

An Ethical Responsibility? Research Access to Unique Manuscripts in the Custody of Private Collectors

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Does a private collector have an ethical responsibility to make the unique materials in their care accessible to others? Shall a collector respond to the world's need to expand human knowledge and understanding by granting access to manuscripts in their possession?

Archivists and curators of rare books and manuscripts acknowledge ethical duties in making accessible the records in their care. In its Code of Ethics, the International Council on Archives (ICA) declares that the archivist shall promote the "widest possible access to archival materials."¹ Among the "core values" of archivists prefacing its Code of Ethics, the Society of American Archivists (SAA) notes that archivists are "responsible stewards" of "records that document the cultural heritage of society;" those archivists will afford open and equitable access to records in their care.² In its Code of Ethics, the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section (RBMS) of the American Library Association (ALA) insists that curators are "stewards of the cultural record" who

are “caring for cultural property on behalf of the general public.”³ In all cases, archivists and curators have ethical responsibilities to a wider community to preserve records in their care and to make them accessible for the benefit of society.

I return to the question raised at the beginning of this essay: does a collector of manuscripts have a responsibility to provide access to them? Shall we flip the question around and ask: is it ethically defensible for a collector to refuse access to unique manuscript materials that may shed important light on an episode in the past? Is a researcher—an historian, a biographer, an investigative journalist, a literary scholar—to be refused access to the record that may change our understanding of history?

I offer what may serve as a case study for this ethical question based on my personal experience. I share this story in the hope of provoking a discussion among manuscripts collectors regarding their responsibilities as possessors of unique materials. Are collectors also “stewards of the cultural record?” As stewards, do they have a responsibility to grant access to the record to advance scientific knowledge?

I am an archivist and an historian. Beginning in 1990, early in my archival career, I worked in the Indiana State Archives in Indianapolis. The Indiana State Archives preserves unparalleled holdings of Civil-War-era state-government records in the United States. The records of Governor Oliver P. Morton and other state officers are a treasure trove documenting the response of a state government to the secession crisis, its mobilization for war to suppress the rebellion of the slave states of the South, and the internal conflicts that rose to the brink of civil war within Indiana. I found that the records of Morton’s administration were badly disorganized. I took up the task of bringing order to them and in the course of several years recovered, uncovered, and discovered many misfiled or misidentified records scattered in the archives stacks. I read the letters, reports, telegrams, and ledgers and became intrigued by what I found. I consulted the secondary literature

on the American Civil War and Indiana’s important role in the war effort. I gradually came to understand that the records I was uncovering did not conform to the account laid out in historical texts. The records said one thing; the historical literature said another.⁴

For decades, historians characterized Governor Oliver P. Morton (see Figure 1) as an unscrupulous political flim-flam man. In his highly influential study of the relationship between President Abraham Lincoln and the governors of the northern states, *Lincoln and the War Governors*, historian William B. Hesseltine portrayed an embattled national chief executive plagued by the unreasonable and selfishly parochial demands of state leaders. Over time, Lincoln prevailed over the governors by mollifying their fears, cajoling their egos, and thwarting their fancies. Morton, as perhaps the most dynamic of the lot, required special skill to bring in line.⁵ Hesseltine’s unflattering portrait of Morton as a paranoid charlatan had long historiographical legs. His doctoral student, Kenneth M. Stamp, advanced the picture of the Indiana governor as an unscrupulous “political genius.” Specifically, he argued that Morton, a Republican, promoted a false narrative of Democratic disloyalty for purely partisan effect.⁶ Fellow Hesseltine student Frank L. Klement advanced the anti-Morton argument further. In a series of books and articles published over decades, Klement argued that Morton and a cabal of fellow Republican politicians and army officers concocted a hoax that the Democratic opposition was dominated by secret organizations that conspired in league with

