THE IMMORTAL



uring the past year, I have in one manner or other (private sale, auction agent, and appraisal) handled ten covers from the Immortal Six Hundred. I first heard the fascinating story of these beleaguered prisoners-of-war four decades ago. It has been the subject of numerous books and is often written about in Civil War publications, but many philatelists may not be aware of it unless they are serious students of the Civil War or Confederate postal history.

A cover from one of the Immortal Six Hundred is usually one of the most prized items in any Confederate collection. Eminent prisoner-of-war postal history student Galen Harrison has recorded fifty covers from the Immortal Six Hundred from various locations while imprisoned, as well as another nine covers to them. The statistics used in this article are from his research, for which I am most grateful. The half dozen or so covers that have sold at auction during the past year have sold in the range of \$3,250-3,750. More common prisoner-of-war covers sell for a small fraction of that.

On August 20, 1864, a chosen group of six hundred Confederate prisoners-of-war, all officers, were transferred from their confinement at Fort Delaware Prison to Federally occupied Hilton Head, Exceedingly rare covers help tell the Civil War story of horrid retaliation and retribution. By Patricia A. Kaufmann

South Carolina. The number is really closer to 550, but they are still referred to as the "600" in popular lore. The number disparity is because forty of the prisoners were too sick to be placed on Morris Island and were sent to Beaufort Hospital instead. The purpose of the move from Ft. Delaware was to place these men in a cramped stockade built on a narrow strip of sand in front of Union artillery positions - to literally use these prisoners as human shields from the bombardment of their own Confederate artillery in Charleston Harbor.

The prisoners were landed on Morris Island at the mouth of Charleston Harbor where they remained in an open 1½ acre pen under the shelling of friendly artillery fire. Three died

on the starvation rations issued as retaliation for the conditions of the Union prisoners held at Andersonville, Georgia and Salisbury, North Carolina. Twenty-one covers are known from there and three to there.

The Origin of Misfortune

The beginning of this deplorable situation began the previous summer. On August 21, 1863, Maj. Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore, the Federal commander in the Charleston area at the time, had sent a message to his Confederate counterpart, General P.G.T. Beauregard, informing him of his army's intention to fire into Charleston. He declared the city a military target due to its arsenal, which manufactured artillery shells, and its docks, which received supplies smuggled through the blockade. He informed Beauregard that the shelling would start some time after midnight, August 22, 1863.

Beauregard protested that he did not have adequate time to evacuate the city of its non-combatants. Nevertheless, in the early hours the following morning, Federal mortars launched their deadly projectiles into both the residential and business areas of downtown Charleston. Most affluent residents quickly fled the city, but the poorer inhabitants had no choice but to remain to face the onslaught.



Offas. Matties to: roberry Care, D. S. Dhun, B. M. Intah m Ashvilles Dear Wife

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

Gillmore placed an 8-inch Parrott rifle on Morris Island, four miles across the harbor from the south end of the city. The giant cannon, nicknamed the "Swamp Angel," hammered earsplitting shells into Charleston before dawn, signaling the beginning of a siege that would last 567 days. In January 1864 alone, 1,500 mortar shells were fired into the city. Fort Sumter, once the linchpin of the city's defenses, was being pounded into a pile of rubble.

On April 20, 1864, Maj. Gen. Samuel Jones arrived in Charleston to take command of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida from Beauregard, who had been reassigned to North Carolina. When Jones arrived in Charleston, the battered city had already endured eight months of bombardment. Though deaths from the shelling were few, the Federal artillery had caused irreparable destruction throughout the city, and very few buildings within Union cannon range escaped damage from shellfire. The streets were pockmarked with craters and littered with the bodies of unburied animals. Only weeds grew in the yards of what had once been lovely homes, and the bastion of Southern antebellum culture had been reduced to a scarred landscape. In a cheerless attempt at humor, remaining residents called the area most damaged by the Federal guns the "Gillmore District."

