retaliatory, it was not sanctioned by the rules of civilized war. But, when the young men who made the effort to burn the hotels escaped from Canada, he, being charged with the duty of returning escaped Confederate soldiers to their own government, felt bound to furnish them the means of returning, and accordingly did see that they were all returned--excepting the unfortunate Kennedy who was arrested in the attempt, tried and executed as a spy. This is a frank, faithful and truthful statement of the extent of Mr. Thompson's connection with that affair, in all of which we see the clearness and firmness with which he confined himself within the limits of the authority entrusted to him and to the rights which are accorded in belligerency.

126 *Petite Histoire de Ste. Marie, Seward's accomplice*

The history of all civil wars offers a wider scope for the exercise of malignant passion than those waged between foreign powers. It also affords an opportunity for the pariahs of society to arise upon the surface of public affairs and possess a theatre for the exercise of their ignoble acts, amidst the chaos of disturbance. That such men exist the records of ----- human nature attest, but that their 'service' should be sought by men of political reputation and used insiduously for the evil purpose of suspicious minds, is a marvel that can only be accepted by the supposition that ----- into every desperate passion. Private feuds and jealousies, the ranking animosities of ancient hatreds against party rivals, stimulate minds gangrened by partisan prejudice to the commission of every moral turpitude and infamous conspiracy. The American conflict is no exception to this rule. Whilst the War lasted and hatred inflames daily contacts and unnatural sufferings this bitterness may be pardoned, but now that the Angel of Peace once again rules the land there is less reason that the ----- of destruction should any longer desolate the homes and threaten the lives and reputations of individuals. And yet there appears to be no cessation to the embittered feud in the minds of those who precipitated the conflict provided by the sins of the ancient Republic and would still seek by uttering the raven notes of discord to keep alive the resentments of the past. Look at the South before the horrid conflict began, to the ideal of moral progress and in behalf of human liberty. 'Ah well', we might exclaim with Madame Roland, 'Liberty--what crimes were committed in thy name!'. Regard the South during the continuance of the War. The peaceful arts were forgotten, for men were combatants as well as warrior in the field, victims of the stress. Agricultural implements destroyed, peaceful farm houses burned over the heads of defenseless women, and the most wanton vandalism exercised by conquerors until every citizen was a soldier. ----- Families followed in the tracks of the Dogs of War, and Pestilence alone remained as the final visitation of ----- Heaven to complete the sum of human misery. Such is the picture of the present, and all concerned ----- in the name of human progress and liberty. But, if the political review is thus having a more material effect, what is the moral consequence following in its train?

(same subject -- omitted.)

130-160 Eulogy of John Yates Beall omitted

161-163 Canadian Confederation

164 The interests of Canada are intimately connected with those of the Republican states that a review of the political changes about to be consummated have special importance at this time. Confederation may now be regarded as a fait-accompli. From the moment that the Coalition Ministry of Cartier and Brown made this scheme the only policy of their administration their tenure of office depended upon its success. Events in the neighboring states hastened the perfection of the measure. It would be needless to deny that the rapid strides of a once purely Republican and constitutional government towards a centralized despotism furnished a strong argument in favor of those, who, as Conservatives, desired the permanence

165 of a secure government rather than the fluctuation and changes of the excited mobocracy who wield power in the so-called Republican states. The choice of the two systems lay between Confederation and Annexation. None so blind as not to perceive that all the efforts of the Rouge party, a contemptible minority in numbers looked to Washington as the guiding motive of their policy. The Conservatives, however, who form the great majority of these Provinces, have triumphed and consolidated a stable government. This advance of commercial and political interests may be safely prophesied-- advantages not to be regarded with a jealous eye by a considerably more powerful neighbor, for these interests are intimately connected, and the commercial and political prosperity of the one closely connected with the other. For pacification of American difficulties. The formation of a reciprocal treaty that should ensure mutual advantage, and that harmony of political relations which the civilization of our age demands as the triumph of a pacific policy rather than the domination of brute force, of the triumph of principle over expediency and advent of that era.