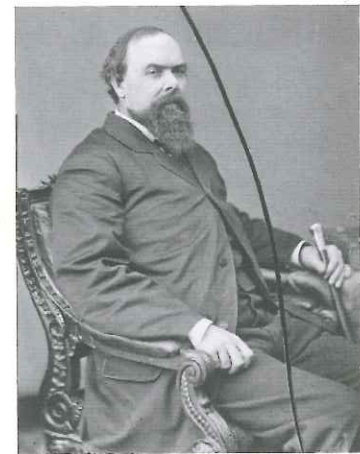


Figure 1: Indiana Governor Oliver P. Morton. *Image courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division*

the rebel government in the South. Klement insisted repeatedly that Morton and his cronies devised this phony narrative and got up show trials by military tribunals all for partisan political gain.⁷

This historical account, however, in my mind began to be undermined by the records I unearthed in the Indiana State Archives. I expanded the scope of my research, visiting other archives and manuscripts repositories around the state and region. Starting in 2001, I began regular visits to the Library of Congress as well as the National Archives in Washington, DC and Chicago. Reading thousands and thousands of pages of U.S. Army and other records, I realized that military officers developed a wide-ranging and numerous military intelligence and espionage operation throughout the northern states. Commanders aimed to counteract the decay in the army caused by widespread desertion and draft dodging encouraged by organized home-front civilians. This military bureaucracy encompassed hundreds of paid secret agents augmented by countless informers who reported on subversive activities on the local level. Cooperating with civil authorities, army spies read private mail, surveilled suspects, and military authorities arrested a large number of citizens. In the National Archives and in repositories I visited from coast to coast I continued to find that the surviving records did not support the "revisionist" view advanced by Hesseltine and his students. Frank Klement's account that Morton and his close coterie of aides fabricated the existence of secret disloyal organizations in an effort to smear the Democratic opposition became increasingly suspect.

A key figure in this military espionage effort was Henry Beebe Carrington (see Figure 2). A Connecticut-born, Yale-educated attorney in Ohio with abolitionist views, at the start of the war of the rebellion he served as the adjutant general of Ohio. A political acolyte of Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, Chase secured for Carrington a colonelcy in a newly formed regiment of the U.S. (regular) Army. In August 1862, responding to Governor Morton's request for an efficient military administrator in Indiana

to run the mobilization effort during the crisis caused by the Confederate invasion of Tennessee and Kentucky by armies under Braxton Bragg and Edmund Kirby Smith, the War Department in Washington, DC ordered Carrington to Indianapolis. There he wielded his superior administrative skills to bring order to the raising, drilling, feeding, housing, mustering in, and dispatching to the front tens of thousands of new volunteer troops raised in a matter of weeks. Impressed by the energy and efficiency that Carrington brought immediately to the task, Governor Morton telegraphed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton (see Figure 3) to applaud the appointment. "Thanks for sending Col Carrington," he wired. "A better appointment could not have been made."⁸ The arrival of the military paper-pusher was a start of a close working relationship that had significance in the months and years to come.

While in Indiana, Carrington was drawn into the internal conflicts in the state between those who supported the war effort to suppress the rebellion and coerce the seceded states back into the Union and those who, for whatever reason, opposed a war of coercion. Carrington found himself called on to send troops to arrest Democratic speakers who were discouraging volunteer enlistments. In October 1862 he dispatched five hundred troops to northern Indiana to quell draft resistance. In that month Governor



Figure 2: Colonel and spymaster Henry Beebe Carrington. *Image courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.*

Morton had sent confidential advices to President Lincoln that a secret but organized effort existed in Indiana and neighboring states in the Old Northwest to subvert the war effort. He warned that Democratic politicians both openly and through secret organizations were agitating their followers to sever Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio from the Union to create a "Northwest Confederacy," mimicking the southern states.⁹ Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which announced that enslaved persons in the rebel states not under control of United States forces were to be declared forever free, had alarmed, enraged, and energized Democrats to turn out at the polls in great numbers and win control of state legislatures and Congressional delegations. They called for ending support for the war effort because it entailed freeing enslaved men and women. They demanded a negotiated end to fighting that would recognize the rebel government.