Shortly after the Southern change of command, the Union also assigned a new commander to Charleston. On May 26, 1864, Maj. Gen. John Gray Foster replaced Gillmore as the head of the Department of the South. Foster realized that he lacked the means to successfully assault or outflank the massive defenses of the once charming harbor town, and settled in to continue the bombardment.

Lacking the manpower and resources to drive Foster's Yankees away, General Jones looked for immediate ways to alleviate the siege. He turned to drastic measures. On June 1, 1864, he requested of General Braxton Bragg that fifty Federal prisoners be sent to him to be "confined in parts of the city still occupied by civilians, but under the enemy's fire." President Jefferson Davis approved his request, and orders were issued to move the ill-fated prisoners from Camp Oglethorpe in Macon, Georgia to Charleston. There is one cover known from a Union General in the O'Connor House in Charleston.

The local newspaper, the Charleston Mercury, ran the following taunt, "For some time it has been known that a batch of Yankee prisoners, comprising the highest in rank now in our hands, were soon to be brought hither to share in the pleasures of the bombardment. These prisoners we understand will be furnished with

pied by civilians, heated terms, "You seek to defeat (our) effort(s), not by honorable Davis approved means, but by placing unarmed and helpless prisoners under our ill-fated prisoners ifre." Of the fifty high ranking officers that preceded the "600", arleston. There is there are five covers from the U.S.S. Dragoon and one to there.

> In late June, both generals were under pressure to end the siege, but since they were losing troops to the front in Virginia, the impasse dragged on and the prisoners stayed put. As of April 1863, the Federal government discontinued the practice of exchanging prisoners. Prior to that, a formal policy existed that prescribed how prisoner exchanges were to take place. The new uncompromising policy was designed to prevent soldiers from returning to the

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comfortable quarters in that portion of the city most exposed to enemy fire. The commanding officer on Morris Island will be duly notified of the fact of their presence in the shelled district and if his batteries still continue at their wanton and barbarous work, it will be at the peril of the captive officers."

The fifty ill-fated Union officers, of whom five were brigadier generals, were confined in the south end of Charleston. Jones sent a note to Foster the day after their arrival to tell the Federal general of their arrival and that they had been placed in "a part of the city occupied by non-combatants....I should inform you that it is a part of the city...for many months exposed to the fire of your guns."

Foster was furious and, as retaliation, requested that fifty Con-

federate prisoners, also all officers, be sent from the prison at Fort

Delaware to be placed in front of the Union forts on Morris Island.

He sent a letter to Jones under flag-of-truce in which he railed in

Photograph taken at the end of the war showing the burn damage from artillery shelling along the Battery at Charleston harbor.

Figure 3.

ranks of the Southern armies, as the Union Army concluded that the Confederates received the greater benefit from the practice. On the other hand, it caused rapid growth in the number of men in prisons of both sides.

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President Lincoln was apprised of the situation in Charleston and gave permission to Foster to make an exception to War Department policy and begin making arrangements for an exchange. On August 3, an agreement was worked out for the one hundred officers.

Just when it seemed that the prisoner dispute had been resolved, things took a turn that would place even more captives in harm's way. Union Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's campaign in Georgia was getting too close to the overcrowded Southern prison camp at Andersonville, and the Confederate government began to send hundreds of Federal prisoners to Charleston for safekeeping. Jones objected to the situation, arguing to no avail that it was "inconvenient and unsafe." Upon their arrival in Charleston, most of the Federals were confined to the city jail in the southeast part of the



city directly in the line of fire from the mortars across the harbor.

Before long, the inmates included nearly six hundred officers and more than three hundred enlisted men, as well as local criminals and deserters from both sides. All were jammed into A-frame tents set up in the courtyard. The full heat of high summer made

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the interior of the jail stifling, and yellow fever began to take a big toll. General Jones reacted to the outbreak of disease by issuing orders to his provost marshal to remove all of the sick and wounded prisoners who were able to travel and send them back to the prison at Andersonville. Also, he ordered that only extreme cases be allowed to enter a hospital in Charleston. Food for the Federals was poor and scarce; sanitation was nearly nonexistent. Most of the men were exposed to the elements around the clock under the constant fearsome crash of artillery.

