

# THE AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AT FORT JEFFERSON

Black Laborers

1847-1876

1	Jon Whitehurst	20 00	20 00
2	Duyton Whitehurst	25 20	20 00
3	Sam Whitehurst	25 8	8 00
4	Alexander Mallory	25	80 18 40
5	Bob Mallory	25 20	20 00
6	Carlone Mallory	25 15	15 00
7	Ephraim Mallory 1	25 20	20 00
8	Ephraim Mallory 2	20 1/2	80 16 40
9	Isaac Mallory	24	80 19 20
10	Isaac Mallory	25 15	15 00
11	John Mallory	25 20	20 00
12	Lancaster Mallory	25	20 00
13	Lymas Mallory	25	20 00

New South Associates



# The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson 1847-1876

Prepared for the National Park Service  
40001 SR 9336  
Homestead, Florida 33034

Prepared By New South Associates  
6160 East Ponce De Leon Avenue  
Stone Mountain, Georgia 30083

Authors:  
Jennifer Pirtle  
Dr. Greg C. Smith  
Mary Beth Reed

Final



---

# Acknowledgments

A number of individuals assisted greatly in sharing information and accessing collections at research facilities throughout Florida. From the National Park Service (NPS), Kelly Clark generously gave of her time during intermittent personal tours over a two-day period at Fort Jefferson as her schedule allowed. Kelly also shared photographs, old and new, and previous reports/articles that were needed in telling the story of the fort and its people. Bonnie Ciolino, Archivist at the South Florida Collections Management Center (SFCMC) in Everglades National Park, was very helpful in opening the Dry Tortugas (DRTO) files and providing a comfortable workspace for researching the collections in Homestead.

In Key West, Tom Hambricht of the Monroe County Public Library (MCPL) provided access to a variety of very useful materials, as well as the benefit of his extensive knowledge. His assistance and insights were much appreciated. Thanks are also extended to Sharon Wells, friend and long-time Key West historian.

At the University of Florida, Smathers Library, Curator of Special Collections Dr. James Cusick and his staff were helpful in narrowing down available resources from the statewide search. At the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library (SAHSL), Charles Tingley also gave of his time in pointing the way to useful information. In Tallahassee, the staff of the Florida State Archives pulled relevant files that greatly facilitated access to their holdings.

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Atlanta, the Southeastern regional archives, and NARA I in Washington, D.C., where the federal archives are held, were visited for this project. Thanks go out to Archives Specialist Nathan Jordan and Archivist Guy Hall for their help at NARA in Atlanta. As the NARA in D.C. is exceedingly large and run by a top-notch staff the entirety of the NARA, D.C. staff has my gratitude in helping me navigate and utilize the vast National Archives. Lastly, acknowledgments and thanks to Dr. Mark Smith of Fort Valley State University, whose prior research and advice provided an excellent foundation for this research.



---

# Table of Contents

<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION AND METHODS .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Methods .....	1
<b>CHAPTER 2. THE ENSLAVED AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, 1847-1863 .....</b>	<b>3</b>
Enslaved African American Experience.....	3
Nature of Slave Ownership .....	4
Slave Holding in Key West and the Dry Tortugas .....	5
Labor .....	9
Slave Housing .....	15
Material Conditions .....	17
Food Rations and Diet .....	20
Medical Treatment and Health .....	22
Physical Treatment of Slaves .....	24
Family Connections.....	25
Entertainment at Garden Key .....	26
Spirituality .....	26
Moving Towards Emancipation.....	27
<b>CHAPTER 3. AFRICAN AMERICAN MILITARY EXPERIENCE AT FORT JEFFERSON .....</b>	<b>31</b>
The 82 <sup>nd</sup> US Colored Infantry at Fort Jefferson .....	32
Commanding the 82 <sup>nd</sup> USCI.....	35
Perceptions of Black Soldiers as Seen Through General Orders from Commanding Officers .....	35
Regiment Rations, Equipment, and Health .....	37
Crime and Punishment in the Regiment .....	38
<b>CHAPTER 4. MILITARY PRISONERS AT FORT JEFFERSON.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>APPENDIX A. LEDGER – 82<sup>ND</sup> USCI, COMPANY B DESCRIPTIVE BOOK .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>APPENDIX B. CENSUS RECORDS, DRY TORTUGAS, 1850-1870.....</b>	<b>85</b>



---

# List of Figures

Figure 1. Slave Auction Advertisement .....	4
Figure 2. Bill of Sale for Slaves, 1856.....	7
Figure 3. US Treasury Check to James Filor, Signed by D. P. Woodbury, Captain of the Corps of Engineers, October 8, 1856 .....	8
Figure 4. List of Workers, 1851, Lt. H.G. Wright.....	11
Figure 5. Sample from Payroll Ledger, "Roll of Persons Employed on Fort at Garden Key," with List of "Black Laborers," July 1849 .....	13
Figure 6. Sample from Payroll Ledger, "Roll of Persons Employed at Fort Jefferson," with List of "Extra Time Roll," December 1855 .....	14
Figure 7. Sample from Payroll Ledger of a Legend for Work Tasks, January 1857 .....	14
Figure 8. Fort Schematic, 1861, with Notes .....	15
Figure 9. 1863 Woodcut Showing Workmen's Two-Story Housing, Far Left .....	16
Figure 10. Casemates in Use as Residences, No Date.....	17
Figure 11. Page 1 of Itemized List of Provisions Given to Slaves, From Letter from George Phillips to Christian Boye, July 1859.....	19
Figure 12. Physician's Bill, 1861 .....	23
Figure 13. Sample from 82 <sup>nd</sup> USCT Descriptive Book for Company B, List of Enlisted Men .....	34
Figure 14. Sample from 82 <sup>nd</sup> USCT Descriptive Book for Company B, List of Non-Commissioned Officers .....	34
Figure 15. Sample from Prison Descriptive Book, List of Prisoners with Charges and Sentences.....	41
Figure 16. Page 5 of 1870 Census of The Dry Tortugas, Key West, Monroe County, Florida – with African American Military Prisoners Highlighted .....	44

# List of Tables

Table 1. List of Union Regiments Garrisoned at Fort Jefferson.....	31
Table 2. Service History for 82nd USCI.....	32
Table 3. Sample List of Prisoners at Fort Jefferson from Black Regiments: 1864-1865.....	42



---

# Chapter 1.

## Introduction and Methods

The National Park Service (NPS) is developing a Historic Resource Study (HRS) for Dry Tortugas National Park in Monroe County, Florida that will present the developmental history of its most prominent feature, Fort Jefferson, highlighting its important context as a military site and its role within the nation's Third System of coastal defense constructed in the early 1800s. This study, a partial HRS, contributes to that effort focusing solely on the African American experience at Fort Jefferson between 1847 and 1876. African Americans played a significant role in the fort's history as slaves, freedmen, soldiers, and prisoners, and this study addresses their contribution directly through primary and secondary research.

The narrative is divided into chapters that speak to each of these layers of the African American experience at Fort Jefferson on Garden Key. Research suggests that no African Americans came of their own volition; either military orders or servitude brought them to Garden Key. Enslaved African Americans formed the core of the fort's labor force during the construction period from 1847 to 1863, and our research sought to identify who they were and their daily lives at the remote Union fort where their labor was leased to the Army engineers and they lived among a diverse crowd of other workers and Union soldiers from the northeast. The Emancipation Proclamation would change their status in 1863 when the fort's black labor force would change from slaves to freedmen and women. Chapter 1 contains what little is known about this pivotal event and its impact. Chapter 2 discusses the occupation of the 82<sup>nd</sup> United States Colored Infantry garrisoned at the fort for a five-month period between September 1865 and January 1866. This is followed in Chapter 3 by a summary of what is known about African American prisoners jailed at Fort Jefferson. The final chapter summarizes future research avenues for further study and exploration.

### METHODS

Several archives with potential to contain information on Fort Jefferson, the Dry Tortugas, and slave ownership in Florida were visited. The team consulted archives and collections around the state of Florida, the National Archives (NARA) in D.C. and Atlanta, and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture at the New York Public Library in Harlem, NY.

The South Florida Collections Management Center (SFCMC) in Homestead, Florida, manages the NPS museum collections for Dry Tortugas National Park and four other parks. The SFCMC is the central NPS museum service provider for south Florida, offering museum collection management services, and ensuring preservation and accessibility. Resources present in the SFCMC that pertained to Fort Jefferson and the Dry Tortugas were consulted and recorded. The Florida State Archives (FSA) in Tallahassee was also visited, specifically to peruse the Joseph C. Shaw Papers and the Lewis G. Schmidt Papers.

Records at the Monroe County Public Library (MCPL) in Key West were researched, primarily a collection in the Florida History Department containing the "Civil War Papers." These files contain a good deal of information on Fort Jefferson, as well as nearby Fort Taylor. In St. Augustine, the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library (SAHSRL) was also visited, specifically to research identifiable slaveholders from that part of the state, who were known to supply laborers to Key West and Fort Jefferson.

The Key West Art and Historical Society, and the Department of Special Collections at the Smathers Library at the University of Florida (UF), Gainesville, were consulted and contacted via email or phone. Archivists from the former location indicated they had no resources relevant to the Fort Jefferson study, while the UF collections were consistent with those found at the SFCMC and FSA.

NARA's Southeast Region Records Center houses some of Record Group 77 that contains records on payroll and correspondence. However, these files predominantly pertain to Fort Taylor. Instead, the majority of the records concerning Fort Jefferson are located at the NARA in D.C. These records were in connection to the Army Corps of Engineers, the Union Army, and the prison at Fort Jefferson. The NARA database was consulted prior to arriving at NARA, D.C. and files linked with the terms "Fort Jefferson," "Dry Tortugas," and "82<sup>nd</sup> United States Colored Troops" were researched. These included Record Groups 15, 94, 153, 249, and 393 with documents ranging from court martial records, payroll ledgers, lists of soldiers, and lists of prisoners, to odd bits of correspondence and monthly/weekly reports of various functions around the fort. Within our research phase, we were able to look at many of the relevant records, but not all. More research could be conducted at both NARA in D.C. and Atlanta.

Lastly, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem, New York City was identified as a potentially rich resource for primary documents pertaining to African Americans during and immediately after slavery. Unfortunately, the Center was closed for renovations on the several attempts taken to access the archives there.

---

# Chapter 2.

## The Enslaved African American Experience, 1847-1863

African Americans inhabited Fort Jefferson between 1847 and 1876 as slaves, freedmen, Union soldiers, and prisoners. Immediately after the Territory of Florida became a state, the United States Army Corps of Engineers (Corps) employed white laborers from the North – mostly Irish immigrants – and enslaved black people from the State of Florida – mostly Key West, but also St. Augustine and Pensacola, in its construction. White labor was essentially seasonal and scarce due to the summer heat. The Corps therefore relied on slave leasing, a form of industrial slavery, to construct Fort Jefferson, a practice used as early as the 1820s in the construction of Fort Morgan at Mobile Point. The use of enslaved laborers at Fort Jefferson and its nearby contemporary, Fort Taylor, by the Corps would solidify slavery’s hold on Key West and would leave an indelible mark on the fort.

African American men were employed as the base of the hard, unskilled labor force as well as cooks, boatmen, and domestic servants. Some enslaved African American women were also brought to the island as slaves to work as cooks and laundresses. The information about the lives of these enslaved people comes mostly from the labor pay roll ledgers and some first person accounts. Upon the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation in early 1863, the slaves held in Rebel territories in the South were deemed free by the US government. While Fort Jefferson was a Union fort and always maintained under Union control, the owners of the slaves employed there were Floridians. During this novel situation, there was a delay in the decision to suddenly free the enslaved on Garden Key. A period of uncertainty sat upon the newly freed people of Fort Jefferson, as well as the South in its entirety. There is no known documentation of the free men and women of Fort Jefferson, specifically. Without the ledgers documenting workers; without the slave owners tracking their “property;” without proper occupation or agency, the freedmen immediately following the Emancipation are largely historically unknown.

The black men who enlisted in the Union Army were largely former slaves, newly freed, and from the South. Many of the men were recruited as the Union forces took over Southern cities and ports. One black regiment was stationed at Fort Jefferson near the end of the war, the 82<sup>nd</sup> US Colored Infantry (USCI). The movements, orders, and descriptions of the individuals within the Regiment were all recorded. Finally, African Americans also inhabited the fort as military prisoners between 1861-1871.

### ENSLAVED AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The daily experiences of enslaved African Americans involved in the construction of Fort Jefferson shared certain characteristics with the living conditions of other enslaved people in Florida, and elsewhere, but there were also several unique differences. Given the isolation of the Dry Tortugas, and the lack of similarity to the more common “plantation system” known throughout the South, the conditions of industrial slavery under US military direction on Garden Key were often quite distinctive.

As stressed by Larry Eugene Rivers, in order for scholars to grasp the full reality of the institution of slavery in America, one must first acknowledge the effect of diet, shelter, clothing, medical care, and punishment on the daily lives of the enslaved.<sup>1</sup>

## NATURE OF SLAVE OWNERSHIP

While the Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves of 1807 effectively brought an end to the international slave trade in America, the importation of African slaves was legal in the Florida territory until 1821. During the intervening years, several ports along the southern coastline were known to have been centers for receiving smuggled slaves such as Beaufort and surrounding islands in South Carolina; Cumberland Island, Darien, and Harris Neck in Georgia; as well as St. Mary's and Fernandina in Florida.<sup>2</sup> The arrival of newly smuggled African-born slaves resulted in a "caste-like social system" within the coastal slave communities. Often the American-born slaves, several generations removed from their African roots, held the belief that they possessed skills superior to the new arrivals and therefore sought higher status. Assigned to the least desirable tasks while remaining at the lowest end of the social structure, the new arrivals struggled to learn the ways of their new slave communities.<sup>3</sup> African American slaves on the plantations of the Atlantic Coast from South Carolina to northern Florida formed a black majority and created a unique creole culture, known as the Gullah-Geechee.<sup>4</sup> New arrivals thus had to learn both plantation life and a new culture in the New World.