In December of that year Carrington encountered evidence that some Indiana soldiers were members of secret organizations in their home communities that aimed to aid them to desert the ranks. Quickly, he investigated and learned that the organizations opposed the war if it meant the abolition of slavery. Members aimed to foment desertion, resist arrest of deserters, halt enlistments, and interfere with conscription, all to weaken the federal war effort. He reported his findings to Secretary Stanton.¹⁰ He also shared them with Morton. Thereafter, Carrington and the governor



Figure 3: Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. *Image courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.*

worked closely to investigate and combat the secret groups that existed in Indiana and other states in the North. Morton insisted that the army officer remain in Indiana to aid him and not be sent to the battle front. In the coming weeks and months, Carrington remained in the North where, among other duties, he directed a small staff of soldiers and civilians who investigated the existence of conspiratorial organizations in the region. He became perhaps the most important military spy chief during the war.

Perhaps the most valuable spy who worked for Carrington was a young Kentuckian named Felix G. Stidger. An ex-soldier, discharged from the army for physical disability, in the spring of 1864 he hung around US Army headquarters in Lexington, Kentucky, providing the odd report on pro-rebel guerrilla activities in his rural Spencer County community in hopes of being hired as a detective. In May, the officer in charge of detectives for the military command in Kentucky received a letter from (now) Brigadier General Henry Carrington asking for help. Carrington knew that one of the leading Indiana conspirators, William A. Bowles, owner of the French Lick Springs hotel and spa in southern Indiana, regularly visited and met with fellow plotters in Kentucky. In the letter, Carrington requested that Kentucky headquarters provide someone unknown to both Bowles and the Kentucky conspirators to try to worm information out of them.¹¹ The officer in charge of detectives promptly selected Stidger, who wasn't regularly employed on staff and perhaps was unknown to be an army spy, to undertake the mission. He sent Stidger to southern Indiana in the guise of a rebel sympathizer. Arriving in French Lick, Stidger met Bowles who took him for a fellow member of the secret organization, by this time called the Sons of Liberty. Bowles proceeded to spill its secrets to Stidger. Bowles provided him a letter of introduction to the leaders of the secret organization in Louisville. Astonishingly, Stidger parlayed the letter into the secretary position of the Kentucky branch of the organization, complete with salary and access to its records. He began to provide

written reports to army headquarters in Louisville relaying all he had learned of the Indiana and Kentucky conspirators. He traveled back and forth between Louisville and French Lick, carrying information which he promptly gave to army headquarters. The information included plans for coordination with Confederate forces and sabotage operations. In time, Louisville headquarters shared Stidger's information with Carrington in Indianapolis. Soon the young spy was supplying valuable inside information on the conspirators to army headquarters in both Kentucky and Indiana.¹²

In early June 1864, the Kentucky conspirators sent Stidger to Indianapolis to confer with his counterpart, the secretary of the Sons of Liberty organization in Indiana. As the Indiana branch was more advanced and on firmer organizational footing, Stidger had orders from the Louisville conspirators to ask to copy their Sons of Liberty documentation. The Indiana conspirators happily complied, handing over to him a large bundle of secret records including constitution, rituals, and other materials. That night, Stidger carried the records to General Carrington's army headquarters in Indianapolis for examination.¹³

This is where our case study in the ethics of private-manuscript collecting comes in. In the spring of 2004, while researching US Army intelligence operations in the North during the Civil War, I learned that a fragment of a soldier's diary was offered for sale through Cowan's Historic America auction house of Cincinnati, Ohio. The soldier's name was Dewitt C. Markle, who served in the 57th Indiana Volunteer Infantry regiment. According to Cowan's online catalog description, the diary covered the period March 14 to September 19, 1864. The fragment for sale was the continuation of another diary fragment of Markle held by the Anderson, Indiana, Public Library, and published with annotations in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, a scholarly journal on Indiana history.¹⁴ Cowan's, who knew their stuff, provided as a teaser the text of Markle's diary entry of June 5, 1864. At that time, Markle was recovering from disability and was seconded to District of

Indiana military headquarters to put his good handwriting to use. The June 5 entry, as transcribed by Cowan's, reads:

"Gen. H.B. Carrington came in and Whiting and Nichols [two staff officers] were in bed but the Gen. told us that he wanted us to come up to his house and write all night for him, for he had a lot of copying to do, which had to be done immediately and it must be kept a perfect secret. On entering his dwelling he conducted us quietly to a rather small back room [(I should think a sitting room) in which was seated one of his aids-de-camp and on which was spread writing materials for us. He then spoke and said he supposed it was unnecessary to caution us, but were it known what we were doing our lives would not be safe twenty minutes. And if the object in view can only be carried out fully, or reached in time, it may be of incalculable value to the Government....The room was kept closed that no one might see us, and much of our conversation was in a whisper. He also had a large Revolver lying on the table."¹⁵

Of course, I knew what Markle described in his diary. He and others had been called on to copy the records loaned by the secretary of the Indiana Sons of Liberty to Stidger as the secretary of the Kentucky branch.

Before the sale, I contacted Cowan's, who responded professionally with information about the diary. On the sale date, May 21, 2004, I called in to the auction with the intention to bid on the item. The bidding commenced and within just a few seconds the bidding price was several thousand dollars, well beyond my means. The diary sold.

My interest in the diary was not at an end, as I was most desirous of reading Markle's entries. Did he have more to say about

371J 0519-790. ¹³ 10th J50-95L-
 J914J 319031220 5225L7.
 179 319031220,
 17 3127 40 J57270 X 100 950-520 759
 0509 -5440359. 5-50 47LL700190 -31- -370 197
 921L7J J4 -37 314J0 57 509 195-3790 J331J51-720.
 J47593 0509 L539140 -31- -37 1930 1322 1971J0
 54 171470J0 4533- . 05090, 1.1.1.L. 7-1

"HEADQUARTERS, 10TH DISTRICT, }
 Grand Marshal's Office. }
 "Dept. Marshal:
 "We have 40 rifles and 100 pistols for your
 township. It is necessary that they are placed
 in the hands of our brothers immediately.
 Inform your company that the arms will be
 ready on Wednesday night.
 "Yours,
 "A. A. D. C.
 "F— W."
 7

Figure 4: According to the source cited below, the letter is "...in secret
 cipher, sometimes employed by the Order of Sons of Liberty in their
 communication with each other, upon matters requiring secrecy." Translation shown below the coded message. *Images courtesy of "The
 Trials for Treason at Indianapolis, Disclosing the Plans for Establishing
 a North-Western Confederacy..." edited by Benn Pitman (Cincinnati:
 Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin. 1865).*

the episode? Were there other similar events that he wrote about?
 What more could be learned? After the sale I again contacted
 Cowan's and asked them if they would contact the buyer of the
 diary to ask if that person would please contact me. Cowan's staff
 again agreed to contact the buyer to ask them to contact me about
 learning more about the diary and perhaps getting images or copies
 of it. However, I never heard from the buyer. Silence. After several
 years I again reached out to Cowan's to contact the buyer. Again, I
 heard nothing from the person.

On the off chance that the diary had been purchased by a
 manuscripts repository, I inquired with several in Indiana who
 might have acquired it. Again, my efforts were ineffective. It is not
 catalogued in OCLC Worldcat or in ArchiveGrid. At present, I have
 no knowledge of the whereabouts of the Markle diary fragment.
 Where is it? Who has it? Can it be seen and employed in historical
 research? Why is it beyond reach of someone who might be able to
 use its unique information?

To resume the historical narrative...

After the secret records were copied, early the following
 morning spy Stidger retrieved the sheaf of papers from Gen.
 Carrington and boarded a train to Louisville, where the records
 were duly copied for use by the Kentucky branch of the Sons of
 Liberty and in time returned to the Indianapolis co-plotters.