'When the war drums beat no longer

And the battle flags are furled

In the Parliament of Nations,

The Federation of the World'

166 Canada has been remotely the scene of conflict consequent in the American struggle, and yet no statesman can deny that the actions of her officials, executive and judicial, have been characterized by an independent, honorable and fearless course. Her laws have been executed with rigid impartiality and have administered justice with simple reference unconcerned by foreign threats or domestic influence. That the latter was unscrupulously exercised by certain timid and time-serving politicians who had purchased their way to power is a fact well known, and the judiciary that was superior to these considerations deserves greater renown, however greatly their decisions may have conflicted with the demands of the opposing force. None can claim that the result arrived at in the Ste. Marie case was dictated by other than the principle of law and equity that universally obtain under the strict rendering of the international code.

167 It would be well if the powerful Republican neighbor would give a rest to their violent passions and allow reason to guide their future acts other than the dominion of Radical hatred. That the storm of passion has somewhat lulled is signified by the fact that, whilst two years since persons accused of high political crimes were on the most trivial and inconclusive testimony murdered by an incompetent tribunal, the same offenses are tried by a jury of countrymen according to the laws of the land. Two years since a military star chamber convened and arraigned not only criminals against whom there was at least a presumption of proof but a woman of the South whose great crime was in the eyes of her enemies that she had loved her country too well. This woman met her doom declared by the junta of executioners declaring in the light of heaven her innocence. In her person and sacrifice all the acts of the women of the South were ----- punished. What could a feeble woman perform towards the assassination enacted on the 14th day of April, 1865, of so bloody a scheme? What of the wretch who day after day pilfered dispatches from the State Department of his government that he had sworn to support and then turned to perjury when threatened with exposure? He turned witness against a weak and feeble woman who had nurtured him for months, in whose house he had lived and who was forced to acknowledge she was truly a Christian woman in all her deportment. This man W----- at last is punished by the revelation of the paid emissary Ste. Marie, whom the Minister in Rome has kindly furnished with funds in order to appear at the pending trial of the unfortunate son of Mrs. S-----, and who, anxious to reveal everything of consequence, admits that he knew Mr. W----- to be a traitor in his conversations as he had proved himself a villain in deed.

170 There is one notable witness in the ----- of witnesses summoned by the prosecution in the case of John Surratt. These facts have their connection with affairs in the Provinces, inasmuch as Ste. Marie is a French-Canadian. It was upon Canadian soil that Surratt found shelter when discovered to his great surprise that he was implicated in an event of which he knew nothing, which ignorance was possible from the fact that