Figure 4.

Fort Pulaski Ga Att 1016 1854

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That we will, Write Soon , by is not require a 16. S. hortage Stamp

Foster was incensed when he heard of the new prisoner shipments, thinking that they had also been sent to the city to serve as human shields. He wrote Jones that he would place Confederate officers under fire to retaliate. Construction began on a Union stockade in front of Battery Wagner on Morris Island and directly in the path of Southern artillery, and Foster ordered six hundred Confederate officers removed from Fort Delaware to be placed on Morris Island. The

response of commanding officers on both sides had deteriorated to the level of a schoolyard squabble.

On August 20, the Federal steamer Crescent City left Fort Delaware with its cargo of six hundred Confederate officers packed into the putrid hold like cattle and shipped south in the blistering summer sun. The prisoners remained on Crescent City near Hilton Head while the stockade on Morris Island was completed.

Lt. John W. Hooberry – "Immortal 600"

One of the young officers aboard the Crescent City was Lt. John W. Hooberry. Hooberry was born circa 1841 in Tennessee and enlisted as a private on December 30, 1861 in John L. McEwen's Company, 55th Tennessee Infantry (McKoin's). A year later he was promoted to First Sergeant and was elected to Jr. 2nd Lieutenant February 14, 1864. He was captured at Petersburg on June 17, 1864 and received at Ft. Delaware where he became one of the Immortal 600.

Figure 1 shows a cover from Lt. Hooberry bearing a U.S. 3¢ rose tied target with matching Port Royal, S.C. September 1, 1864 double circle cancel. It is addressed to his wife in care of Dr. Phin B.

Figure 5.

McIntosh, Nashville, Tennessee. It was formerly in the collections of Confederate specialists Earl Antrim and William A. Fox. Only five covers are recorded from the Crescent City. This one was sold in February 2008 for \$3,335 (including buyer premium) in a Schuyler J. Rumsey auction.

Figure 2 is the enclosed letter from Hooberry to his wife, Mattie (Martha), headed "On Board Steamship Crescent off Hilton Head August 28, 1864" stating that he last wrote her from Ft. Delaware ten days ago but is "now on Shipboard near Port Royal or Hilton Head how long we will remain here I am unable to say. I am also unable to say what we are here for, but hope it is for an early exchange." He mentions sea sickness and that they were treated well by their guards.

Clearly, the prisoners had no idea they were about to become human shields. He was incarcerated on Morris Island. Hooberry was fortunate to be exchanged in Charleston Harbor December 15, 1864 and surrendered in Augusta, Georgia on May 11, 1865. He took the oath of allegiance on June 3, 1865 at Nashville.

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Figure 6.

He is described as of fair complexion, dark hair, blue eyes and 6' tall. He was a farmer with a wife and three children, a resident of Nashville.

No Exchanges! On order of Lt. Gen. U.S. Grant

Jones was now anxious to make exchanges. The news of a pending deal reached the headquarters of Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. General Grant was a leading advocate to end exchanges. He fired off a letter to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton on August 21 demanding that Foster cease all dialogue with Confederate authorities, "Please inform General Foster that under no circumstances will he be authorized to exchange prisoners-of-war. Exchange simply reinforces the enemy at once, whilst we do not get the benefit of those received for two or three months and lose the majority entirely."

The situation in Charleston intensified when General Sherman's forces captured Atlanta on September 2. The Confederate government was concerned that Sherman would move southward to Andersonville and Macon, freeing tens of thousands of prisoners and allowing them to wreak havoc on virtually undefended central Georgia. Richmond greatly desired to keep as many Federal prisoners as far away from Sherman as possible, and the captured Yankees continued to pour into the Charleston area.