Carrington reported Stidger's information coup to his
 military superior, Maj. Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman, commander
 of the multi-state Department of the North with headquarters in
 Columbus, Ohio, writing: "revelations of the last two days give fuller
 outline of the designs and operations of the treasonable societies."¹⁶
 He also informed Governor Morton. An important dispute arose
 between the army commanders and the governor focused on the
 question: what were government leaders to do with this cache of
 documentation of the secret conspiracy that threatened the stability
 of the North and the war effort? How were they to employ them to
 combat the plotters? Carrington and Heintzelman wished for the

information to be kept secret to protect their spies and continue to ferret out more information from within the conspiracy.¹⁷ But Morton had other ideas. He was up for reelection in the fall. He wanted to use the records to strike at his Democratic opponents. All of the conspirators documented in the secret organization's records (see Figure 4) were Democrats, many of them prominent leaders in the party (see Figure 5). He was intent on using the records to wound the Democratic opposition and bolster his own political position. The governor traveled to Washington to meet with Secretary of War Stanton. Against the wishes of the generals, Morton convinced Stanton to use the records for political purposes. Whereupon, in late July 1864, the *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, the organ of the state Republican Party and Morton's mouthpiece, splashed across its pages the records that Stidger had supplied and that Dewitt C. Markle and others had copied in the dead of night. The exposé created a sensation in Indiana and throughout the region.¹⁸

In the following weeks and months, military leaders continued to combat the conspiracy in Indiana and neighboring states, employing their intelligence apparatus to foil armed uprisings and plots to release Confederate prisoners-of-war held in Indianapolis, Chicago, and elsewhere. Further intelligence triumphs led to arrests of conspiracy leaders and their trials by military commission in Indianapolis and Cincinnati in which Felix Stidger was the key government witness (see Figures 6 and 7).

In 2015, Ohio University Press published my book, *Surveillance and Spies in the Civil War: Exposing Confederate Conspiracies in America's Heartland*, which was based on years of research in archives and manuscript repositories across the United States. My research was thorough and aimed to shatter the established historical narrative that Republican leaders and officers like Morton and Carrington had devised a political hoax to smear their Democratic opponents as disloyal traitors and conspirators. The chief propagator of this narrative was historian Frank Klement,

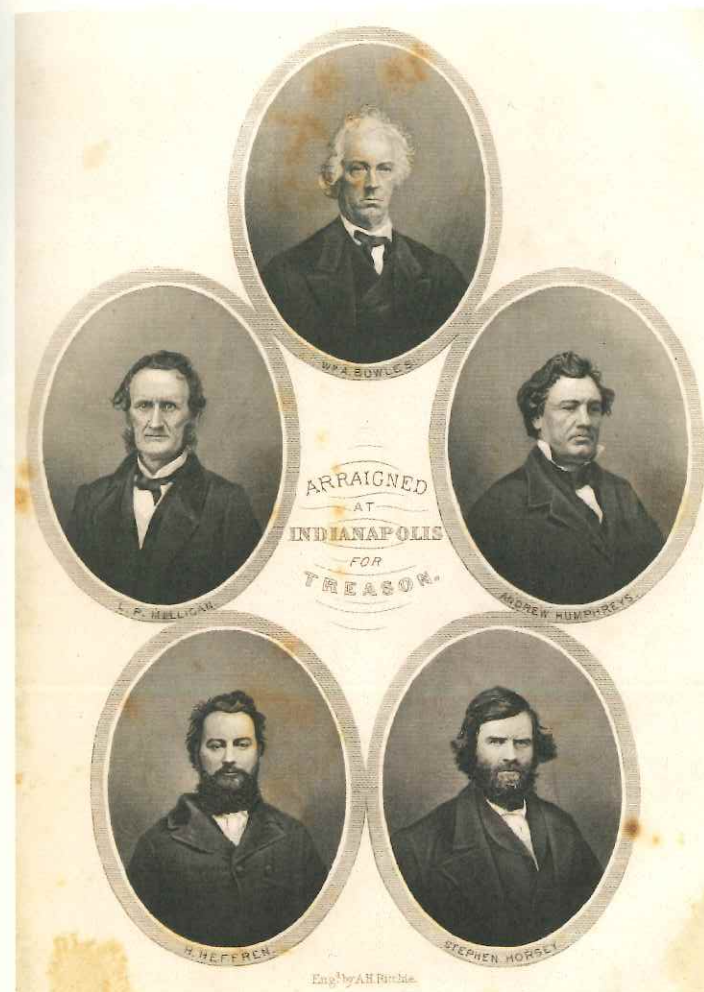


Figure 5: The five main conspirators from clockwise starting at top: William A. Bowles, Andrew Humphreys, Stephen Horsey, Horace Heffren, and Lambdin P. Milligan. Heffren became a witness for the prosecution, and the other four were found guilty, but in March 1866 their sentences were set aside in the U.S. Supreme Court case of *Ex parte Milligan*. Image courtesy of the frontispiece of "The Trials for Treason at Indianapolis, Disclosing the Plans for Establishing a North-Western Confederacy..." edited by Benn Pitman (Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin. 1865).

and being duly sworn by the judge advocate testified as follows:

Question by the judge advocate. —

State your name and place of residence.