in hearing the news of the assassination he exclaimed, 'It is too good to be true!' --meaning, as he afterwards explained to his informant, that the story was of so improbable a nature as to be naturally discredited. But, seeing his reasons connected with the alleged-----it is not wonderful that he should seek security on neutral soil and here in Canada. Received and protected by a generous French-Canadian totally disconnected with the Confederacy, he remained in utter ignorance of pending events. Knowing his mother innocent, he never believed that her unjust doom could be so wickedly -----, and therefore he heeded the advice of the friend who kept him from this knowledge of the serious aspect of affairs in Washington and lulled him into a false security for himself. It was also a French-Canadian who----- in the steamer and during the course of the passage, gaining his confidence, immediately betrayed his confidence to the American Consul in Liverpool. The respective characters of the man who sheltered him and those who betrayed him and sold him will bear strict comparison. We doubt if one of them will be called by the prosecution, as his testimony of conversations with Surratt could be received as evidence, and not that which the Radical mind would desire. Justice must therefore be ----- of her aims by the suppression of this party. Perhaps, too, his evidence would be wholly inadmissible if the question were put, 'Do you believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ?', and with regard to Ste. Marie the same difficulty would exist. He has not hesitated to declare in his sworn affidavit that this was a conspiracy concocted by priests of the Catholic Church against the life of the head of state of a nation in order to strike an effective blow against Republican liberty, averring that priesthood and royalty are ever opposed to this principle. It would be well if this man were asked the question, 'Do you believe in another article of the faith which priests inculcate?' What of the Trinity or ever the existence of God? Have you ever denied this fact?' It would not be difficult, if a categorical answer were received to nullify this creature's testimony. This man, who was patronized and fed by the Surratt family, and who now turns to sting him for his kindness, who enlisted in the Federal Army that he might desert to the Southern forces ----- by chance and later -----. Playing the part of spy and informer on his comrades who had formed a plan of escape and liberated through this treachery, he now turns up to crown his perfidy as the ----- of Republicanism. Truly, one as a weapon of punishment might wish the Radicals joy of their model witness. Their Conovers, Merritts, Montgomerys and Shevels with their different two or three names apiece but all united in swearing a common story. For, whilst he lost his character, Conover is properly punished through his more guilty ----- and ----- excess. In my next letter I propose to give an outline of this wretch Conover's proceedings from the moment when he revealed to certain New York Radicals his store of knowledge to its final adoption by certain parties in power in Washington.

Magna est veritas et prevehibit-

177 Richmond

April 28th, 1864

Dear Sir,

I enclose you the bills of exchange for \$900,000 which I hope will reach you in time. Please acknowledge receipt of telegram as well as by letter.

Yours very truly,

J.P. Benjamin
Secretary of State
(Mr. B's handwriting)

Hon. Jacob Thompson, Wilmington, N.C.

178 Page of newspaper clipping (source unknown)

On the 30th of November, 1864, K.J. Stewart writes from Toronto, C.W. to Jefferson Davis, in which he says:

If Mr. B. has not yet sent me the triplicate of the check for \$20,000 I will thank your Excellency to have the enclosed put in the RICHMOND ENQUIRER among the 'Personals' and also to send a carrier through me with a line to the Hon. Jacob Thompson stating the fact that the check was drawn and advising him to consult me in any further raids. These raids, of which Mr. T. said to me 'They have all gone wrong', have only served to create additional espionage and vexation to our friends without materially crippling the enemy or hastening peace. We should strike hard when we do strike or we beget hatred instead of fear. I also desire to express my conviction that much, very much, can be done from this side, if you will give me time and money and these further raids are stopped'.

In the communication last referred to he says:

'I propose that the men used here shall be formed into a partisan corps after present service is performed and each one regarded as an officer who shall have the privilege of hiring five or more colored servants. We can enlist ten men where the enemy can enlist one. Strategy of an aggressive character can be used here to tremendous effect. If Col. T. has created so much alarm and annoyance -- and I acknowledge it is very great and expensive-- by so many failures, how much more can be done by one great success.'

It is also possible that a letter to Davis dated Toronto, C.W. December 12th, 1864 in which he condemned the act of sending smallpox clothing to Washington was written for the purpose of deceiving the authorities of the United States in reference to the character of the policy by which he and his associates in Canada were controlled. The letter is, however, an admission that \$100 in public money was there paid to one Hyams, shoemaker, for service rendered in conveying boxes of smallpox clothing to be sold in Washington. In the same letter he says:

'I regard it as a kind and merciful Providence that has delayed my own action causing the check for \$20,000 sent by the Signal Corps to fall into enemy hands, or otherwise I should have been endangered in the abortive attempts of other'.

While in his letter of the 20th he desires to have a triplicate of the check he sent and a notice published in the RICHMOND ENQUIRER, of which the following is a copy:

The New YORK NEWS will please advise Mrs. Jacobs that she is authorized to pay Mr. Richmond the amount specified for the benefit of my children.

J. DAVIDS

The notice is interpreted as a direction from Davis himself to Jacob Thompson to pay \$20,000 of Secret Service money in Thompson's hands and subject to his exclusive control, and applied to those purposes only that received personal approval.