On September 7, the Federal stockade on Morris Island opened and was quickly filled with the Confederate prisoners, numbering a little less than 600 due to deaths from disease. In a purposeful mirroring of the living conditions of their Federal counterparts, the Rebels were housed in A-frame tents and very poorly fed. At night they were subjected to the swarms of sand fleas, mosquitoes, and drenching thunderstorms all common to coastal South Carolina. The Federals did not issue blankets, and the men were forced to sleep in the sand. All the while, they were exposed to cannon shells and the scorching sun with not so much as one tree to provide shade.

As reports of the arrival of the Confederate officers in the stockade on Morris Island reached Confederate headquarters, Jones suggested that harsh methods of reprisal were necessary. On September 7 he wrote to the Confederate high command in Richmond: "If the department thinks it proper to retaliate by placing Yankee officers in Sumter or other batteries, let the order be given, prompt action should be taken. Please instruct me what if any authority I have over prisoners."

Throughout the month of September, the shelling continued. The prisoners' meager rations often consisted of only two pieces of hardtack a day. On a good day, a prisoner might receive some worm eaten hard tack, a tiny one-ounce chunk of bacon and a bowl of thin soup.

General Jones' threats to put Union prisoners on the ramparts of Fort Sumter never materialized, and on October 8 the Union captives in Charleston were removed to cities farther inland. The Southern captives' ordeal continued, however, until

> Figure 7, right, and Figure 8, below. (From the Randy L. Neil Collection.) Bottom right: Roper Hospital, a contemporary photograph taken right after the war.

October 21, when, after forty-five days of exposure to shellfire, the weakened soldiers were finally transferred to Fort Pulaski at Savannah, Georgia where they were crowded into the cold, damp casemates of the fort. On November 19, an attempt to relieve overcrowding was made by sending 197 of the men back to Hilton Head. For forty-two days, a "retaliation ration" of ten ounces of moldy cornmeal and soured onion pickles was the only food issued to the prisoners. Thirteen men died at Fort Pulaski, and five died at Hilton Head. Though sympathetic, their Union guard was under strict orders not to relieve any suffering.

Captain Bezaliel Garland Brown - "Immortal 600"

Captain Bezaliel Garland Brown entered Confederate service in June 1861 as a member of Virginia's Seventh Infantry, the Holcomb Guards. The 1860 census shows him as a single 24 year old farmer. He was promoted to the rank of captain the following year. The ambrotype in Figure 3 was most likely taken at the time of his promotion. Captain Brown is seated, unarmed, dressed in his Confederate officer's uniform. Less than a year later, he was wounded in the left leg and taken prisoner during the Battle of Gettysburg. He is described as 6'2" tall with a light complexion, blue eyes and brown hair. He was incarcerated at Johnson's Island, Point Lookout and Ft. Delaware, where he was admitted to the post hospital.

Mid-19th-century images produced as ambrotypes, tintypes, and daguerreotypes ushered in the age of personal portrait pho-

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Figure 9.

Figure 10.

Junt J. S. Devine 11st Serina Insine of war. Charleston S.C. Charleston S. C. Suly 30 to 1864 Wear Bro. Those this may find you all well my health is good but d Stired of

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tography that we enjoy today. Harlowe-Powell Auction Gallery of Charlottesville, Virginia, sold this hand-tinted ambrotype at an August 2007 on-site auction of the contents of Westover Farm in nearby Greene County. Including the buyer premium, it brought an astounding \$4,704.

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While Civil War-era images routinely pass through auctions, they usually fetch substantially lower prices than this image did. What it had that most don't was the "X-factor." Every image is unique and the X-factor is what sets a particular image apart from all others and drives the price. The fact that Brown was one of the Immortal 600 was, of course, the X-factor in this case. It is the same in the world of postal history and manuscripts.

The cover shown in Figure 4 is docketed with the mandated soldier's docketing showing that Capt. Brown was a prisoner-ofwar at Ft. Pulaski. Further docketing shows the cover routed by flag of truce through Savannah, Ga, with the telltale Jan 7 (1865) Charleston circular date stamp and (due) 10 Confederate soldier mail rate. The manuscript red "Ex" represents the POW "examined" marking. It is addressed by Brown home to his father in Charlottesville.