By the 1800s, human slavery was a well established practiced in the South, where it existed in many different forms. African Americans were enslaved on small farms, large plantations, in cities and towns, inside homes, out in the fields, and in industry and transportation. One thing about slavery was always the same – enslaved people were considered property based on the color of their skin. Their position as property was maintained through violence, either real or threatened. Although slavery is not unique to the US and its history, the Deep South is the only slave economy in the New World with a slave population that increased significantly with time. While less than 400,000 people are estimated to have been brought from Africa to what is now the US over approximately two hundred years, that number grew to be more than four million before the start of the Civil War.<sup>5</sup>



In most agricultural contexts (cotton, rice, sugarcane, and tobacco), Southern slave owners usually bought slaves at advertised auctions (Figure 1), or from other plantation/farm owners and/or middlemen. There was typically a Planter/Overseer/Slave relationship that structured daily life. The owner and primary operator of an agricultural enterprise was usually referred

**Figure 1.** Slave Auction Advertisement. Source: Joseph et al. 2015, page 35; originally from Library of Congress, Gladstone Collection of African American Photographs.

- 1 Larry Eugene Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (Tallahassee, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2000), 125.
- 2 National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, "Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement," Special Resource Study and EIS (Atlanta, Georgia: NPS Southeast Regional Office, 2005), 32.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 33.
- 4 National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, "Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement."
- 5 Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 5.

to as “the planter.” Generally speaking, planters differed from farmers in that farmers normally lived and worked on their property all the time, whereas planters were more likely to leave the management and operation of their estates to overseers and to reside in other locations at different times of the year. For example, on coastal plantations, rice planters were usually absentee owners who spent from early May to late October on their land and the winter social season in their elegant city homes.<sup>6</sup> On a day-to-day basis, slave labor was usually directed and supervised by white overseers, although the use of black laborers as overseers was a common occurrence.<sup>7</sup>

By the early 1700s, plantation owners along the Atlantic coast heavily depended on a new middle class of non-slaveholding white men as overseers, artisans, militiamen, and slave catchers. Historian Ira Berlin explains that with increasing privileges of this white middle class came the decline of rights of free black people.<sup>8</sup> In the lowcountry of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, a chain of command, of sorts, developed between the planters and their slaves consisting of “stewards located in the smaller rice ports, overseers stationed near or on their plantations, and plantation-based black foremen or, in a telling idiom, ‘drivers.’” Although this organization allowed for the white overseers to possess authority in the fields, they were not well trusted by the planters who were known to circumvent their command and go directly to the black driver for daily operations. Ultimately, the system promoted by the absentee planter served to reinforce racial segregation and ensure a future where white owners could not envision themselves as cooperating alongside any member of the black community as they might have once done in certain circumstances during the colonial period.<sup>9</sup> In contrast, the cotton planters of the South’s interior functioned quite the opposite and disliked the absenteeism of coastal planters. The cotton planters took advantage of gang labor and oversaw the operations themselves, often cutting out the overseers, drivers, and stewards all together.<sup>10</sup>

Many enslaved men and women had been skilled artisans in Africa – barrel makers, basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, fishermen, miners, potters – and they brought valuable skills with them. Also, enslaved women had knowledge of herbal cures, nursing the sick, and midwifery. Some of the enslaved were trained to learn new jobs after they arrived in the colonies, and all of these skills contributed to the productivity of the work enterprise and the wealth of the slaveholder.<sup>11</sup>

Some enslaved people worked as household butlers, maids, and cooks, providing services for the master’s or overseer’s families; servants also worked in smaller, household settings on a more individualized basis. These people were designated as “house servants,” and although their work appeared to be easier than that of the field slaves, in some ways it was not. For example, house servants were always visible and available to their masters and mistresses, and could be called on for service at any time of the day. Because they were always working and living in and around the main residence, house servants had far less privacy than those who worked outside in the fields.

## SLAVE HOLDING IN KEY WEST AND THE DRY TORTUGAS

Key West has never been the type of setting suitable for large-scale agricultural production using large groups of slave laborers. As an island consisting primarily of limestone bedrock, garden plots were generally small, family plots. The isolated environment and a populace focused on the practicalities of survival limited the nature, though not the existence, of slavery.

East and south Florida are not known for large-scale plantations like those found in the Panhandle or elsewhere in the South. Therefore, slaves were not brought to these areas on the same premises. In Key

6 Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*; William S. Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1999).

7 Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, 365–66.

8 Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 66.

9 *Ibid.*, 76–77.

10 *Ibid.*, 132.

11 National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, “Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement,” 38.

West, it was domestic servants, predominantly women, who were bought by wealthy white landowners.<sup>12</sup> Research of deed records by historian Sharon Wells and by New South indicates that slaves were bought and sold in Key West from the 1830s through the 1860s. Early slaves were from Charleston and Natchez primarily, and were sold “for life,” with their children inheriting the same obligation. Rarely were slaves referred to in court records by a first *and* a last name, although prices paid and first names were noted. Records show several transactions, including one “for a slave Henry now employed on a public works at Tortugas.”<sup>13</sup>

The 1840 census cites a population of 687 people in Key West, including 154 black persons. Of these, 76 were listed as “free men of color,” with 78 listed as slaves.<sup>14</sup> There were no slave markets or public auctions in Key West. Documents indicate that most all slave sales recorded the sale of a single person, or at most two. Figure 2 is a copy of a bill of sale for slaves. Dated February 19, 1856, the sale involved seller James Filor of Key West and purchaser William Wright, and the exchange of two slaves, John and Clarissa. John is described therein as about 22 years old, while Clarissa was 18; both are further described as “warranty sound.”<sup>15</sup>

The 1846 assessment rolls indicate wealthy white men who owned the largest number of slaves locally. That year, no one owned more than 15 slaves, with a total of 53 slave owners counted in Key West. Those who owned more than five slaves included Joseph B. Brown, P. J. Fontane, R. D. Fontane, John Geiger, Charles Howe, S. R. Mallory, Mrs. Ellen Mallory, L. W. Smith, William H. Wall, and F. B. Walton.<sup>16</sup> Records reflect that women were purchased more often than men, probably as domestic servants/maids. These and similar records indicate that the wealthiest of merchants and mariners on Key West were the only slaveholders, therefore generally limiting the practice to a degree.<sup>17</sup>

When impending work at Fort Jefferson (and Fort Taylor) was made known, many of the Key West slaveholders purchased additional slaves in order to hire out their labor to the Army Engineers. In 1854, public notice was given that: “Slaves employed on the public work in the capacity of labourers (sic) would receive \$1.12 per day each, & the public generally [had been] invited to supply them at that rate.”<sup>18</sup> Prior to this pay rate, slave owners were paid \$20 a month per slave.<sup>19</sup> Eleven slaves arrived at Garden Key at the start of construction.<sup>20</sup>

Engineers in charge of the work at Garden Key in the Tortugas hired slaves for several years under this notice, from 1847 to 1863 when the Emancipation Proclamation began the gradual freeing of slaves held in the Southern states. As listed previously, one notable Key West slave owner who provided slaves for hire was Stephen R. Mallory, who was a member of the US Senate.<sup>21</sup> Correspondence indicates additional Key

12 Sharon Wells, *Forgotten Legacy: Blacks in Nineteenth Century Key West* (Key West, Florida: Historic Key West Preservation Board, 1982), 14.

13 Wells, *Forgotten Legacy: Blacks in Nineteenth Century Key West*; Monroe County Register of Deeds, “Monroe County, Florida, Deed Book E, 1823-1915” (Monroe County, Florida, Register of Deeds, c 1860), Monroe County Public Library, Key West.

14 Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and The New* (St. Augustine, Florida, 1912), 17. A review of the original census records indicates that the numbers may not be completely accurate, but they are a close estimate of the population.

15 James Filor, “James Filor to William Wright, February 19, 1856,” 1856, Monroe County Public Library, Key West.

16 Wells, *Forgotten Legacy: Blacks in Nineteenth Century Key West*. Originally found in Monroe County, Florida Assessment Rolls, 1846, Monroe County Public Library. Payroll records from Fort Jefferson confirm that Brown, Mallory, Smith, and Wall hired men out to Fort Jefferson.

17 Ibid.

18 William B. Foster, “This Place Is Safe: Engineer Operations at Fort Zachary Taylor, Florida, 1845-1865” (Florida State University, 1974), 49, Monroe County Public Library, Key West. Taken from a letter from Dutton to Totten, November 13, 1851.

19 Albert C. Manucy, *Pages from the Past: A Pictorial History of Fort Jefferson* (Homestead, Florida: Florida National Parks and Monuments Association, Inc., 1999); War Department, Fort Jefferson, Florida, Office of the Engineer Officer, 11/4/1850-6/27/1884, “Daily Time Books and Paybooks of Civilian Laborers, 11/1846-10/1865,” 1865 1846, Record Group 393: Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1817-1947, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

20 Mark A. Smith, “Engineering Slavery: The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Slavery at Key West,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 86, no. 4 (Spring 2008): 505.

21 Foster, “This Place Is Safe: Engineer Operations at Fort Zachary Taylor, Florida, 1845-1865,” 49-50. Stephen Russell Mallory was a US Florida Senator from 1851-1861, after which he became the Secretary of the Navy for the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865. He was one of many Confederate leaders charged with treason after the War.

**(Opposite) Figure 2.** Bill of Sale for Slaves, 1856  
Source: Monroe County Public Library, Key West, Civil War Papers

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS,  
THAT *I William Wright*

for and in consideration of the sum of *Eighteen Hundred and  
Twenty five Dollars*

to *me* in hand paid, at and before the sealing and delivery of these Presents, by

*James Filer*

the receipt whereof *I* do hereby acknowledge; having bargained and sold, and by  
these Presents, do bargain, sell and deliver, unto the said *Ja. Filer*

*the following Negroes to wit John about  
twenty two years old and Clarissa  
about nineteen years old both slaves  
are warranted forever*

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD THE SAID *slaves John & Clarissa*

unto the said *Ja. Filer his*  
Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, to *his and their* only proper use and  
behooof forever. And *I* the said *Wright*  
*my* Heirs, Executors and Administrators, the said bargained *property* unto the said  
*Ja. Filer his*

Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, from and against all persons, shall and will  
WARRANT AND FOREVER DEFEND by these Presents.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, *I* have hereunto set *my* Hand and Seal.  
Dated at *Paramaribo* the *thirteen* day  
of *February* in the year of our *Lord* one thousand eight hundred  
and fifty *six* and in the *80th* year of the  
Independence of the United States of America

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED }  
IN PRESENCE OF }

*Wm. Dawson*  
*Noty Pub*

*W Wright* 

West slave owners who received payment for laborers included James Filor (Figure 3), George D. Allen, J. L. Organ, and Henrietta Weedon Whitehurst.<sup>22</sup> Also involved in sending slaves to the fort were Frederick Weedon, I. M. Hanson, and Pedro Benet, all of St. Augustine, Florida.<sup>23</sup>



**Figure 3.** US Treasury Check to James Filor, Signed by D. P. Woodbury, Captain of the Corps of Engineers, October 8, 1856. Source: Monroe County Library, Key West, The Collection of DeWolfe and Wood, via Flickr - Account Florida Keys - Public Libraries.

The letters of Daniel Winchester Whitehurst, M.D., also indicate he was involved in the transfer of slaves to and from Garden Key during his tenure as a physician at Fort Jefferson.<sup>24</sup> Dr. Whitehurst was married to Frederick Weedon's daughter, Henrietta, cited above. Additional correspondence documents the exchange of slaves<sup>25</sup> in letters that describe payments of twenty dollars per month for work at the fort<sup>26</sup> and lists additional slave owners as a Mr. Mason, W. F. English, and Lighthouse Keeper Captain John Thompson, as well as Senator Mallory.<sup>27</sup>

An estimated 17 percent of Key West's slaves were leased for military construction between 1845 and 1860 underscoring the role played by the engineers and their need for a work force in the expansion of slavery in Key West. Historian Mark Smith<sup>28</sup> has analyzed public and private documents in an examination of the role played by the engineers mostly at Fort Taylor but at Fort Jefferson as well and the following data draws heavily on his work. About 90 percent of the leased slaves hailed from Key West. Census records for Key West indicate the extent to which the engineers influenced the expansion of slavery between 1840 and 1850 with the slave population increasing nearly 350 percent as the construction of the two forts got underway. In addition to number, Key West's slave population changed in regard to gender. In 1840 women were in the majority; 56 out of 96 slaves were female. A decade later, 235 out of 430 slaves were male. This underscores the need for male laborers for the construction work. Smith notes that about 34 slaves on average worked at Fort Taylor and on the basis of "the similarity of funding, operations, and labor needs" between the two forts he posits that the number of bondsmen at work at Fort Jefferson was similar. Essentially, Key West slaveholders acquired and managed their slaves as capital investments specifically for leasing to the engineers.

22 Daniel Winchester Whitehurst, "Whitehurst Papers," n.d., South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas. See correspondence: Filor to Whitehurst June 5, 1856; Allen to Phillips, September 29, 1863; Organ to Allen, October 29, 1862; H. W. Whitehurst to Woodbury, July 11, 1860; H. W. Whitehurst to Morton, June 24, 1861 and July 23, 1861

23 Weedon and Whitehurst, "Weedon and Whitehurst Family Papers," n.d., Box 2, Monroe County Public Library, Key West; Pedro Benet, "Pedro Benet, St. Augustine, to Lt. H. G. Wright, Tortugas, August 14, 1848; August 29, 1848; April 7 1849," 1849 1848, DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas; I. M. Hanson, "I. M. Hanson, St. Augustine to Captain Dutton, U. S. Engineer Corps, Key West, 22nd December 1848," 1848, DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas.

24 Whitehurst, "Whitehurst Papers."

25 These transactions are also reflected in the payroll records of laborers at Fort Jefferson, as discussed further below.