When the Committee entered upon their investigation in April last the evidence of the War Department, if accepted as true, was conclusive as to the guilt of Jefferson Davis. /Since that time the Committee has personally examined some of the persons who had made affidavits before Judge Holt and they had retracted entirely their statements and declared they were false in every particular. The Investigating Committee has disregarded entirely the statements of those whose standing has been impeached.

The Committee now relies very largely upon documents found in the Rebel Archives and on witnesses whose reputation for the truth has not been impeached. The Committee is not trying to distort facts but to present to the House a truthful statement of them.

Resolved: the Committee resolves that there is no deficit in the present state of affairs to try Jefferson Davis for the crime of treason or any other crime for which there may be reasonable ground for arraigning him before the tribunals of the country!

Resolved further: That it is the duty of the Executive Department of the Government to

proceed with the investigation of the facts connected with the assassination of the late President Abraham Lincoln without unnecessary delay, that Jefferson Davis and others named in the Proclamation of May 2nd, 1865, may be put upon trial and properly punished, if guilty, or released from the charges against them if found to be innocent.

The further charges consist of the alleged operations of Messrs. Clay and Thompson in the West and extracts of letters from various unknown and irresponsible parties.

182-181 Written in pencil. Indiscipherable.

182 Confederate States of America,
Navy Department,
Richmond.

December 19th, 1864.

Hon. J. Thompson,
Toronto, C.W.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 28th ulto. and in compliance with your request I enclose a duplicate of Acting Master Bennett G. Burley's commission.

183 He was captured by the enemy in November last and was confined at Fort Delaware as a prisoner of war. I have learned within a short time that he has escaped from that place some time during the summer. The attention of the Federal authorities was called to his capture shortly after it occurred and were informed through our agent of exchange that he was an officer of the Navy of the Confederate States. I have sent through his friends here a duplicate of A.M. Beall's appointment which I trust will reach him. He is also an officer of the Navy.

Captain Cole is not an officer of the Navy, and so he is in confinement at Johnson's Island. He had relied only upon his commission in the Army, and I have referred your letter to the Secretary of War, requesting him to send a duplicate of his commission, if he held one.

I am respectfully,
S.B. Mallory,
Secretary of the Navy

184 Sainte Marie

185 A correspondent of Washington gives some interesting details upon the detention of John Surratt in the Old Capital Prison. Surratt does not wear, it is said, the costume of prisoners; and, in effect, this rigor is never imposed preceding the trial. He wears clothes of a dark brown stuff, new and evidently cut by a professional tailor. He carries a black hat. Personally he is a man of refined and delicate appearance, and it would be impossible to find in his features the least trait that would reveal the conspirator and accomplice of assassins. He has reddish-brown hair, profuse and well-shaped, parted in the middle in the back of his head. His moustache and imperial are of a deeper color than his hair. The rest of his face is carefully shaved. He has a low voice, uses elegant expressions, and his mouth has habitually a smiling expression. He is free in his conversation but reserved in certain subjects. He avoids all that would compromise the persons who have assisted or served him by evading the inquiries. There is no great mystery in my flight from Canada. I went on board the steamer at mid-day without the least disguise and with several hundred persons upon the wharf. There were at least two hundred persons on the steamer with whom I was in constant contact and among whom not one recognized me, though in my life I had known several among them. As to the name of the steamer it is impossible to obtain it from him, excepting it was one of the regular lines. Surratt speaks without bitterness of Ste. Marie, although he

always calls him 'that traitor Ste. Marie'. He had recognized him and knew that he betrayed him. As he was seeking another place of refuge at the time he was arrested: one day later, said he, and he would have been where it was impossible to find him. As to his place of retreat, the means that he took to gain it and the persons upon whose aid he counted it was impossible to draw from him.