Figure 5 shows Brown's letter headed "Ft. Pulaski, Ga. Nov 12th, 1864". The long lag time from writing to posting is not unusual. He expresses concern that "again the mail from Dixie has arrived without a letter from you". He asks for money and clothes and gives news of other prisoner soldiers. He continues, "We have a flag of truce once a week from Savannah, direct to this place, we are all in very good health except bad colds...I do not think we will be exchanged this winter, good many think that we will. Write soon, by Savannah. It does not require a U.S. postage stamp to write to me." No doubt not wanting to worry his father, Brown does not mention the deplorable conditions, nor would censors be likely to pass a letter decrying their treatment.

On March 12, 1865, the survivors were shipped back to Fort Delaware, where twenty-five more died of illness. They remained there until after the war ended with the last man finally released in July 1865, well after Lee's April surrender at Appomattox.

Captain Brown was finally released from prison May 30, 1865, following the South's surrender. He died only two months later at the age of 28.

Lt. Charles E. Richards from one of the "Immortal 600" to one of the 50

Figure 6 shows a cover with a Charleston, S.C, January 7 (1865) cancel and (due) "10" handstamp rate with the usual manuscript

"Ex" censor's examined marking in pencil. It is endorsed "From C. E. Richards, Lt. 5th Kentucky Cav" and penciled "Per Flag of Truce". The wonderful thing about the cover is that it is addressed to "Brig Genl Basil Duke, who was one of the fifty original prisoners.

Lt. Charles E. Richards was captured at Cheshire, Ohio July 20, 1863 in Morgan's Ohio Raid. He was sent to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania August 4, 1863 and received at Pt. Lookout, Maryland March 20, 1864 from Western Penitentiary, Pennsylvania. He was transferred to Fort Delaware June 23, 1864 and forwarded to Charleston August 20, 1864 where he was transferred to be imprisoned on Morris Island and Fort Pulaski.

Brigadier-General Basil Duke, colonel of the Second Kentucky Cavalry in John H. Morgan's lifetime, was successor to that officer upon his death. When Bragg was preparing to fall back from Tullahoma in the summer of 1863, Morgan made his celebrated raid into Ohio. In this expedition, Colonel Duke was his right-hand man. Morgan and Duke, with sixty-eight other officers, were captured. Morgan made his escape from the Ohio penitentiary where they were confined, and Duke was afterward exchanged.

Lt. David Ervin Gordon - "Immortal 600"

A lovely prisoner-of-war cover showing postage stamps of both the U.S. and Confederacy is shown in Figure 7. Flag-of-truce mail was supposed to be sent in inner and outer envelopes with the originating envelope to be discarded, but this was sometimes overlooked. Such covers are particularly prized, as they are actually against postal regulations of both sides. This cover is not from



the prisoner while he was one of the "600", but he was about to be shortly. It represents a use from Ft. Delaware just before he was sent south to be used as a human shield with his fellow officers.

Lt. Gordon was shown in the 1860 census as a planter from Murray's Ferry, Williamsburg District, South Carolina. Gordon (1831-1904). He was described as 5'10'' tall, of ruddy complexion with mixed hair and blue eyes. He was married in 1854 to the former Miss Esther Harper McKnight and had four children. His wife died in 1866 and he was remarried to Miss Mary Hughson Nettles in 1869 and had two children with her as well.

He enlisted as a private in July 1861, but rose in the ranks to 2nd Lieutenant. He was captured at Trevillian's Station, Virginia. He was received at Point Lookout Prison from Fort Monroe and from there transferred to Ft. Delaware June 23, 1864. He was forwarded to Charleston August 20, 1864 and from there to Ft. Pulaski, Georgia October 21, 1864.

Figure 8 shows a cover from Gordon while at Ft. Pulaski. It is franked with a 10¢ blue, Scott #11, tied by a Savannah Paid cancel November 9 (1864) and manuscript "By Flag of Truce" home to his wife. Most of the Immortal 600 covers are stampless with handstamped soldier's due rates. The Savannah routing and "By Flag of Truce" notations are tip-offs to the Immortal 600 status. Confirmation is simple enough by a check in The Biographical Roster of the Immortal 600 by Mauriel Joslyn.