26 H. G. Wright, "H. G. Wright to Totten, June 1, 1847," 1847, DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas.

27 H. G. Wright, "H. G. Wright to Totten, July 21, 1847," 1847, DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas.

28 Smith, "Engineering Slavery: The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Slavery at Key West."

To this end, slaveholders were paid a monthly wage for the labor of each slave. As noted above, Lt. Wright at Fort Jefferson paid the owners of the first slaves \$20 a month for each slave's labor. Fort Taylor paid more with slaveholders receiving \$28 a month on average. A second financial advantage for the owners of leasing slaves was the assumption of daily costs for the enslaved laborer. The engineers assumed some responsibility covering food, shelter, and occasionally medical treatment; the slave owners provided clothing and other material goods. Notably, the Key West hiring agreements were oral gentlemen's agreements unlike the written contracts that characterized leasing in other industrial contexts. Such contracts typically structured the rules of a "divided mastery" in which owner and renter responsibilities were made clear.<sup>29</sup> The lack of such contracts between the Key West owners and the engineers suggests a difference in attitudes on the part of the engineers, many of whom were from the Northeast. Perhaps the social need for establishing mastery by the renter was trumped by the practical need for an available labor force.

"It is a historical irony that the engineers – agents of a limited federal government and mostly northerners, who would later fight against the South and its slave-based society – helped the peculiar institution gain a stronger foothold in the frontier town of Key West. They did so at a time when slavery and its expansion was becoming a major factor in the nation's political discourse. Not that the engineers played this role purposelessly. Indeed, their main concern was focused on getting the labor they needed to complete the two Third System forts along the Florida reefs."<sup>30</sup>

Two recorded incidents provide insight into slave life on Garden Key and the concept of mastery. In the first an unsuccessful but well planned escape occurred in 1847 fairly soon after the arrival of the first slaves and during the absence of the supervising engineer. Jerry Mason, Jack English, George English, John Thompson, Ephraim Mallory, Howard Mallory, and Robert Mallory left the construction site in four boats under cover of darkness with food supplies, extra clothing, a stolen telescope, and several axes on Saturday, July 10. Their destination was the Bahamas. Pursued in a leaky boat by Dr. Daniel W. Whitehurst, a slave owner, clerk, and physician at Fort Jefferson, the escapees eluded capture by Whitehurst but would be brought back to Garden Key a few days later. Jerry Mason and Jack English were identified as the ringleaders and discharged; the others went back to work. On his return, Lt. Wright posted a guard to ward off further escape attempts and to assure the slave owners that their slaves were secured.<sup>31</sup> Other escape attempts, however, occurred later at Fort Taylor, underscoring that slave life and labor on the public works was hard and the quest for freedom a primary objective.

A second incident occurred in 1861 that highlighted the need for more formal contracts other than the "gentlemen's agreements" between the owners and renters at the public works. Colonel Harvey Brown, a line officer at Fort Jefferson, sent 21 slaves hired from their masters and owners in Key West as laborers at Fort Jefferson to Fort Pickens in Pensacola. Their owners complained to Secretary of State William H. Seward who responded that it should not matter where the slaves worked as they were leased and compensated for their work. The matter was later cleared up in a letter from a commanding officer who gave his personal guarantee that any enslaved men "engage[d] for labor at your post will not be removed therefrom for any purpose whatever without the consent of their owners."<sup>32</sup> The issue of mastery and work location became moot quickly with the onset of the Civil War and a host of other social issues took precedence as well as wartime needs.

## LABOR

Prior to planning for the construction of Fort Jefferson, agencies and departments of the federal government were accustomed to the industrial use of hundreds of slaves. Enslaved stone cutters, artisans, and common laborers built the White House and other structures in the nation's first capital, Washington, D.C. During the War of 1812, the British razed the capital and slaves were once again involved in its reconstruction. The contributions that slaves made from 1847 to 1863 at Fort Jefferson, Florida was only one of

29 Ibid., 521.

30 Ibid., 505.

31 Ibid., 508.

32 Josiah H. Shinn, *Fort Jefferson and Its Commander, 1861-2* (Governor's Island, New York: Privately printed, 1910), 15.

numerous federal projects throughout the states, at Army forts, naval bases, and federal arsenals.<sup>33</sup> As stated by historian Albert Manucy: “Slaves were the backbone of the labor gang, sweating in the broiling sun, sloshing in the tepid water, digging the foundations for the ponderous walls, dumping barrow after barrow of mortar into the forms.”<sup>34</sup>

Slaveholders, such as Stephen Mallory, argued that the engineers gave preference to the hiring of “Yankee artisans,” and that the use of slaves by the Army Engineers at Garden Key had a very practical component. The argument was that slaves from Key West, and Florida in general, were willing and able to work year-round in the hot climate of the Gulf – throughout what was called the “sickly season,” from June to October. The majority of white laborers from the North were not willing to work the summer months due to the risk of tropical diseases such as yellow and dengue fevers. Men that were reared in the tropical climate were assumed to be immune to the diseases.<sup>35</sup> In the wake of protestations to the Secretary of War from Senator Mallory, the Army agreed that local workers, or slaves in this case, should be given preference in hiring.<sup>36</sup>

Additionally, from the start (1847) there was great difficulty in getting men to go to Garden Key for work. Conditions there were not what laborers were used to and therefore the job prospects were not always suitable. Dr. Whitehurst, who was asked to hire laborers for Garden Key, was able to find five. Of these he wrote “. . . one had a lame hand, and the other, Seem’d bloated from excess, and with scarce energy to get along.” Whitehurst hired only three.<sup>37</sup>

Most of what we know about the tasks performed by all the workers (engineers, masons, stone cutters, carpenters, blacksmiths, overseers, laborers, and slaves) at Fort Jefferson comes from the fine work of the Florida Works Progress Administration (WPA) during a special project carried out during 1934-1936. Army records from Fort Jefferson had been kept at Fort Jefferson, and were taken to Key West in 1910. These records were the focus of the WPA research. Albert Manucy was the supervisor of the Key West research while Mary S. Lowe, Enrique Esquinaldo Jr., and Dexter Woods each focused on certain years within Fort Jefferson’s history.<sup>38</sup> Comprehensive reports were written for each year studied (1844 onward). The reports were meant to cover all major construction, but the project terminated before the “less active years” (1869-1873) could be undertaken.<sup>39</sup> Within the WPA research papers are original documents such as Figure 4, a copy of a list written by Lt. Wright of the “Civilians employed” at Garden Key as of December 31, 1850.<sup>40</sup> In addition to the number of employees working each month, pay rates and employment history are given, as well as a notation on whether rations were included. The remarks column notes that black laborers were issued one ration per day.

At the beginning of the construction endeavor, the tasks conducted by “laborers” (there was no differentiation between white and black laborers in the reports) were limited to a few jobs. In 1847, these included moving materials, putting up a building for their own shelter, clearing brush, assisting masons and the blacksmith, boating sand and stone, excavating foundations for officers’ quarters, making and laying concrete, and removing bricks from the wharf to the site of building.<sup>41</sup>

As time went on, the WPA reports documented an increase in the number and types of tasks that indicate more complex construction techniques and suggest a familiarity with common procedures and the learning

33 Robert Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 32.

34 Albert Manucy, “The Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (1943): 308.

35 Thomas Reid, *America’s Fortress: A History of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida* (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 2006), 29.

36 Edwin Bearss, “Historic Structure Report: Fort Jefferson: 1846-1898, Fort Jefferson National Monument, Florida” (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1983), 177-78.

37 Whitehurst, “Whitehurst Papers.” Letter from H. D. Whitehurst, Garden Key to Lieutenant H. G. Wright, Key West, September 7, 1847.

38 Albert C. Manucy, “The History of Fort Jefferson National Monument, Part One: The Fort at Garden Key (1846-1860),” 1936, DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas.

39 Ibid. The yearly reports are on file at the South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas.

40 H. G. Wright, “Civilian List, Fort Jefferson, August 25, 1851,” 1851, DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas.

41 Mary S. Lowe, “WPA Excerpts from the Monthly Reports of Operations at Fort on Garden Key, Tortugas Islands, Fla.,” 1935, DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas. See year 1847.

Report of the number of Civilians employed as Clerks, Agents, Mechanics, Laborers, and in other Civil capacities at Fort Jefferson, Garden Key, Fla, on <sup>the</sup> 31st Dec., 1850

Occupation	Number Employed	Pay				When First Employed	Authority under which they are Employed	Remarks
		Month		Day				
		#	¢	#	¢			
Overseer + Master Mason	1	100	00			<p>A similar force, variable only in numbers, has been employed since the commencement of the work, in 1846 with the exception of two months in 1848, during which the work was suspended.</p> <p>The Overseer, Clerk + Physician, and the master and crew of transport were employed under the special authority of the Engineer Department. The remainder of the force under general authority vested in Officers superintending the construction of works.</p>	<p>no ration issued. One ration per day. no ration issued. " " " One ration per day. " " " " no ration issued. One ration per day. " " " " " " " "</p>	
Mason	1			2.00				
Engineer	1	60	00					
Carpenter	1			3.00				
"	1			1.50				
"	1			1.12½				
Clerk + Physician	1			3.00				
Messenger	1	8	00					
Master of vessel	1	50	00					
Mate " "	1	25	00					
Seamen " "	4	18	50					
Cook " "	1	20	00					
Sub Overseers	3			1.25				
White Laborers	16			1.12½				
Cook	1	20	00					
Assistants to Cook	2	8	00					
Black Laborers	27	20	00					
" "	2	15	00					

Fort Jefferson,  
Garden Key, Fla.  
August 25, 1851

H. G. Wright  
Lt. of Engineers.

(W1076)

Figure 4. List of Workers, 1851, Lt. H.G. Wright. Source: South Florida Collections Management Center, Homestead, DRTO 4378, Series 001: FERA/WPA Papers, Courtesy of NPS.

of new skills over time. In addition to roles already mentioned, during 1858 and 1859, new or expanded tasks for laborers included fitting and setting embrasure irons, cleaning arches for pointing, running the steam engine, repairing the steam engine, moving and stacking lumber, fishing, butchering, excavating for foundation of casemates, making concrete platforms, embanking cofferdam and leveling parade, laying grillage, excavating for and laying concrete in main drain and privy vaults, cooking, attending the sick, painting boats, and giving general assistance to the range of specialists above the level of laborer.<sup>42</sup>

Presumably laborers' tasks were undertaken by both white and black laborers, perhaps with a white overseer generally directing each work gang, as needed. No mention has yet been found specifying the size or makeup of work groups; laborers may have been shifted from place to place around the fort as needed. A contemporary (1842) account, however, does exist describing work group dynamics at St. Augustine during repair work by the Army at the Castillo de San Marcos (built by the Spanish 1672-1695). Most of the labor force were slaves divided into small groups that required an overseer to work with each team. This man worked continuously alongside the men he was supervising. This oversight reportedly eased the fears of some slave owners, who worried about the possible loss of their "chattel" while boating stone or earth. The flatboats used were reportedly each manned by a white laborer and four or five black men.<sup>43</sup>

Payroll ledgers from Fort Jefferson recorded lists of persons employed including their role, hours worked, and wages earned.<sup>44</sup> While the ledger from first few months of operation in 1847 does not distinguish white laborers from black laborers, the majority of the records do. These records reveal much about the practices involved in hired slave labor at Fort Jefferson. By simply charting the names of men under the label of "Black Laborers," patterns and information quickly become apparent (Figure 5). For instance, while only 20-30 enslaved men were typically hired out to the fort, it was common for a core group of men to stay for long periods of time while others came and went. Also, the last names of these men were recorded identifying their current owners. The same surnames can be seen again and again, but more interesting is when the last name of a particular slave changes; sometimes the last name is stricken out and another written in. This most likely indicates a record of sale without any other documentation. In most instances, the acquirer of the slave is another known owner who already has men employed at Fort Jefferson. On occasion, the same enslaved man is recorded as being sold to another slave owner and then later sold back to the previous owner. In all these instances, the enslaved men are sold in groups of two or more. It is difficult to confirm whether or not a single man had been sold based solely on a common given name.

As mentioned above, as time went on and construction of the fort continued, the variety of job labels recorded in the payroll records increased.<sup>45</sup> Besides black and white laborers, there were masons, carpenters, transport services, painters, and contingent services recorded. Based on the names listed as laborers, it appears that while white laborers could eventually be employed at other, more skilled tasks, such as mason or carpenter, there was no evidence that any black men were employed in these rolls, with the exception of two black men employed as members of the "Transport Services." Cupid Weedon, an enslaved man presumably hired out by Frederick Weedon (along with several other men), began work at Fort Jefferson as a general "Black Laborer." However, in March 1851, Cupid was listed under the "Transport Services" label and by his name in the laborer list was noted "Transferred to Activia," a schooner in service at the time that went between Garden Key and Key West. Occasionally, a man by the name of Mathew (or Mat) Stamps, hired out by Thomas Stamps and owned by William F. English prior to 1850, was also listed under "Transport Services," but never at the same time as Cupid Weedon.

As mentioned by Mark Smith,<sup>46</sup> the men hired out to work at Forts Jefferson and Taylor were sometimes allowed to work extra hours and earn income for themselves. The usual work hours were 10 hours a day (7 a.m. to sunset), six days a week with rest on Sundays. While laborers at Fort Jefferson were typically paid

42 Ibid. See years 1857 and 1859.

43 Edwin C. Bearss and J. C. Paige, "Historic Structure Report for the Castillo de San Marcos, St. Johns County, Florida" (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1983), St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library. Originally from a letter from Benham to Totten, March 21, 1842.

44 War Department, Fort Jefferson, Florida, Office of the Engineer Officer, 11/4/1850-6/27/1884, "Daily Time Books and Paybooks of Civilian Laborers, 11/1846-10/1865." There are 11 volumes of handwritten ledgers that comprise these records.