Answer Felix G. Stidger. I resided all the summer in Louisville, till the 1st of September. I am now living in Illinois. I resided four months and a half in Louisville before going to Illinois.

Q. Where did you live previous to that time?

A. I was in Taylorville, Ky., thirty-one miles southeast of Louisville, for two months previous to that.

Q. Are you a native of Kentucky?

A. I am, sir.

Q. Please to state to the Commission when, if ever, you had any knowledge of the existence of a secret society or order, known as the American Knights or order of the Sons of Liberty; when your attention was first directed to it and how.

A. On the 6th day of May I started from Louisville, Ky., and went to Doctor Bowles

to be set off by clock-work.

A. He did not describe this shell or hand grenade as such. It was something that was to be connected with clock-work, and to be set off by Greek fire.

Q. It was some fragile vessel that contained a fluid, and was to be connected with clock-work?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Bowles, you say, was a member of the order?

A. Bowles said he was. I do not know anything about it except what Bowles stated. He said they had tested him well and deemed him worthy before they initiated him to be a member of the order. Bowles also told me that himself, Bullitt, Todd, and a chemist had spent one Sunday in a basement in this city experimenting with this Greek fire, when people thought they were at church.

Q. How many interviews did you ever have with Bowles?

A. I have been at his house three times; I saw him in Paola once; at Louisville once and once here, at the time of the meeting of the order.

Q. Do you think Bowles said he had sent this man Bowking to Canada?

A. I know he said he had been sent to Canada,

Figures 6 and 7: Two manuscript pages of the testimony of Felix Stidger from the Military Commission Trial. The pages are found in the records of the Judge Advocate General, Record Group 153, at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Images courtesy of the author.

whose research, I showed, distorted and misused the historical record. Instead, I argued that Carrington and other army spy masters had uncovered real evidence of conspiracy to undermine the war effort. They concocted nothing. Secret organizations existed in northern states that aimed to subvert the war effort. Many prominent men were implicated in treason.

While I found ample records in the National Archives, state archives, and libraries and other repositories to document the rise of military intelligence operations in the North during the war, a hole exists in the documentation. That hole is in the shape of the Markle diary fragment. Dewitt C. Markle played a part in the army's exposure of the Sons of Liberty conspiracy. However, because his diary is unavailable—held in private hands, perhaps locked up in someone's safe or, more likely, in a file cabinet or closet—we cannot gauge precisely how large his role was. Was his entry for June 5, 1864, the only entry that referred to secret activities in army headquarters? Did Gen. Carrington call on him for other tasks relative to uncovering the conspiracy? Carrington sometimes used soldiers as his detectives. Did Markle venture in disguise? Did he record it in his diary? Did he comment on headquarters gossip or news? Did he muse on the fraught political times? These questions might be answered if the diary fragment were accessible.

I return to the question posed at the outset of this short essay: does a private collector have an ethical responsibility to make the unique materials in their care accessible to others in the interest of aiding historical or scientific knowledge? The Manuscript Society has its own Code of Ethics, but reading it I find no mention of a responsibility to sharing knowledge and information for posterity¹⁹. Should The Manuscript Society have such a statement to guide its members?

About the Author

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Library Special Collections and Archives. He has been on staff at that repository since 2001. Before that he was with the Indiana State Archives from 1990-2001. He researches the American Civil War and is the author or editor of three books, several articles, and book chapters.

Endnotes

¹ https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/ICA_1996-09-06_code_of_ethics_EN.pdf. Accessed June 1, 2022.