The Surratt Case was at length terminated so far as the recapitulation of evidence, the delivery of motions and the final effort of the Judge is concerned. This latter expressed a bitter partisan and one-sided view, and his very opening quotation appeared designed by the enunciation of a moral optimism to convey a ----- effect in view of all that was to follow. It was the keynote of the whole discourse.

Ste. Marie swears in the office of the American Legation in Rome in a deposition made out by himself, as General Rufus King assures Mr. Seward, that S----- 'could get money in Rome at any time'. 'I believe,' he continues, 'he is protected by the clergy, and that the murder is the result of a deep-laid plot not only against the life of President Lincoln but against the existence of the Republic, as we are aware the priesthood and royalty are and always have been opposed to liberty'. These words are dismally opposed to his letter. There is evident falsehood in one or the other case, and he loses all claims to credibility and confidence in his testimony. Among his first letters to Gen. Rufus King dated from Rome June 21st, 1866, Ste. Marie calls himself a -----.

'War' ... page of poetry (omitted).

Prose extracts--quotations on Surratt Case from London Weekly Register, November 22nd, 1866

Four pages of sermonizing. (omitted)

Windsor, C.W.

July 7, 1864

Hon. J.P. Benjamin,
Secretary of State.

Sir,

You will perceive that I am at Windsor, just opposite Detroit. I came here about three weeks ago. Mr. Clay was taken sick at Halifax and remained behind. He is now at St. Catherine's. I reached Montreal on the 27th of May. I have through the agency of ----- arranged an interview with a reliable and sensible gentleman from New York City. After the fullest and freest conversation with him I became aware that nothing could be done in the Eastern States because of the profit that they think they are deriving from its prosecution. Absolutely nothing was promised from an effort to deal with their papers. After remaining two weeks for the arrival of Mr. Clay I came to this place.

Here I met with Mr. Bennett, the Grand ----- of the Secret Order in the Western States, and its President, Mr. V-----. They had the right to admit members, and I became at once a member. This gave me an insight into their principles and strength. I was much pleased with it, and there was nothing in it, so far as I was permitted to go, which did not meet my hearty approbation, and I took three degrees. I think they are in fair working order. All they need now is an 'occasion', as they style it, to rise and assert their rights. When Mr. ----- returned it was expected that he would be re-arrested, and they expected to rescue him and meet the consequences. After the position taken by the Cleveland Convention I told him I had such expectations. I believed L. could not touch him. He is too much accustomed to back down. When they expected that the violence of the Abolitionists was so great that they would burn the hall late erected in Chicago for the holding of the Democratic Convention immediately after that convention adjourned on the Fourth of July. But that Convention has been postponed until the 29th of August. Still these threats by the Abolitionists to burn this hall for meeting of the Copperheads, so they are called. But it is now fixed that this movement shall take place on the 20th.

209 The enrolled strength of the Order in Illinois is 85,000. In Indiana 56,000 and Ohio 40,000, in Kentucky unknown, represented as large. This investigation was made four weeks ago and the numbers are increasing daily. The plan is this. Instantaneously a movement will be made at Chicago, Rock Island and Springfield. These places will be seized and held, the prisoners released, armed and mounted, 7000 at Chicago, 9000 at Rock Island. A man has visited me from Chicago who asserts he has two regiments in that place eager and organized and armed. They complain that they have been cramped heretofore for lack of money, with which they have been supplied. Efforts are now
 210 making to communicate with the Indiana patriots, to induce them to initiate proceedings on the same day, and by a bold movement seize and hold Indianapolis and release the 6000 prisoners there. If they are successful in Illinois they expect to seize the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor and the Speaker of the Senate. A friend will be duly and legitimately the governor. If Indiana and Ohio will move they will constitute themselves a Western Confederacy and demand peace (and if peace is not wanted, then it shall be war, and war to the knife). There are some choice spirits enlisted in this enterprise, and all that is needed for success an unquavering resolve. It is agreed that ----- takes command of the Chicago prisoners, if he can get -----.
 211 Qunatrell shall command the Rock Island. To this I have given my sanction.