45 Ibid.

46 Smith, "Engineering Slavery: The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Slavery at Key West."

Name	Wage	Days	Total
1 Jim Whitehurst	25 20	26	26 20
2 Peyton Whitehurst	25 20	26	26 00
3 Sam Whitehurst	25 8	8	8 00
4 Alexander Mallory	25	80	18 40
5 Bob Mallory	25 20	20	20 00
6 Carlene Mallory	25 15	15	15 00
7 Ephraim Mallory 1	25 20	20	20 00
8 Ephraim Mallory 2	20 1/2	80	16 40
9 Isaac Mallory	24	80	19 20
10 Isaiak Mallory	25 15	15	15 00
11 John Mallory	25 20	20	20 00
12 Lancaster Mallory	25	20	20 00
13 Lyman Mallory	25	20	20 00
14 Robert Mallory	21 1/2	80	17 00
15 Bill Boye	20	16	16 00
16 George Andrew	22 1/2	16	18 00
17 John Thompson	23	1 05	24 15
18 John Filor	23	1 05	24 15

**Figure 5.** Sample from Payroll Ledger, “Roll of Persons Employed on Fort at Garden Key,” with List of “Black Laborers,” July 1849. Source: Daily Time Books and Paybooks of Civilian Laborers, 11/1846-10/1865; Record Group 393, Entry 221-23, Volume 1, NARA, DC.

a minimum wage of \$1.12 a day, the slave owners had an arrangement with the Army Engineers to pay a flat rate of \$20 a month for the labor prior to 1854. White laborers, on the other hand, were paid based on skill and had the earning potential of up to \$4.00 a day. Payroll records from Fort Taylor, which include the signatures of those accepting the monthly payment, indicate that the monthly wages were going entirely to the slave owners.<sup>47</sup> However, it is not known whether or not the owners then allotted a monthly stipend to the men. It is known from the payroll records that laborers, both slaves and white men, were able to work extra hours, mostly on Sundays or in the evenings.<sup>48</sup> According to the “Extra Roll,” it appears that it was the enslaved men that often took advantage of the opportunity and earned the same \$1.25 per day that the white laborers were given (Figure 6). At Fort Taylor, the enslaved men signed, or “made their mark,” for these extra wages themselves, and presumably were able to keep this pay.<sup>49</sup>

The individual tasks performed were sometimes recorded (Figures 6 and 7) within the payroll records of Fort Jefferson.<sup>50</sup> During any given month, a single man may perform several different tasks from day to day and may perform still other tasks as “extra” or “after hour” tasks. For example, in the month of July 1855, Jim Filor, a black laborer was recorded as making wharfs and platforms for landing coral, making and laying concrete, and cooking for his daily tasks for a total of 24.75 days. The same man was recorded as spending 4.5 days that month policing after hours.<sup>51</sup> Other extra tasks commonly performed during the month of

47 War Department, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Jackson District, “Payroll Vouchers, Accounts Current, and Abstracts of Disbursements, 1845-61,” 1861 1845, Record Group 77, National Archives and Records Administration at Atlanta, Morrow, Georgia.

48 War Department, Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1818-9/18/1947, “Payrolls of Workers at Fort Jefferson, Florida, 1860-1862,” 1862 1860, Record Group 77: Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1789-1999, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

49 War Department, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Jackson District, “Payroll Vouchers, Accounts Current, and Abstracts of Disbursements, 1845-61.”

50 War Department, Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1818-9/18/1947, “Payrolls of Workers at Fort Jefferson, Florida, 1860-1862.” The individual tasks were not always recorded and when they were, they were indicated by a superscript letter above the tally of the day's work or hours worked. The letters correspond to a list of tasks, like a legend, but the letters indicating each task were not consistent and not all months had a legend of tasks.

51 Reid, *America's Fortress: A History of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida*, 71-72. Reasonably confused for some type of patrol, “policing” is the military term for trash collection.

*Roll of Persons employed at Fort Jefferson. December 1855*

No.	December 1855	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	Rate	Amount					
<i>Extra Time Roll</i>																																							
1	Zaac Moreno	"	1																															6	125	750			
2	L. Penner	"	1																															3		250			
3	B. King	"	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{6}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$																												$1\frac{1}{2}$		187		
4	Peter Murray	"			$\frac{5}{10}$		7		875																														
5	Joe Groome	"			$\frac{5}{10}$																													$\frac{1}{2}$		62			
6	Jackson Pitor	"																																$1\frac{3}{4}$		219			
7	John Pitor 1 <sup>st</sup>	"																																2		250			
8	C. Randolph	"																																$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$	1		125
9	Lancaster Moran	"																																$\frac{1}{10}$		$\frac{1}{4}$		31	
10	Symas Moran	"																																$\frac{1}{10}$		$\frac{1}{4}$		31	
11	Jim Pitor	"																																$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$		31		

**Figure 6.** Sample from Payroll Ledger, "Roll of Persons Employed at Fort Jefferson," with List of "Extra Time Roll," December 1855. Source: Daily Time Books and Paybooks of Civilian Laborers, 11/1846-10/1865; Record Group 393, Entry 221-23, Volume 3, NARA, DC.

*Legend for January 1857*

<i>a</i>	Assisting Masons on brick work
<i>b</i>	" " to lay out stone
<i>c</i>	" " " cast iron conduits
<i>d</i>	" Carpenters on general jobbing
<i>e</i>	" Smiths
<i>f</i>	Making & Laying Concrete
<i>g</i>	" " Moving Scaffolds
<i>h</i>	Slacking Lime
<i>i</i>	Repairing Wharf
<i>j</i>	" General Machinery
<i>k</i>	Cooking
<i>l</i>	Boating Land
<i>m</i>	Policing
<i>n</i>	Attending Store House
<i>o</i>	Assisting at Draughting
<i>p</i>	Overseeing Laborers on general jobbing

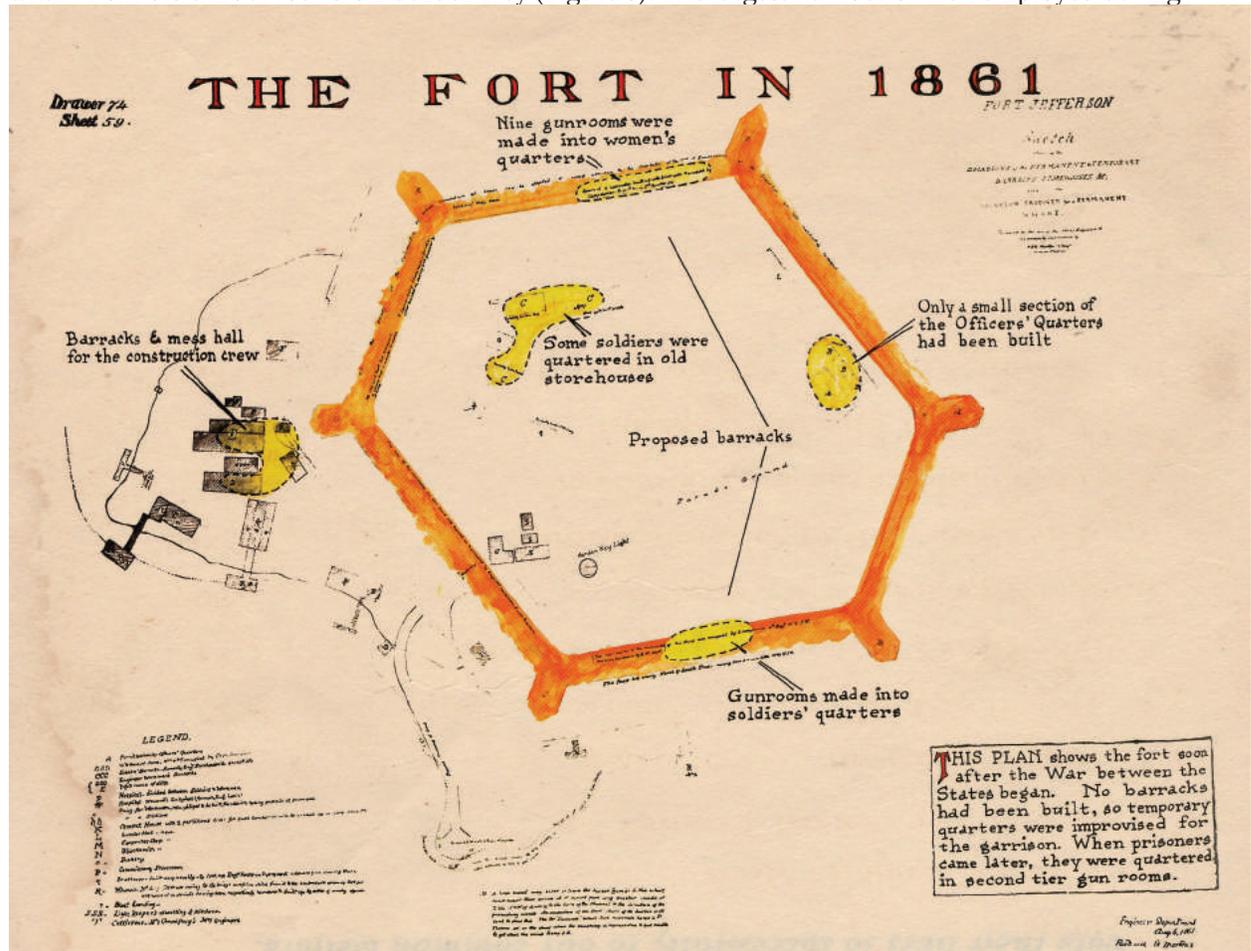
**Figure 7.** Sample from Payroll Ledger of a Legend for Work Tasks, January 1857. Source: Daily Time Books and Paybooks of Civilian Laborers, 11/1846-10/1865; Record Group 393, Entry 221-23, Volume 4, NARA, DC.

July 1855 were laying grillage and fitting curbing for concrete piers, making and laying concrete for piers, cooking (mostly done by John Brown), baking (mostly by Ephraim Moreno), moving and resetting pumps and fitting machinery, and attending to the sick (mostly by John Filor who spent the most extra time of anyone that month, 9.5 days).

## SLAVE HOUSING

Housing provided for slaves differed based on location and industry. While plantation slaves may have had log cabins in one- or two-pen form with or without a chimney placed in a row along side the fields, the housing of industrial slaves depended greatly on where and what the industry was. From milling and mining operations to canal and railroad construction, most industrial slaves were housed in crude, dirt-floored cabins, shacks, or tenements.<sup>52</sup> Often lacking a chimney within the lodgings, slaves would cook their meals in fire pits, allowing the smoke to escape through a hole in the roof. Specific conditions of industrial slaves working in factories, mills, hemp processing facilities, and lumber and fish camps, where slaves slept on barges and bales of cotton, have been documented.<sup>53</sup>

During very early construction at Fort Jefferson, in 1847, the few men that were part of the Government work force were involved in putting up a temporary building for their own shelter and constructing a small wharf from old timber found on Garden Key (Figure 8). The largest number of men employed during



**Figure 8.** Fort Schematic, 1861, with Notes. Source: Manucy "Pages from the Past: A Pictorial History of Fort Jefferson," 1999 (1950).

52 Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South*, 57–58.

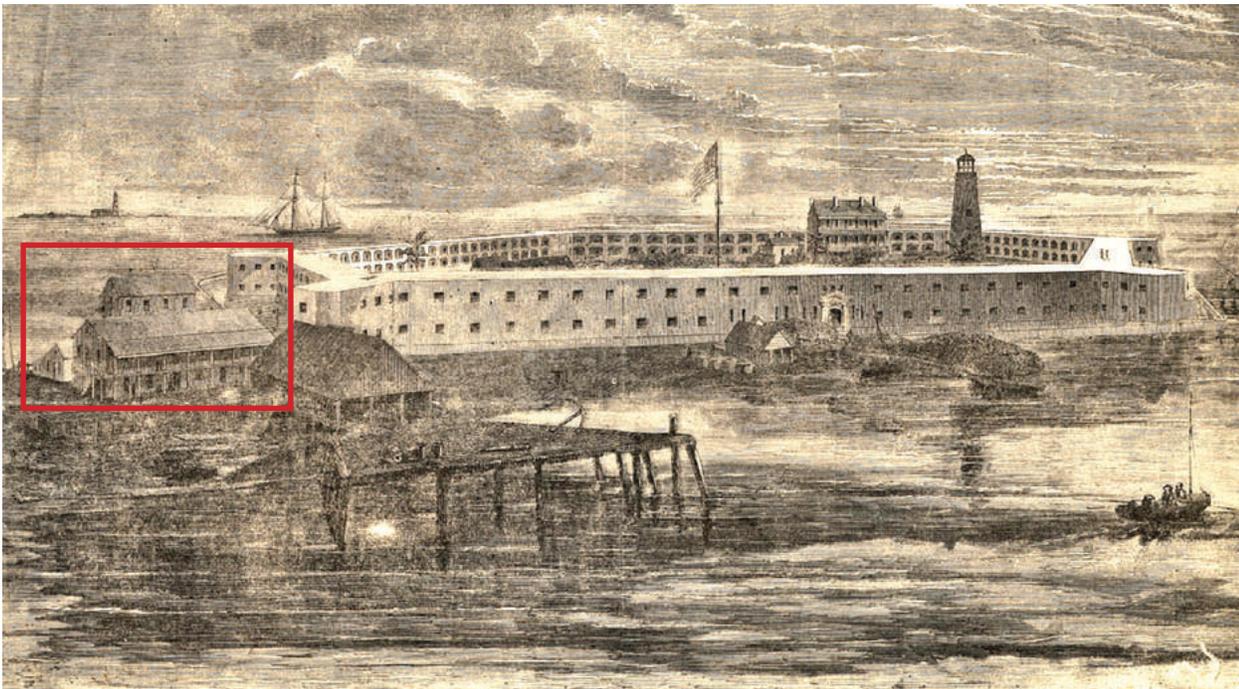
53 George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography. Florida Narratives*, vol. 17, Two (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972), 57–62.

that year was during the fourth quarter, when the laborers numbered 68.<sup>54</sup> This number included all men employed and was comprised of an average of 27 slaves during that quarter.<sup>55</sup>

In his *History of Fort Jefferson*, Manucy had this to say regarding the early period of construction:

Life at Garden Key was in some measure comparable to pioneer experiences in the West. A monotonous existence unexciting in its manifold privations was certainly the lot of those at the work; the beauties of the marine gardens and tropical sunsets soon paled upon virtual prisoners on an island hardly larger than the ship that brought them.<sup>56</sup>

The early construction took place outside the fort location on a small piece of land to the south, within what is the primitive camping area today. The wooden buildings included a two-story workmen's barracks, kitchens and mess room, store house, and stable (Figure 9). Both white workmen and black slaves stayed in the two-story barracks, with the slaves sleeping on the lower level and the white workers on the upper floor where the coolest sleeping opportunity was found.<sup>57</sup> According to the original plan, there were supposed to be separate quarters for the white laborers and the enslaved men.<sup>58</sup>



**Figure 9.** 1863 Woodcut Showing Workmen's Two-Story Housing, Far Left. Source: Harper's Monthly Magazine, February 23, 1861, Volume 42: 717, from Monroe County Library, Key West.