² <https://www2.archivists.org/statements/saa-core-values-statement-and-code-of-ethics#code-of-ethics>. Accessed June 1, 2022.

³ https://rbms.info/standards/code_of_ethics/ Accessed June 1, 2022. For a discussion of archivists' codes of ethics, see Thomas Wilsted, "Observations on the Ethics of Collecting Archives and Manuscripts," *Provenance, Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists*, 11, no. 1 (January, 1993), 25-37.

⁴ Stephen E. Towne, "Scorched Earth or Fertile Ground: Indiana in the Civil War, 1861-1865," in *The State of Indiana History 2000: Papers Presented at the Indiana Historical Society's Grand Opening*. Edited by Robert M. Taylor, Jr. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 2001), 397-415.

⁵ William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948). For a recent counter-argument, see Stephen D. Engle, *Gathering to Save a Nation: Lincoln and the Union's War Governors*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

⁶ Kenneth M. Stampp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1949). Reprint, Indiana University Press, 1978. For a recent study of Morton that counters Stampp's assessment of Morton as a malignant actor, see A. James Fuller, *Oliver P. Morton and the Politics of the Civil War and Reconstruction*. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2017)

⁷ Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); idem., *The Limits of Dissent: Clement L. Vallandigham and the Civil War*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970); idem., *Dark Lanterns: Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies, and Treason Trials in the Civil War*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984). Among his many articles, see Klement, "Carrington and the Golden Circle Legend in Indiana during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 61, no. 1 (March, 1965), 31-52.

⁸ Oliver P. Morton to Edwin M. Stanton, August 21, 1862, Oliver P. Morton Telegraph Book volume 15, 166, Indiana State Archives, Indiana Archives and Records Administration, Indianapolis, Indiana.

⁹Morton to Abraham Lincoln, October 27, 1862, in Edwin McMasters Stanton Papers, volume 9, Library of Congress, Washington, DC..

¹⁰Henry B. Carrington to Stanton, December 22, 1862, Record Group 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General, Court Martial Case Files, Military Commission trial of William A. Bowles, Stephen Horsey, Lambdin P. Milligan, Andrew Humphreys, NN-3409, box 1879, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (hereafter NARA-W).

¹¹Carrington to William H. Sidell, May 2, 1864, RG 393, Part I, District of Kentucky Records, Entry 2241, Registers of Letters Received and Endorsements Sent by Capt. S.E. Jones, volume 2, 32, NARA-W; Sidell to Carrington, May 3, 1864, Carrington Family Papers, box 3, folder 23, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut (hereafter Yale Manuscripts and Archives).

¹²Long after the rebellion, Stidger published a memoir which detailed his activities as an army spy. Felix G. Stidger, *Treason History of the Order of Sons of Liberty, formerly Circle of Honor, Succeeded by Knights of the Golden Circle, afterward Order of American Knights....* (Chicago, Illinois, 1903). Stidger's reports to his masters in Kentucky and Indiana survive in the National Archives.

¹³Stidger, *Treason History*, 59-66.

¹⁴Dewitt C. Markle, "...The True Definition of War': The Civil War Diary of Dewitt C. Markle," ed. Erich L. Ewald, *Indiana Magazine of History*, 89, no. 2 (June, 1993), 125-135.

¹⁵<http://www.liveauctioneers.com/auctions/ebay/302546.html>. Accessed May 12, 2004.

¹⁶Carrington to Carroll H. Potter, June 6, 1864, RG 393, Part I, Entry 3351, Confidential Correspondence re OAK, 21-26, NARA-W.

¹⁷Carrington to Stanton, June 17, 1864, Carrington Family Papers, box 2, Yale Manuscripts and Archives; Heintzelman to Henry W. Halleck, June 18, 1864, RG 393, Part I, E 3351, 26-27; Carrington to Potter, June 18, 1864, RG 393, Part III, District of Indiana, Entry 218, Letters Sent, volume 1, 20-21, both NARA-W.

¹⁸See *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, July 30, 1864.

¹⁹<https://manuscript.org/about/code-of-ethics/> Accessed June 1, 2022.