I am satisfied that United States troops cannot be raised if our Government should attempt any invasion of Pennsylvania, and I do hope no such movement will be made. (The report of the ----- has greatly dissatisfied the people, and the place is full of refugees from the draft). If a movement could be made by our troops into Kentucky and Missouri by the latter part of the month it would greatly facilitate movements in the West. They would occupy all the organized troops in this quarter and leave the Western States no excuse, and the whole movement could be made without firing a gun.

212 I am certain the President will feel the importance of such a movement at a glance. The people of the North are growing weary of the War, but the violent Abolitionists and the preachers of all denominations save the Catholics are so rigorous in their advocacy of an entire extermination. The people of Canada generally sympathize with us.

If Lee holds his own around Richmond and Johnston can waste and defeat the army of Sherman, this fall will make wonderful developments. L. assuredly will be defeated. MacC's late war speeches have pretty well broken him down with the Peace Democracy.
 213 However, unless we have great success in Richmond and in Georgia, there is no hope of defeating a War-man at the ballot-box. At least I have none. I fear the leading politicians of the North will favor peace. They think if the Federal arms are defeated a Peace man can carry the ballot-box. I do not think so. The military power is too large and will be drawn too actively in to the contest. In short, in my opinion, nothing but violence can terminate the War. Their money has become worthless, yet the fanatics show no symptom of yielding.

Captain Hines is with us, and is acting with great discretion, and he possesses my entire confidence. I greatly rely upon his courage and sagacity. We have here about sixty escaped prisoners who are ready for any enterprise. Many of them men of first-rate intelligence.

J.T.

214 Page of poetry (omitted)
 215 1864

December 30th. Received letters from Col. T. and Swagan.
 1865

January 1. Attended mass and made visits.

2. Dined with the Doctor. Drove to Beaumont and wrote to Col. T. and Swagan. Sent paper to Swagan. Wrote Pollard and received answer. Wrote again. Fixed week in January with -----. Dispatched letter to Mrs. T. Jan. 11
24. Left for Quebec with Mr. Loxe.
25. Returned
26. Mrs. D. left for Beaumont. Wrote all day. Snowing hard.
30. Wrote Col. Thompson in answer to his letter of the 18th to Frank Meyer. Received letter from Swagan.

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- February 1 Wrote Pollard and Swagen.
 4 Wrote E.B. Treat, Publisher, 651 Broadway, New York.
 5 Letter from Atkinson, 326 N. Butaw
 6 Cecil Demourot. Business visit.
 7 Wrote Atkinson and Mary.

Received letter from Mrs. Nannie S. White

March

- 9 Wrote Mrs. J. Andrew White
 1 Wrote Atkinson and Surratt. Received letter from Busby.
 2 Col. Thompson, Busby and Mary.
 8 Wrote Mrs. White, Col. Norton and Surgeon. Rec'd letters from
 Van Byre Hortess and two responses.
 Wrote the letters on the 9th.
 Page of poetry omitted.
 14 Received letter from Mary.
 15 Wrote Mary, Mrs. W. and J.H. Bradley. Rec'd letter from Rev. J.H.
Ferrington.
 16 Replied to J.H. Ferrington
 20 St. Joseph's Day.
 22 Wrote Father Doherty in St. Marius. Testimony to be published in the
----- Canadian.
 23 Rec'd letter from Col. Jos. H. Bradley inviting me to meet him in
 Montreal.
 24 Left St. Michel and Point Levi.
 25 Arrived in Montreal. Saw Bradley.
 29 Left ~~for~~ for St. Hilaire. F. Boucher. Foster.
 30 -----
 31 -----