Because of the very hot Florida summer weather, changes to the barracks were made in 1851. Due to the lack of sufficient draft to cool the barracks, the men often "slept outside in open air to the constant injury of their health."<sup>59</sup> To change this situation, partitions running lengthwise through the barracks were taken down and each story was divided into four rooms by instead running the partitions across the interior and placing the bunks against the partitions. The upper story, occupied by the white workmen, was "the most pleasant sleeping rooms on the Key."<sup>60</sup>

54 Lowe, "WPA Excerpts from the Monthly Reports of Operations at Fort on Garden Key, Tortugas Islands, Fla." See year 1847.

55 War Department, Fort Jefferson, Florida, Office of the Engineer Officer, 11/4/1850-6/27/1884, "Daily Time Books and Paybooks of Civilian Laborers, 11/1846-10/1865."

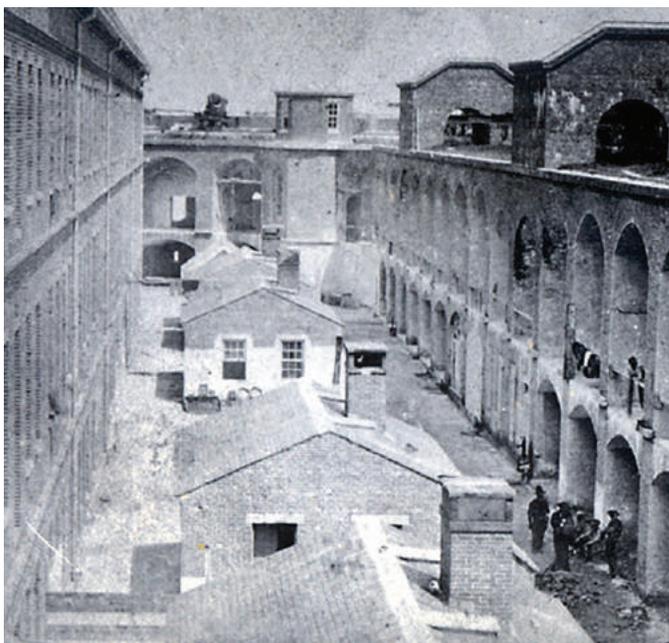
56 Albert C. Manucy, "History of Fort Jefferson National Monument, Part One, The Fort at Garden Key, 1846-1860" (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1936), Monroe County Public Library, Key West.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid. Originally from a memorandum from Colonel J. G. Totten, Buffalo, NY to Lieutenant H. G. Wright, Fort Jefferson, October 11, 1846.

59 Mary S. Lowe, "Memo 6. Construction History Year 1851 of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida" (National Park Service, 1935), DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas.

60 Ibid.



**Figure 10.** Casemates in Use as Residences, No Date. Source: South Florida Collections Management Center, Homestead, DRTO 300654, Courtesy NPS.

In 1855, the old stable was converted into sleeping quarters to take care of additional laborers as work progressed. Beginning in 1858, the carpenters were fitting up temporary quarters, some in the casemates.<sup>61</sup> By 1861, many of the casemates had been boarded up for use as quarters (Figure 10), and temporary frame buildings were also raised for the garrison. No information regarding any interior furnishings the slaves' barracks may have had has been encountered. It may be that they contained only the "bare necessities" discussed above at plantation slave cabins - a bed and, perhaps, a simple wooden table and a chair or two.

Dr. Joseph Bassett Holder came to the fort in 1859, replacing Dr. Whitehurst as physician. Holder and his wife Emily were allowed to hire an older slave named Aunt Eliza,<sup>62</sup> who had spent her youth in the cotton fields of South Carolina. Much later at Fort Jefferson she ran the kitchen for the Holders. In an example of intra-fort hiring, Eliza was the property of Mrs. Elizabeth Fogarty,<sup>63</sup> an immigrant from Ireland who ran the mess hall for the workmen. In terms of housing, Aunt Eliza and "husband" Jack, 20 years her junior, lived in a room above the Holders' kitchen. Jack<sup>64</sup> was employed by the engineers and was reportedly tolerated by Eliza only as long as he "waited on her."<sup>65</sup> It is not known if other similar situations of domestic slaves living with their employers existed at Fort Jefferson.

## MATERIAL CONDITIONS

Creature comforts were not always a given for slaves but, if provided, were usually rudimentary. Florida had laws related to slave treatment that were similar to those in other southern states in that they did not specify the minimum quality or amount of any provisions (food, shelter, clothing, medical care, etc.) that slaves were to receive from their masters. Historian Julia Floyd Smith noted that "To provide [slaves] with adequate food and clothing was the first consideration."<sup>66</sup> It was also a possibility that slaves could procure personal or luxury items, such as tobacco and whiskey, with their meager income earned after regular working hours. Though there is no definitive evidence as yet uncovered as to how this income was actually used.

While records were not always kept regarding material dispersals, which were themselves not comparable from place to place, generally speaking there were times during the year when a plantation owner would provide the slave force with necessities. Typically about two times a year, new or used clothing would be issued to slaves throughout the South. Men might expect to receive two pairs of pants, two shirts, and a hat, while women were given several dresses and two blouses. Shoes, typically in the brogan style, were

61 Enrique Esquineldo, "Reports on History of Fort Jefferson, 1854-1860" (National Park Service, 1935), DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas. From 1855 Annual Report of Operations: Monthly Report of Operations, January 1858.

62 The only woman listed on the "Black Laborer" roll in 1859 is an Eliza Colliar. A man by the name of Joseph E. Collier - with an "e" - can be found on the 1860 slave schedule in Jackson County, Florida. He is listed as owning a 50-year-old woman, the approximate age of "Aunt" Eliza.

63 Elizabeth Fogarty can be found in the payroll ledgers as well, under the title "White Laborers."

64 The slave named Jack, who lived with Eliza, may be Jack Moreno, as he is the only "Jack" listed on the "Black Laborers" payroll. Incidentally, he may have previously been Jack Filor, who is listed as working at the Fort since 1854. The name Jack Moreno first appeared in the ledgers in November of 1855, five months after Jack Filor's name disappeared from the labor list.

65 Emily Holder, *At the Dry Tortugas during the War: Illustrated*, 1892, 179-89.

66 Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (University of Florida Press, 1973), 80.

only handed out when necessary, usually when slaves were sent to the fields. Plantation slaves often made a portion of their own clothing from cotton spun themselves or other materials provided by their masters. The slaves of Florida might have been in a better position than others throughout the South due to the milder winter climate.<sup>67</sup>

Industrial slaves, on the other hand, like those in residence at Fort Jefferson, generally lived at a subsistence level; material conditions regarding clothing, food, and shelter can hardly be characterized as adequate.<sup>68</sup> In terms of clothes, allotments similar to those given plantation slaves were the expected standard, but employers of hired slaves often cut back to save money. Owners were forced to change contracts to require that their hired hands received a stated minimum of good apparel from the party that hired them.<sup>69</sup>

Very little documentary information has been uncovered that would inform us regarding the material products used or possessions held by slaves at Fort Jefferson on a day to day basis. As noted Smith reports that slave owners in general were responsible solely for clothing and the engineers for food, shelter, and medical help. Documents discussed below suggest differently. We also know nothing of items the slaves may have made themselves. Having already discussed the bare necessities thought to have been involved in barracks furnishings, this section will discuss what is documented in army records about common items that were rationed out periodically or provided on an as-needed basis. Herein, use of the term “material conditions” is meant to refer to goods or products that the slaves were known to have had access to, limited though they may have been.

Figure 11 is a one-page itemized list written by George Phillips seeking repayment from Christian Boye for provisions given to his slaves employed at Fort Jefferson.<sup>70</sup> The four-page list covers July 1859 through March 1860,<sup>71</sup> and includes dates of purchase, articles bought and for whom, as well as the prices paid/charged. Entries are made by month, with the greatest number of purchases having been made in December 1859. Items most commonly supplied included shirts, shoes (brogans), coats, and pants, in addition to “Fancy shirts,” hats, undershirts, and “drawers.” Wages and board occasionally occur on the list, as do occasional jail fees and whippings, and one specific mention of “Dr. Weedon’s<sup>72</sup> Boy Toby.” Also noted are entries for periodic purchases of tobacco and one barrel of oysters and cartage.

An 1848 memorandum/letter serves to detail one Key West slave owner’s proposed expenses for maintaining a hand at Key West. The letter was “found in MS stored in US Barracks, Key West, Fla 12-6-34” and transcribed by an unknown individual.<sup>73</sup> In terms of material goods, the owner mentions clothing, taxes/commissions for collecting wages,<sup>74</sup> soap, candles, and “tobacco, and money you have to give him for washing and other expenses.”

Documentation of provisioning directly from the Army to slaves was found in Commissary directives that came from Lieutenant Colonel Richard B. Irwin. In one of several directives from Army Regulations relating to Subsistence Duty, the following illustrates the Army’s intent with regard to “Rations for Contrabands:”

“The well-being of these people, however, requires that they should labor, and be preserved from vagrancy and idle and vicious habits. And as they are too inexperienced and improvident to act judiciously for themselves, any able-bodied negro . . . may be employed and suitably provided for under wholesome rules and regulations, making them both useful to themselves and serviceable to the Government.”<sup>75</sup>

67 Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation*, 136–37.

68 Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South*, 50.

69 *Ibid.*, 57.

70 George Phillips, “George Phillips to Christian Boye,” 1859, Monroe County Public Library, Key West.

71 While the payroll records for this time frame exist at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, DC, not all the ledgers were able to be recorded for this research project and should be completed in the future.

72 Weedon is a surname that appears to also have multiple slaves employed at Fort Jefferson.

73 Hanson, “I. M. Hanson, St. Augustine to Captain Dutton, U. S. Engineer Corps, Key West, 22nd December 1848.”

74 Although tax return records from people living at Fort Jefferson were located at NARA, DC all of the records were for white laborers and did not include mention of slaves. A more fruitful research endeavor may be to look for similar documents in the locations of the slave owners, such as Key West, Pensacola, and St. Augustine.

75 Richard B. Irwin, “General Order No. 6, Duties of Commissaries, Headquarters, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, January 10, 1863,” 1863, 5, Box 2, File Folder 1, Florida State Archives.

Mr George Phillips To C Boye		Dr	Cr
July	26 for Waiters 1 shirt 5/ 2 <sup>2</sup> for brogans 10/	\$ 3 13	✓
	+ 29 4 for cotton drawers 6/ 4 hand shirts 6/	6 -	✓
	+ 2 H tobacco 3/ 1 hat 4/	1 25	✓
Aug	6 for Adam 2 for pants 6/ 1 for shoes 10/	2 75	✓
	+ 2 shirts 5/ 1 H tobacco 3/	1 13	✓
	+ 25 for John 2 hand shirts 12/ 2 for drawers 10/	2 75	✓
	+ " 2 hand shirts 6/ 1/2/	2 25	✓
	+ Joby 2 for pants 12/ Solomon 2 do 12/	3 -	✓
	+ Adam 1 matras 10/	1 25	✓
	+ Waiters 2 for pants 12/ 2 under shirts 12/	3 -	✓
	+ " 2 for drawers 12/ 1 for shoes 10/ 2 shirts 10/	4 -	✓
	+ 31 Adam tobacco 3/ Sept 3 for queen spec 2/	6 2	✓
Sept	17 Waiters " 3/ Joby 1 H tobacco 3/	7 5	✓
	20 By amt col <sup>d</sup> 4 boys from Aug 26 <sup>th</sup> 84/		19 60
	+ 23 H tobacco 3/ Solomon Oct 1 for shoes 10/	1 13	✓
	By amt col <sup>d</sup> 3 Boys for July \$ 83.94		
	Exp amt for Mrs Amos Boye 1. 21 July 60.03		23 91
	Am't for part of August		64 13
	" Sept Joby \$ 31. <sup>85</sup> John \$ 28. <sup>70</sup>		
Oct	6 " Solomon \$ 29. <sup>40</sup> Adam \$ 28. <sup>20</sup>		118 65
	14 to cash pd 1 month's board for 4 Boys		
	up to date - \$ 10 <sup>00</sup> per mth	40 -	✓
	+ for Joby 2 for drawers 6/ 2 hand shirts 5/	2 75	✓
	+ " 1 H tobacco 3/	3 7	✓
	+ 18 Solomon 1 for shoes 10/ (28) Carta go 1/	1 37	✓
Nov	1 " tobacco 3/	3 8	✓
	8 By amt col <sup>d</sup> 4 Boys to Oct 1 <sup>st</sup>		
	viz. Joby \$ 31. <sup>85</sup> John \$ 32. <sup>70</sup> Solomon \$ 28. <sup>35</sup>		
	adam \$ 32. <sup>20</sup>		126
	+ 11 Waiters tobacco 1/2 Adam tobacco 3/	5 7	✓
	15 By Waiters 1 day's work 12/		1 50
	+ 19 for Adam 1 for shoes 10/ Joby tobacco 3/	1 13	✓
	Am'ts carried forward	\$ 81 07	\$ 353 49

Figure 11. Page 1 of Itemized List of Provisions Given to Slaves, From Letter from George Phillips to Christian Boye, July 1859. Source: Letter from George Phillips to Christian Boye, 1859, Monroe County Public Library, Key West, Civil War Papers.