The Union "600"

The "Union 600" is a misnomer. There were two groups of six hundred Union POWs sent from Macon, Georgia. The first six hundred went directly to Charleston; the second group went to Savannah for a short while and was then sent to Charleston. It is virtually impossible to separate the two groups. Cover totals for the two groups as follows: nine from Charleston City Jail; three from Marine Hospital (used to confine, not to treat the sick); and twenty-three from and six to Roper Hospital. In Charleston, but building unknown, there are fifteen covers from and eight to (the letters to here were probably forwarded to Columbia, but this is not certain); and three from Workhouse.

Lieut. Jacob S. Devine (Diehl) – Union "600"

Figure 9 shows a cover from Port Royal, South Carolina canceled with a September 1, 1864 double circle cancel and matching straightline Due 3 with manuscript "Ex(amined)" and "Per Flag of Truce" to Philadelphia with the mandated endorsement "From Lieut J.S. Devine 71st Penna, Prisoner of War, Charleston, SC".

Jacob S. Devine enlisted on August 9, 1861 as a private into Company H of the 71st Pennsylvania Infantry; he was transferred to Field and Staff and then to Company C. Devine was promoted through the ranks as high as Captain on October 29, 1863 during his incarceration (not mustered). He was captured at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863 and confined variously in Confederate prisons at Macon, Georgia; Columbia, South Carolina; Andersonville, Georgia; and Libby in Richmond, Virginia

There were two letters enclosed with the cover. The letter in Figure 10 is headed "Charleston, S.C., July 30th, 1864" saying, "my health is good but d_____ tired of this prison life we have been shoved very near all over the Southn Confed(erac)y and have brought up here. We were in Macon Ga some 2 months." He asks for articles from home by Express directed to "Prisoner-of-war – Charleston S.C. via Hilton Head."

The original letter shown in Figure 11 is addressed to Jno. Diehl, Esq in Philadelphia from Lieut. Devine headed "Marine Hospital Building, Charleston, S.C. August 19, 1864" and states, in part, "tie the bundle up neat and tight and direct it to me at the Marine Hospital, Charleston Via Hilton Head, S.C. You may also send me \$10.00 in a letter."

The letter salutations are "Dear Brother" and "Dear Bro". It was my initial assumption that Devine and Diehl were both members of the Brethren Church and referred to each other as brother, the common practice in that church. But Galen Harrison set me straight. The real story is far more interesting. Galen found Devine listed on his Andersonville list as Lt. Jacob S. Diehl, Co. C, 71st Pennsylvania. Even more importantly, he found the pension application file for "Devine, Jacob S. (alias) Jacob Diehl". "Widow Diehl, Mary A." – proof that Diehl was his real name.

The common thinking in using a nom-de-guerre was that the soldier would not dishonor the family name should something unseemly occur.

The Devine/Diehl cover and letters graced the collections of the late William G. Bogg and then William A. Fox. Bogg and Fox were the closest of friends and were roommates at William and Mary College and well-known dealers specializing in Confederates from the mid-1950s through the mid-1980s. Many of my earliest philatelic memories include these two legendary dealers, both of whom I counted as close friends.

A blot on the record of both sides

The harsh and unusual conditions inspired one of the captives, John O. Murray, to record his experiences in the 1905 book, *The Immortal Six-Hundred*. The name he gave the group stuck, and today they are still referred to as the "Immortal 600."

It is difficult to say who was at fault for this entire ignominy. Jones was the first to place prisoners under fire but, on the other hand, the Federal Army was firing into a city where civilians still resided. Gen. Grant must also shoulder some blame, for his orders halted prisoner exchanges. Regardless whose fault it was, the treatment of the prisoners in Charleston Harbor remains one of the most ignominious and contentious incidents of the Civil War.