217

218

April

- 1 Wrote Bradley and Father Lapierre/
 2 Left for Quebec.
 3 Saw editors of JOURNAL ----- and rec'd letter of General Duke.
 Returned to St. Michel.
 4 Wrote to Gen. Duke and Fr. Boucher.
 5 Wrote Bradley and N.Y. DAY BOOK, the former to Mrs. B. Rich, Box
 389, Wh.
 6 Wrote to J.E. Atkinson sent on Monday.
 7 Wrote to Fr. Boucher enclosing article for Le -----
 8 Letter to DAY BOOK (St. Albans)
 9 Wrote Col. Thompson -- Halifax.
 " Rev. Mr. Gordon, Wytheville, Wythe Co, Va.
 10 Received ----- from Cosant
 11 Sent MERCURY to RICHMOND DISPATCH.
 12 Sick one day.
 13 -----
 14 Wrote Very Rev. Dr. W -----, Monsign. Christie, Morfit
 15 Wrote Pere Lednier. Sick all day.
 16 Sent paper to Bradley. ----- two to Col. Thompson.
 17 Wrote Father Finnegan & Boucher and Co,
 18 Rue le Marion
 19 Wrote Father Boucher, including article
 20 For Pere M.
 21 Played for Mr. P.
 22 Mr. W. Pollard, Burley, Swagen.
 23 Mr. L. Case, Christman with article.
 24 Wrote Mrs. W. Father Jolivet, Burley and Swagen.
 30 Left for Quebec.

219

May 1 Wrote. Consecration

- 2 Lane Grant.
 3 Returned to St. Michel. Mr. B. died. Received letter from
 Col. Morton

- May 4 Sat up with Dr. all night. Rec'd letter from DAY BOOK
 5 Sunday. Attended vespers.
 6 Mr. B. Mrs. Martineau, Home with Grant
 7 Rec'd letter from Fr. Finnegan
 8 Rec'd letter from Van Felson
 9 Wrote Father Finnegan and Boucher
 10 Arranged papers.

- 221 In my last communication dated from Quebec an exposé of the Conover plot was promised as having its primary inception in the city of New York and its full-blown expansion in the city of Washington, where the guilty drama was enacted, after sundry rehearsals, before the authros of the scheme. A brief review of the antecedents of Conover is here given. (Several lines which follow indcipherable)
- 222 The success of these acts had its triumph, as Gen. Butler of Ft. Fishnet fame states, in the condemnation of an innocent woman on insufficient testimony. He felicitates himself on his exemption of being guiltless of innocent blood. None with knowledge of his military antecedents would dispute that his ----- is as virgin as the claims that his conscience is free in this particular. Such small tokens as silver spoons, plates, and trunks was the object of his conquest rather than the lives of his hated foes. But when rogues fall out honest men get their own. And Bingham, the public prosecutor, is now denounced by Butler, the private prosecutor, as the ----- of an innocent life. These facts are only illustrative of the evil passions that have been ----- Secretary Staunton was counsel in the Sickles case. Judge Ould -----
- 223 A rankling feeling of professional bitterness still lingered in the mind of the Hon. Secretary of War and probably dictated the question: Can you not say anything to implicate Commissioner Ould either of cruelty to the prisoners under his charge or as to his complicity in the assassination? Conover had already made wholesale denunciations against parties who had no difficulty in proving that at the time and place at which he stated they had committed certain acts they were hundreds of miles away or in the same city sick in their bed and unable to have met for any of the purposes indicated. Still, he would like to oblige the parties which had so munificently and disinterestedly persuaded him with the funds, and he thereupon proceeded with prolific tongue to coin other stories that should be a substitute for this one in particular. It was impossible with any degree of probability to place Judge Ould in Canada, when it was well known that he had never been outside of the confines of the South, and to state the time and place of a conversation within its boundaries was difficult, for it might have been readily known in this case -- as it had been demonstrated in that of all the other gentlemen assailed-- that the whole story of this villain was an infamous falsification of his fertile and mercenary mind, dictated by the suspicious villainy of more highly educated villains and sent forth to the world as a fulmination of hatred that should cover its victims with eternal shame and brand them forever as outcasts in society. The prosecution and conviction of this arch-perjurer, however, removes certain portions of obloquy from the character of those he wickedly assailed.
- 224 That the infamous plot is revealed by ----- has passed into condemnation of the judges and accusers who brought the charge and procured the conviction of at least one innocent party.
- 225 To take up the charge of this villain Conover would occupy too extended space. A few of the most glaring and obvious will only be gleaned from the universal story of ----- malice and falsehood. To accomplish his purpose in arriving at some vague information which he might afterwards ----- to that immaculate sheet, the NEW YORK TRIBUNE. Its pages are always open to the reception of the ----- of his brain. An ----- of truth and the description of actual pictures covered with a veil, the general mass of falsehood that has rendered his communications acceptable to negro-like taste for the Editor and readers of that sheet. All connected with the TRIBUNE are aware that any outrage, however improbable, or falsehood having transparent ----- be ----- contained a libel against the unfortunate politicians or people of the