Also specified in General Order 6, a small number (about two) of non-food products were rationed to the slaves at Fort Jefferson on a regular basis. These included “½ lb. tallow candles, or ¼ lb. adamantine candles” and 4 lbs. soap.<sup>76</sup>

In task labor situations like farms and plantations, slaves often had extra time to tend gardens, create saleable items, or do odd jobs for pocket money. After working 10- to 12-hour days at Fort Jefferson, many slaves “worked extra time either on the work itself or fishing, and with the few extra pennies they earned, bought confections.”<sup>77</sup> The extra work is well documented in the Fort Jefferson payroll ledgers.

## FOOD RATIONS AND DIET

Growing and selling food products, or crafts, derived from their own efforts, enslaved people could acquire foods and items similar to those of the planters and overseers,<sup>78</sup> including luxury items such as liquor, tobacco, pipes, knickknacks, and fabrics. Men and boys could hunt and fish to supplement food rations from the planter, and they could sell or trade excess meat, fish, and animal hides for clothing and other goods. In some cases it was also possible to build their own boats to catch fish and shellfish for sale or for personal use.

With the exception of turtles, bird eggs, and the occasional special treat provided by owners, the slaves at Garden Key, like the officers, soldiers, and construction workers themselves, depended on rations provided by the Army through the Chief Commissary of Subsistence, Department of the Gulf. The waters surrounding Garden Key were full of fish, turtles, and crawfish, and depending on the season it was easy to scull over to Bird Key and gather the ingredients for an omelet. There was little red meat during the early phase of construction, and barrels of beef and pork were not always of good quality.<sup>79</sup> Although live cattle and hogs were occasionally dropped off at the fort, the majority of the rations were canned, dried, or salted.<sup>80</sup>

Food was perhaps the most unsatisfactory condition at Fort Jefferson. The physician at Garden Key, Dr. Whitehurst, spoke of poor food quality in a letter asking for an additional supply of arrowroot “. . .to meet the character of these ailments, which have particularly occurred among the Laborers. Almost all of them have their origin in gastric derangement. And a light and nutritious diet, would more permanently ensure their return to health, than by suddenly placing the feeble and invalid on food of a more Solid Character.”<sup>81</sup> Specific mention of the slaves experiencing these gastric problems was not found nor was mention of the effectiveness of the arrowroot.

Coming much later than Whitehurst’s request for arrowroot, in 1863, Dr. Holder identified scurvy as a common health problem due to the lack of fresh vegetables and citrus fruits in the diet. Holder searched the nearby keys and found the herb purslane growing there in large quantities. Loads of purslane were brought to the fort and distributed to the various kitchens and mess halls. There, it was boiled and served as greens seasoned with vinegar and pepper.<sup>82</sup> If nothing else, the purslane provided a new and flavorful addition to the diet.

As noted earlier, black laborers were issued one ration per day.<sup>83</sup> The usual Army provisions were pork, beef, flour, beans, rice, molasses, sugar, potatoes, onions, grits, coffee, tea, turtles, and fish.<sup>84</sup> Turtles were abundant on the keys and while everyone at the fort prized the meat as a welcome change from salted

76 Ibid.

77 Manucy, “History of Fort Jefferson National Monument, Part One, The Fort at Garden Key, 1846-1860,” 61.

78 Buddy Sullivan, ed., *The Darien Journal of John Girardeau Legare, Ricegrower* (Athens, Georgia: University Of Georgia Press, 2012).

79 Esquinaldo, “Reports on History of Fort Jefferson, 1854-1860.” From WPA Annual Report of Operations: Order 9, November 1948.

80 Reid, *America’s Fortress: A History of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida*, 72.

81 Whitehurst, “Whitehurst Papers.” Letter from D. W. Whitehurst, M. D., Garden key to Lieutenant H. G. Wright, Key West, Florida, September 7, 1847.

82 J. B. Holder, “Along the Florida Reef,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 1871, sec. Part 4.

83 Wright, “Civilian List, Fort Jefferson, August 25, 1851.”

84 Manucy, “History of Fort Jefferson National Monument, Part One, The Fort at Garden Key, 1846-1860.”

pork and beef, only soldiers and slaves ate the turtle eggs.<sup>85</sup> Three non-slave perspectives related to diet are touched on below, followed by a list of known rations dispensed by the Army Commissary to slaves employed on government projects in the Gulf Region.

Despite the cooking abilities of Aunt Eliza, Mrs. Holder expressed her frustration with having a limited diet. Speaking of the situation in 1861 she said, “Our greatest annoyances now are the delay of the mails and the scarcity of good things to eat. We wearied of canned food, and pined for fresh vegetables.”<sup>86</sup>

In 1861, Private Edward Hetherton, Second Cavalry, gave a much different point of view from a soldier’s perspective. He has this to say about the available food: “We had plenty to eat at Fort Jefferson. Fish came in great schools, and we waded in behind them and threw them to shore with our hands. There was a lighthouse at Loggerhead Island, where plenty of turtles were to be had. [Major] Arnold let us go there at times turtle hunting.”<sup>87</sup> This private appears to have been satisfied with the troops’ regular food, and happy to have supplements from the surrounding ocean waters.

Perhaps a more realistic perspective is reflected in a statement from 1862. Sergeant Calvin Shedd of the 7th New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry, Company C, wrote home saying, “Our grub will make us all sick I am afraid . . . our bread is all made of damaged flour. . . I have just been to dinner we had boiled Pork Potatoes & a piece of bread & a dish of Rain water with wiggles [mosquito larva] in it we drink lots of wiggles & the bread is filled with Black Bugs about ¼ of an inch thick we pick some of them & eat the rest there is scarcely anything that turns my stomach now.”<sup>88</sup> It appears that the war affected the quality of food available at the isolated fort.

There was, however, a great effort given to supply all Union troops and their acquired *contraband* with necessary supplies and rations. In general order No. 6, dated January 10, 1863 from New Orleans, Lieutenant Colonel Irwin outlines the requirements for the monthly return of provisions. The following is a list of rations to be issued by the Army Commissaries “for all able-bodied contrabands, men and women, above the age of fourteen years, in the employ of the several Staff Departments, and those authorized and necessarily employed in the service of regiments or detachments.”<sup>89</sup>

¾ lb. pork or bacon, or 1 lb. beef;

1 lb. corn meal, flour or hard bread; and at the rate, to every 100 rations, of 10 lbs. hominy or rice, or 8 quarts of beans or split peas;

¾ lb. tea, or 5 lbs, green coffee, or 4 lbs. roasted and ground coffee;

6 lbs. sugar;

2 quarts vinegar;

½ lb. tallow candles, or ¼ lb. adamantine candles;

4 lbs. soap;

2 quarts salt; and

1 gallon molasses, twice per week.

Corn meal, hominy, split peas and bacon, shall, as far as possible, be used in these issues.

85 Reid, *America’s Fortress: A History of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida*, 66.

86 Holder, *At the Dry Tortugas during the War: Illustrated*, 179.

87 Shinn, *Fort Jefferson and Its Commander, 1861-2*, 21.

88 Calvin Shedd, “Collection of the Civil War Letters of Calvin Shedd,” 1865 1860, University of Miami Library, Florida. From letters from Calvin Shedd to Dear Wife and Children, April 2 and 19, 1862.

89 Irwin, “General Order No. 6, Duties of Commissaries, Headquarters, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, January 10, 1863.”

## MEDICAL TREATMENT AND HEALTH

The scholarly discussion on the reality of healthcare provided to slaves is hotly debated. Some state that medical doctors were either called upon or hired by the year to attend to any seriously ill or gravely injured slaves. However, considering the standard medical practices of the era for patients of any race or station, sometimes the treatments, i.e. bloodletting or cupping, were far from a cure.<sup>90</sup> Others feel that with a varied scale in slave owners' approaches to providing care must have resulted in some slaves receiving adequate care while many more received poor medical attention or none at all.

Historian Larry Eugene Rivers states "health problems plagued slaves in Florida."<sup>91</sup> He noted that conditions relating to bad housing, harsh workloads, and poor diet, only served to compound the health risks brought on by the semitropical climate. In addition to yellow fever and measles, Rivers cites cholera, pneumonia, colds, chills, fevers, intestinal problems, and rheumatism. An entry from the *British Medical Journal*, dated October 12, 1867, mentions one of the conspirators of Lincoln's assassination, O'Loughlin, died of yellow fever at Dry Tortugas.<sup>92</sup> It also mentions outbreaks of cholera, but it is unclear as to where these took place.

Slaves that were not given access to medical treatment may have relied on folk medicine of using medicinal plants.<sup>93</sup> Due to practical and positive psychological value, home remedies can be relatively effective. The cultural heritage of African natives includes a long and constantly adaptive process of learning which plants can be used for which ailments. Traditional medicine men are able to concoct emollients, purgatives, diuretics, anodynes, sedatives, and narcotics.<sup>94</sup> Herbal cures prepared by slaves were similar to those commonly prepared by poor, white settlers and American Indian cultures as well. However, while those of European descent typically made mixtures of "chemical substances derived from five or six plants," enslaved Africans, like American Indians, more often used only one or two living plants to create their medicines. While essentially newcomers to the North American continent, both the European settler and enslaved African communities borrowed knowledge from the American Indians. For example, European Americans adopted the tradition of using wild black cherry for coughs and slaves used blackberry to curb diarrhea.<sup>95</sup>

Within the culture of enslaved Africans in the South anthropologists such as William Pollitzer have recorded the use of common herbs as folk medicine. In a condensed report of his 1999 book, *The Gullah People and Their American Heritage*, Pollitzer describes the "healing herbs:"

"Several different herbs were employed to combat one illness and many different complaints were treated with the same plant. . . More than a dozen plants were used to treat colds, a dozen more for fever; a half dozen were applied to sores and as many again were taken as tonics; considered especially beneficial when whiskey was added. Galax was recommended for high blood pressure; sweet gum relieved stomach pains; kidney weed was a diuretic; and swamp grass made an excellent poultice.<sup>96</sup> No plant was so popular as sassafras whose roots were used to make tea as a tonic. Whites adopted it for treating rheumatism and high blood pressure; blacks said that a tea from white sassafras roots would cure blindness. Early in American history it was exported to England for treating colic, venereal disease, and general pain. Combined with mare's milk, it was used as an eye wash."<sup>97</sup>

One account was found that describes a folk treatment being applied to a very sick man in Key West, who was considered "at his last gasp." It was said that an old slave woman, acting as a "nurse who waited on him. . .brought up a live fowl and cutting it in half placed half on each foot & drew the fever as she says

90 Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation*, 139.

91 Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation*, 138-39.

92 "Cholera Record," *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 354 (1867): 319.

93 Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, 62

94 National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, "Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement," D17.

95 *Ibid.*, D16-17.

96 *Ibid.*, D16-18.

97 *Ibid.*, D17.

away from the bowels & after that time he began to recover” and was then thought to be “out of danger.”<sup>98</sup>

A first hand description of African slaves arriving in Key West on two slave ships was published in a June 20, 1860 edition of *Harper's Weekly*. It was observed that “. . .they were generally in a very good condition of health and flesh.” However, the writer went on to seemingly contradict that by saying “Ninety and upwards [of about 450] had died on the voyage. . . Ten more have died since their arrival, and there are about forty more sick in the hospital.”<sup>99</sup> These statements strongly suggest that the health and wellbeing of the enslaved Africans was not seen in the same way as others would define health, at least in the eyes and mind of the author of that quote.

There is very little recorded regarding the medical treatment and health of slaves on Garden Key. Unlike white workmen from New York, the slaves, usually from Key West, were considered to be mostly immune to tropical diseases due to their exposure as children.<sup>100</sup> We do know of the presence of physicians on staff at the fort, but thus far no correspondence regarding them attending to the needs of slaves has been encountered.<sup>101</sup>

Records (transcriptions) from the USA Hospital Department Register document patient numbers per month, the types of illnesses treated, and the number of deaths. The register lists patients as guards, prisoners, or by military unit (i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> Artillery, 176<sup>th</sup> NY, Texas Cavalry, etc.), but there is no specific mention of the men's race. A variety of illnesses are noted, including dysentery, cholera, peritonitis, gonorrhea, pleurisy, and others. Some months have the notation “Usual diseases, wide variety.”<sup>102</sup>

We do know that slaves did receive periodic medical attention, which was paid for by their owners. Figure 12 is a copy of a receipt for payment of \$70 from George Phillips, the overseer of laborers at Fort Jefferson, who paid a William F. Cormick for “Medical attendance 2 negro men Solomon and Adam during the Months of July and August 1861.”<sup>103</sup> This was found among correspondence between Phillips and slave owner Christian Boye, in Key West; perhaps Phillips was seeking reimbursement.

**Figure 12.** Physician's Bill, 1861. Source: Monroe County Public Library, Key West, Civil War Papers.

98 Lewis G. Schmidt, *The Civil War in Florida: A Military History* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: L. G. Schmidt, 1989), 268. As corroborated by Thomas Hambricht, curator of the Florida History Collection at the Monroe County Public Library, this can be interpreted as a medicinal practice that reflects the influence of a Voodoo belief system, common to many island nations in the West Indies, especially Haiti.

99 Wells, *Forgotten Legacy: Blacks in Nineteenth Century Key West*, 24.

100 Reid, *America's Fortress: A History of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida*, 29.

101 Hospital records were kept of sick and injured soldiers garrisoned at the Fort during the Civil War. However, the specific race of men was not recorded and only one man from the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI was recorded as having died at the Fort. See the section on Military for more information.