227 Southern States. Therefore, with the sudden downfall of the Confederacy, the consequent failure of ----- raids and plots in Canada ----- for sensation-loving readers. Othello's occupation gone, a new and more ----- role was sought by the volunteer witness against the integrity of Confederates whom he had seen or heard of in Canada. His opening assertion that he knew gentlemen assembled there 'intimately' is only one of the first and least gleanings of this continuous perjury. His fertility quickened as he proceeded towards the development of evidence, stimulated by the ----- hints as to the course that it was desirable his inventions should observe. These were taken down with the pen of a ready writer, and the inspiration of the developments can be readily traced by the evidence of the Attorney-general of the United States when placed on the stand
 228 to testify against the very tool he had used, acknowledging that the false deposition was in his own handwriting, with the feeble excuse that he had believed the man 'was telling the truth'. Mere belief in a Court of Justice is rarely offered in the absence of positive knowledge. Few legal minds would have the ----- to state as a fact the mere presumption of his belief, but there is a certain latitude allowed to men in power. Though the vague testimony was received by an independent jury with as much indifference and with as little weight attached to its veracity as that which had ----- from the criminal himself, who in reality was only the mouthpiece of the 'powers behind the throne' So much for Shaftesbury, 'Off with his head!'

229 There are in the Province of Ontario 336 companies of volunteers, in Lower Canada 194 companies. In addition to this there is the Grand Trunk Brigade consisting of 36 companies and the Civil Service Regiment consisting of six companies --- total 579 companies. The total number of militiamen in Upper Canada are: First Class, 85,081, Second Class, 130,553, Reserve 54, 489. Total 270, 123. In Lower Canada First Class, 43,764, Second Class, 79, 627, Reserve 33,701, Total 154, 674. Grand total 424,797.

The following remarkable, almost incredible revelation finds place in same Richmond correspondent of the NEW YORK WORLD of date March 27:

230 It is perhaps not generally known that during the incarceration of Wirz and Maj. Winder in the Capitol Prison they occupied adjoining cells and enjoyed facilities of communication one to the other by word or writing through an aperture not observed by the jailer. No one was permitted to see either unless by special privilege of the Secretary of War. On the night previous to the execution of Wirz three men entered his cell, of course by permission of Staunton, and proposed to him that if he would agree to implicate Jefferson Davis in the alleged conspiracy as to the Northern prisoners confined at Andersonville his life would be spared. Wirz replied that he would never save his life by sacrificing that of an innocent man. The parties thereupon left the cell, and Wirz immediately communicated all that had passed to Maj. Winder. The Major some time after met Mrs. Davis in New York and revealed to her what is here stated, backing it up by an affidavit which he gave her and which she now holds. The trial of Davis ----- revelations which would shock humanity and ----- to its fullest whatever sense of justice and feeling of national pride is still left in the North.