102 "USA Hospital Department Register," 1863 1862, Monroe County Public Library, Key West.

103 Phillips, "George Phillips to Christian Boye." As discussed above, not all the payroll ledgers for Fort Jefferson available at NARA, DC were recorded for this research. Therefore, the employment of Solomon and Adam Boye at Fort Jefferson could not be confirmed.

## PHYSICAL TREATMENT OF SLAVES

The whipping of slaves was common and industrial records contain numerous accounts of flogging. Generally speaking, slaves were administered physical punishment for even the slightest offense, real or imagined. Despite laws limiting the quantity of lashes permissible, it was often left to the employer's discretion as to what was necessary.<sup>104</sup> According to Genovese, most masters ordered "overseers to give twenty lashes for ordinary offenses and thirty-nine for more serious" transgressions. The vigor and veracity of the whipping was often seen as more important than the number of actual lashes given.<sup>105</sup>

In the 1820s, the territorial council of Florida banned "cruel and unusual punishment" of slaves, but the ambiguous language used did not always result in adherence. While our modern-day standards of excessively cruel might lead us to believe that most forms of corporal punishment were outlawed, in actuality, the statute continued to allow an assortment of punishments including ear cropping, branding, and nailing ears to posts. Any white person, not just masters and overseers, had the right to inflict punishment on any slave for any offense.<sup>106</sup>

During the 1800s branding, ear cropping, and other mutilations slowly declined in frequency. The burning alive of alleged rapists and murderers also declined, but never completely disappeared. Iron collars, castrations, and cells with few air holes were also employed, although it has been said that there was a low incidence of slave lynching.<sup>107</sup>

There are few specific accounts regarding slave behavior and treatment at Garden Key. Slave owner Christian Boye, writing from Key West, states that he "was very sorry to hear that the boys have been giving [Phillips] trouble. . .if our boys continue to conduct themselves improperly in any way. . .we will ship them at once to New Orleans," presumably to be sold.<sup>108</sup>

Slave owner James Filor reported, in a letter dated January 25, 1862, that one of his slaves known as "John 4<sup>th</sup>" arrived at Key West with marks on his back from a severe whipping administered by George Phillips, Chief Overseer at Fort Jefferson.<sup>109</sup> In a subsequent letter, in April of the same year, he said he was perfectly satisfied with the matter and he wished his slaves to be punished when they refused to obey or misbehaved.<sup>110</sup>

During the early 1860s, the slaves at Fort Jefferson were "caught between two fires" – the engineers on one side and the soldiers garrisoned at the fort on the other. The soldiers appeared to be more accepting of them as people, sleeping in the same barracks and urging them to rebel, while the overseers whipped them with the full permission of the owners. This situation grew so serious that during 1862 it materially hampered the progress of the Engineer Department.<sup>111</sup>

The first formal complaint regarding interference from soldiers came from George Phillips, who reported a slave (Mingo Filor<sup>112</sup>) who refused to obey instructions and behaved with impudence toward the overseer, a Mr. Waters. At the same time, members of the New Hampshire 7<sup>th</sup> gave encouragement to Mingo, urging him to not work, saying that no one had the right to demand work of him. Mingo was confined in one of the fort's magazines. After a few days of confinement the soldiers rushed Phillips when he went in to give Mingo food, saying "lock him up – put him in and see how he likes it." In retaliation, Phillips reported other cases of interference from the New Hampshire 7<sup>th</sup> such as "sleeping and playing

104 Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South*, 109–10.

105 Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, 65.

106 Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation*, 140.

107 Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, 68.

108 Phillips, "George Phillips to Christian Boye." Letter from Christian Boye to George Phillips, January 2, 1860.

109 Dexter W. Woods, "Construction History Year 1862 of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida" (National Park Service, 1935), DRTO 4378, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas. Cited as from a letter from Filor to Morton, January 25, 1862.

110 *Ibid.* Cited as from a letter from Filor to Morton, April 1862.

111 *Ibid.*, 4.

112 War Department, Fort Jefferson, Florida, Office of the Engineer Officer, 11/4/1850-6/27/1884, "Daily Time Books and Paybooks of Civilian Laborers, 11/1846-10/1865." Mingo Filor can be found on the fort payroll in 1861.

cards” with the slaves.<sup>113</sup> An order was soon issued prohibiting the soldiers from sleeping or spending time in the slaves’ quarters, but this action was of little consequence.<sup>114</sup>

One diary entry written at Fort Jefferson dated April 1863, a few months after the Emancipation, describes an incident where a black man was tied to a tree, presumably as punishment, and preceded to chew through his bindings to escape. No additional information about the man’s transgression, or any later retribution, was given in subsequent entries.<sup>115</sup>

## FAMILY CONNECTIONS

The family structure of African slaves in America is as diverse as their situation and reflected cultures and traditions of their homeland, as well as other regions throughout the western hemisphere where slavery was practiced. While the possession of some resemblance to a family unit was critical to the stability of many slave communities, the nature of slavery oftentimes made for unstable families as well. Slave families could consist of a couple, legally married or common-law, a parent or parents and child(ren), or an extended family of multiple generations that included siblings and their kin. In the first century or so of slavery in North America, many slaves were continuously brought from Africa and later as the country of America expanded west, slaves were forced to migrate within the country. Between 1830 and 1860, family units were afforded a degree of stability, even though slavery had become a common and permanent institution through the new territories and states.<sup>116</sup>

While the consistency of community and family was not forthright on the minds of slave owners, they nonetheless viewed the idea of the slave family positively. If masters allowed for couples to have children, the master would own those children as well in a concept referred to as “increase.” The children produced by slave unions would often be willed to the slave owner’s own kin and while the children of one family may not be kept together throughout childhood, it behooved the owners to keep “well-producing” couples together. Having several family members on one plantation served several purposes for the slave owners. One, it circumvented the unauthorized nighttime visitations of couples from two different plantations. Two, it reduced the risk of runaways who would not have family members that they could run to and would not want to leave without other family members behind. Lastly, it allowed for what some considered the worst threat of all, being sold off to somewhere far from all your family.<sup>117</sup>

Being sold and relocated from rural to urban settings, or from one region of the South to another, frequently caused great emotional pain and suffering for enslaved Africans and resulted in the loss of contact with family members. The isolation of Garden Key coupled with the typical one-year employment agreement made for hard family life. Slave owners in Key West sometimes allowed their slaves to visit their families in town. Also, some slaves had their wives with them at Garden Key if they were able to work as laundresses or in other capacities.<sup>118</sup>

Some documentation of slave families and married couples have been recovered in Florida, but it is rare to find information on the typically unofficial and common-law marriages between slaves.<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, the circumstances of industrial slavery in south Florida and the Keys must have provided its own challenges for slave families. Within Fort Jefferson, there is only one anecdote referring to a slave husband and wife, that of Eliza and Jack. As discussed earlier, Dr. Holder and wife Emily provided housing above their kitchen for Aunt Eliza and her “husband” Jack, where Eliza worked as a cook for the Holders. Eliza was the property of Mrs. Fogarty, an immigrant from Ireland who ran the mess hall for the laborers. While there may have

113 Woods, “Construction History Year 1862 of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida,” 6. Cited as from a letter from Phillips to McFarland, May 28, 1862.

114 Woods, “Construction History Year 1862 of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida.” Cited as from a letter from Pearsall to McFarland, May 28, 1862.

115 George Washington Albert, “Diary of George Washington Albert, 7th Pennsylvania, April 1863,” 1863, M91-10, Florida State Archives.

116 Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation*, 87–88.

117 *Ibid.*, 87–96; Ira Berlin, *The Making of African America: The Four Great Migrations* (New York, New York: Viking, 2010), 106.

118 Manucy, “History of Fort Jefferson National Monument, Part One, The Fort at Garden Key, 1846-1860,” 61–62.

119 Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation*, 88–89.

been other couples that lived together, or in some proximity, at the fort, no others are recorded officially or otherwise.<sup>120</sup>

## ENTERTAINMENT AT GARDEN KEY

After working 10 hours a day, six days a week, the slaves “needed little for amusement.”<sup>121</sup> Some worked extra time at their jobs or fishing. They may also have performed tasks for soldiers or paid laborers, but no documentation for that is known. With the few dollars<sup>122</sup> they may have earned, they may have bought confections or tobacco. Their owners in Key West occasionally sent them cheap liquor, and they were sometimes allowed to visit their families. Also, some slaves had their wives with them at Garden Key if they were able to work as laundresses or cooks.<sup>123</sup>

As reported above, soldiers were known to play cards with the slaves, usually to the consternation of the engineers.<sup>124</sup> While such fraternization was apparently frowned upon, it does document that some form of entertainment was enjoyed.

In Manucy’s “Pages from the Past,”<sup>125</sup> he described a theatre put on at Fort Jefferson involving the men of the 110<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry joined by 17 of the prisoners. The 110<sup>th</sup> was stationed at Fort Jefferson for garrison duty from February 1864 to August 1865. This theatre was produced by Dr. Holder and included a minstrel of prisoners, of both black and white men, and the 110<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry Band for the orchestra. Several men performed for the shows, including a “yellow-haired” black man by the name of Pablo and a man named Tambo, of perhaps mixed race. Whether these men were prisoners is not known, as prison records from that time frame have not been located. The show also involved a small brown dog named Sugar, known as the garrison mascot, who surely brought entertainment to the people at Fort Jefferson.

A barely legible announcement for the Garrison Theater at Fort Jefferson was located at the Florida State Archives. The playbill is for a presentation of a play called *The Gambler’s Fate* starring Charles Brandon. The drama was presented starting Monday, January 25. No year is mentioned, but it must be 1865, while the 110<sup>th</sup> New York was garrisoned at the Fort.<sup>126</sup>

## SPIRITUALITY

Historian Ira Berlin describes the beginnings of African American slave culture, including language, religion, and lifeways, as “a product of momentous meeting of Africans and Europeans and then their equally fateful rendezvous with the peoples of the New World. Although the countenances of these new people . . . might bear the features of Africa, Europe, and the Americas in whole or part, their beginnings, strictly speaking, were in none of those places.”<sup>127</sup> Berlin relates how Africa had been introduced to Christianity and Islam well before Africans were taken to America. Generally, the religious systems of Africa centered on a Supreme God accompanied by a broad pantheon of specific and lesser gods.<sup>128</sup> Not unlike Catholicism, the Supreme God could be approached through pleas to the lesser gods. In such a system, the people of Africa took what they wanted from Christianity and Islam and incorporated figures such as Jesus and Mohammad into their religious pantheon.<sup>129</sup> African Americans, either enslaved or freedmen, in the northern colonies were frequently recorded as having associations with Christian churches, but mostly due to the churches’

120 Holder, *At the Dry Tortugas during the War: Illustrated*.

121 Manucy, “History of Fort Jefferson National Monument, Part One, The Fort at Garden Key, 1846-1860,” 61.

122 Most extra rolls in the payroll ledgers of Fort Jefferson, at NARA, DC show an earning of \$2-10 per month for individuals that regularly worked afterhours, earning \$1.25/day – usually a few hours at a time or on Sundays.

123 Manucy, “History of Fort Jefferson National Monument, Part One, The Fort at Garden Key, 1846-1860,” 61-62.

124 Woods, “Construction History Year 1862 of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida,” 6.

125 Manucy, *Pages from the Past: A Pictorial History of Fort Jefferson*.

126 “Announcement for the Garrison Theater at Fort Jefferson, Monday January 25,” 1865, M91-10, Florida State Archives; Manucy, *Pages from the Past: A Pictorial History of Fort Jefferson*.

127 Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 17.

128 Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, 209-10.

129 Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, 21.

function as a community center where marriages, baptisms, funerals, and burials could be performed. All of these occasions were highly social events that helped black people adapt to their new society.<sup>130</sup>

When one thinks of slave culture in America, typically the image conjured is one from the first half of the nineteenth century, a time when most slaves were held in the Deep South, cotton was king, and Christianity characterized black faith. For the first two hundred years of American slavery, most slaves rejected the Christianity of their masters, which justified slavery, and instead practiced a form of Christianity that included strong African elements. However, by the 1800s, a “praise house” or small structure for community and spiritual activities could be found on almost any plantation.<sup>131</sup> The roots of the religious services included singing, dancing, stomping, group praying, and the ring shout, which were clearly African.<sup>132</sup>

No information related to the spirituality or religious beliefs/behavior of slaves on Garden Key was uncovered during our research. As discussed previously, one account from Key West describing a folk treatment suggests an atypical form of spirituality at work. This treatment was applied to a man in Key West who was considered “at his last gasp.” It was said that an old slave woman, acting as a “nurse who waited on him. . .brought up a live fowl and cutting it in half placed half on each foot & drew the fever as she says away from the bowels & after that time he began to recover” and was then thought to be “out of danger.”<sup>133</sup>

This practice suggests a Voodoo (or Vodun) belief system, which arose during the 1700s with the arrival of slaves from Africa and the West Indies. According to Genevieve, free men and women “notably predominated in the leadership of the cult. . .Voodoo, . . .however, fused with Christian beliefs and probably reached its height in the 1850s.” Genevieve goes on to explain that although these types of practices were never central to the slave culture, they did spread and remained as a community unifier that was distinctly African.<sup>134</sup>

A Bible, located at the South Florida Collections Management Center,<sup>135</sup> was inscribed by a Chaplain residing at Fort Jefferson on May 28, 1863, shortly after the Emancipation Proclamation and the regular influx of slaves to Garden Key. It was the property of W. D. C. Rodrock, a member of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Company G. How long the Chaplain served at the fort, and whether he ministered to the black community in residence at that time, is not known.

Another piece of evidence related to African Americans and spirituality is provided in the 1867 memoir of a Chaplain James H. Schneider who was the 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant of the 2<sup>nd</sup> US Colored Troops (USCT), Company E assigned to Key West whose comments reflect the literal and figurative changing of the guard that occurred with the introduction of black troops to the Town of Key West. Schneider “found the people very bitter against” black people “but did not care much.”<sup>136</sup> He discussed his joy in finding a ministry he believed in, saying the black “people of the place are in sad want of preaching. They have been driven from the churches, in which they were members. They now worship by themselves. I preach for them every Sunday, and will do so for as long as I can.”<sup>137</sup> While the chaplain’s presence in Key West does not relate to Garden Key, it does reflect the changes in the years leading up to, and after, the Civil War.

## MOVING TOWARDS EMANCIPATION

Between 1847 and the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, enslaved men and women helped to construct and maintain operations at Fort Jefferson on Garden Key. Leased by mostly Key West slaveholders, many

130 Ibid., 61.

131 National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, “Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement,” 75.

132 Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*; National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, “Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement,” F11.

133 Schmidt, *The Civil War in Florida: A Military History*, 268.

134 Genevieve, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, 220.

135 W. D. C. Rodrock, “Bible. Company G 47th Regiment, PA, Chaplain at Fort Jefferson, May 28th 1863.,” 1863, DRTO 152, South Florida Collections Management Center, Dry Tortugas.

136 Increase N. Tarbox, *Missionary Patriots: Memoirs of James H. Schneider and Edwards M. Schneider* (Boston, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1867), 163.

137 Ibid., 172.

worked one or multiple years at the isolated site performing common labor and housed in a barracks set aside for workers. Escape attempts suggest the desperation of some of those who worked there due to the isolation, the difficulty of work, and other factors. It is difficult to gauge their daily lives within the context of Southern industrial slavery. Hired by northerners and surrounded by soldiers from the northern states, they may have encountered different attitudes on slavery at the fort. The one incident where soldiers pushed for rebellious action suggests that. Finally, Garden Key had only so much space and it is likely that to some degree workers, white and black, would have shared communal spaces and events. How equal, if at all, can only be speculated, although some level of camaraderie among the fort's inhabitants may have existed as the shared participation in events such as the theatrical production suggests.

The Emancipation Proclamation set in motion the demise of slavery but how that actually occurred at Fort Jefferson was far less straightforward. In the summer of 1862, the commander of Fort Jefferson, Colonel Joseph S. Morgan of the 90<sup>th</sup> NY Infantry took it upon himself to declare the slaves of Forts Jefferson and Taylor, "independent" of their masters.<sup>138</sup> This came a few months before President Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September, which stated that as of January 1, 1863, all slaves in rebellious states would be freed. Col. Morgan's premature declaration did not sit well with Captain McFarland, the superintending engineer at Fort Taylor. McFarland protested to the "freeing" of his slave laborers who in response simply stopped working. Morgan then tried to offer assistance in negotiating with the black laborers to go back to work with the condition that McFarland pay them. McFarland refused stating that it was illegal and took his concerns to the Department of Engineers.

The commanding officer of Fort Pickens was also at odds with how to proceed when eight slaves appeared at the fort in March 1861. The runaway slaves sought refuge at the Union fort and were "only the first to evince publicly a conviction that eventually became widespread in the slave populations: the belief that the war was being fought to help them acquire their freedom."<sup>139</sup> One can imagine how distraught these particular men were when the commanding officer saw no need to protect them and sent them back to their owners.

It is important to remember that the Emancipation only applied to the "rebel" states and as the Florida Keys, and thus Forts Jefferson and Taylor, were under Union control, the Proclamation did not strictly apply to the slaves of Key West or the Dry Tortugas. James Filor, a prominent Key West slave owner, wrote President Lincoln requesting an exemption from the Proclamation on those grounds and in addition cited that he had been induced into buying slaves by the US government strictly for their use in the construction of the two forts.<sup>140</sup> He was unsuccessful in his quest. The Department of Engineers was equally unsuccessful in maintaining their position. They did not take action against Morgan and by April 1863, the slave rolls at Fort Jefferson ceased. At that time, there were 22 slaves at Fort Jefferson.

The engineers were also unsuccessful as they struggled to continue construction underneath the new social order. According to historian, Edwin C. Bearss, by mid-May 1863, Captain McFarland was dealing with a labor shortage caused by the emancipation of the slaves and by the exodus of many white workers from Key West northward, fearing yellow fever. Bearss mentioned that General Hunter (presumably General David Hunter) "had removed all local blacks to camps on the South Carolina Sea Islands." This prompted McFarland to write to Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, commander of the Department of the Gulf, about the labor shortage and possible recruitment of 300 black men from Louisiana to Forts Jefferson and Taylor. One third of the New Orleans men described as "contrabands" were sent to Garden Key, the rest to Fort Taylor. The Secretary of War provided guidance to McFarland on their wages stating that these men "were to be paid for services rendered by officers of the Department [of Engineers] in which they were employed, except when engaged in construction of fortifications. When this occurred, they were to be paid by the officer responsible, who in turn was to be reimbursed by the Corps of Engineers."<sup>141</sup>

138 Bearss, "Historic Structure Report: Fort Jefferson: 1846-1898, Fort Jefferson National Monument, Florida," 280-81.

139 Ira Berlin, *The Long Emancipation: The Demise of Slavery in the United States* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), 163-64.

140 Smith, "Engineering Slavery: The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Slavery at Key West," 498.

141 Bearss, "Historic Structure Report: Fort Jefferson: 1846-1898, Fort Jefferson National Monument, Florida," 281.

The freedmen era at Fort Jefferson lies with the history of the 100 men sent to the fort from Louisiana. Very little is known about them individually or in the aggregate. Presumably, they were housed in the workers barracks after arrival in 1863. How long they stayed remains open to research. As noted earlier, without the ledgers documenting workers; without the slave owners tracking their “property”; without proper occupation or agency, the freedmen immediately following the emancipation are largely historically unknown. It seems likely that most would leave the fort to find family and their new fortunes. Those that stayed however until September 1865 would welcome and maybe recognize members of the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI from their home state newly arrived at Fort Jefferson for a five-month occupation.



# Chapter 3.

## African American Military Experience at Fort Jefferson

While the US Navy originally scouted the location of Garden Key and the surrounding Tortugas in the 1820s, it was passed up as a potential naval station. However, in 1845, it was chosen by President James Polk as a site for US Army fortifications, believing its location provided defense against Britain and Spain. Although the Tortugas were never needed to defend against foreign enemies, the keys found their purpose during the American Civil War. Despite the fact that Fort Jefferson never fired a shot, nor was fired upon, during the entirety of the war, the Union possession of the Dry Tortugas was nonetheless a key strategy in keeping control of the Mississippi River and Eastern seaboard. The fort was only half finished when war broke out in 1861 and housed none of the proposed 450 guns.<sup>142</sup> Moreover it was only after Florida had seceded from the Union that Fort Jefferson received any guns at all. At war's end, the fort only held 89 mounted pieces and was never fully outfitted.<sup>143</sup>

Although Fort Jefferson had been constructed by the US Army Corps of Engineers and had long been overseen by a representative of the Army, it was first officially garrisoned on January 18, 1861 by Union troops. There were several Union regiments garrisoned at the fort over the five years it was involved in the American Civil War notably from New York, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania (Table 1).

**Table 1.** List of Union Regiments Garrisoned at Fort Jefferson

Service	Regiment	Time at Fort
US Regular Army	Battery "C", 2 <sup>nd</sup> Artillery	January 1861-September 1861
US Regular Army	Battery "L", 1 <sup>st</sup> Artillery	February 20, 1861-May 24, 1861
US Regular Army	Battery "M", 1 <sup>st</sup> Artillery	March 24, 1861-June 16, 1862
New York Volunteers	6 <sup>th</sup> Regiment Infantry "Wilson's Zouaves" (3 Companies)	January-March 1862
New Hampshire Volunteers	7 <sup>th</sup> Regiment Infantry	February 12, 1862-June 1862
Pennsylvania Volunteers	47 <sup>th</sup> Regiment Infantry (Companies D, F, H, and K)	November 15, 1862-February 1864
New York Volunteers	110 <sup>th</sup> Regiment Infantry	February 1864-August 1865
US Colored Troops	82 <sup>nd</sup> US Colored Infantry	September 1865-January 1866

Source: The regiments lists in the table are those found in Manucy (1999) and could be confirmed by Dyer (1908). Other regiments listed in Manucy include the 175<sup>th</sup> New York Volunteers (garrisoned in 1862) and the 161<sup>st</sup> New York Volunteers and 5<sup>th</sup> US Artillery (both garrisoned in 1865).<sup>144</sup>

142 Manucy, "The Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico," 312.

143 *Ibid.*, 314.

144 Frederick H. (Frederick Henry) Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion : Compiled and Arranged from Official Records of the Federal and Confederate Armies, Reports of the Adjutant Generals of the Several States, the Army Registers, and Other Reliable Documents and Sources* (Des Moines, Ia. : Dyer Pub. Co., 1908), <http://archive.org/details/08697590.3359.emory.edu>; Manucy, *Pages from the Past: A Pictorial History of Fort Jefferson*. The regiments lists in the table are those found in Manucy (1999) and could be confirmed by Dyer (1908). Other regiments listed in Manucy include the 175<sup>th</sup> New York Volunteers (garrisoned in 1862) and the 161<sup>st</sup> New York Volunteers and 5<sup>th</sup> US Artillery (both garrisoned in 1865).

According to Manucy, the average strength of the fort during the war would have been 500 men, which is only a third of a full garrison (though at one point, in 1862, there were over 1,000 men).<sup>145</sup> The regiment histories show that often only a few companies (infantry) or batteries (artillery) would be sent to the fort. A single company or battery encompassed 100-150 men. It appears that some regiments were garrisoned for up to a year and a half, while most were at Fort Jefferson for three to nine months. That was the case with the 82<sup>nd</sup> US Colored Infantry, which hailed from Louisiana.

The US Colored Troops may have been the most eager of all Union troops “to fight the slaveholding enemy despite risks of enslavement and execution.”<sup>146</sup> In the long decades between the American Revolutionary War and the Civil War, free black people of the North had made it their goal to seek equality and now recently-freed slaves of the South had come to join them in the understanding that no black people would be entirely free or equal so long as other people of color remained in bondage. The culture of America had come to equate people of color with slavery.<sup>147</sup> But nothing changed the perception of the War from being one about saving the Union to being one about winning freedom for all more than the inclusion of African American soldiers.<sup>148</sup>

## The 82<sup>nd</sup> US Colored Infantry at Fort Jefferson

Before the Emancipation Proclamation, the men garrisoned at Fort Jefferson were exclusively white troops and afterwards while some regiments incorporated black volunteers, the troops remained predominantly white men. However, some companies from an African American regiment, the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI, were sent to the fort near the end of the war. The 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI was garrisoned at Fort Jefferson for a total of only five months, from September 1865 to January 1866. Meanwhile, the rest of the companies were stationed at Apalachicola and the entire regiment was mustered out on September 10, 1866.<sup>149</sup> The service history of the 82<sup>nd</sup> regiment is shown in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Service History for 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI

Date	Event
April 4, 1864	Organized (from 10 <sup>th</sup> Corps d’Afrique Infantry) in Port Hudson, Louisiana
April 17, 1864	Start duty at Fort Barrancas, Florida
July 6, 1864	Consolidate with the 80 <sup>th</sup> USCT to form new 79 <sup>th</sup> USCT
July 1864	Reorganized via consolidation of 97 <sup>th</sup> and 99 <sup>th</sup> USCT
July 21-25, 1864 July 22 July 23	Expedition toward Pollard, Alabama Camp Gonzalez Near Pollard, Alabama
August 15-19, 1864	Expedition from Fort Barrancas
September 18-October 4, 1864 September 23 September 27	Expedition to Marianna Euchee Anna Court House Marianna
October 25-28, 1864 October 26	Expedition up Blackwater Bay Near Milton
December 13-19, 1864 December 15-16 December 17-18	Expedition to Pollard, Alabama Mitchell’s Creek Pine Barren Ford

<sup>145</sup> Manucy, *Pages from the Past: A Pictorial History of Fort Jefferson*.

<sup>146</sup> Berlin, *The Long Emancipation: The Demise of Slavery in the United States*, 40.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 40–41.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>149</sup> Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*; Manucy, *Pages from the Past: A Pictorial History of Fort Jefferson*; Holder, *At the Dry Tortugas during the War: Illustrated*.

**Table 2.** Service History for 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI (Continues)

Date	Event
March 20-April 1, 1865	March from Pensacola to Blakely, Alabama
April 1-9, 1865 April 9	Siege of Fort Blakely Assault and capture of Fort Blakely
April 12, 1865	Occupation of Mobile, Alabama
April 13-25, 1865	March to Montgomery (Duty here until May, 1865)
May 23, 1865	Move to Mobile, then to Fort Barrancas, Florida
May 31-June 6, 1865	Expedition to Apalachicola
June 1865 – September 1866 September 1865 – January 1866	Duty at Apalachicola and in District of Florida Some companies sent to Fort Jefferson
September 10, 1866	Mustered out

The 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI was created from the 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment Infantry of the Corps d’Afrique, which was first organized in Port Hudson, Louisiana on September 1, 1863.<sup>150</sup> The Siege of Port Hudson ended a few months earlier in July 1863 and involved the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Louisiana Native Guard, what would later become the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> USCT. Although some of the men of the 82<sup>nd</sup> enlisted prior to the siege, this regiment or any of its previous incarnations were not involved in the actual fighting. Special orders No. 64 and 93 reference that the 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment Corps d’Afrique was in charge of a “Contraband Camp” in Port Hudson, Louisiana.<sup>151</sup> It is possible that men from these camps were recruited into the Union Army.

Ledgers of general and special orders,<sup>152</sup> as well as company descriptive books,<sup>153</sup> for Fort Jefferson were located at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The descriptive books (Figure 13, Appendix A) list the men’s names, age, height, complexion, eye and hair color, occupation, hometown, and where they were recruited and by whom. Unfortunately, only the descriptive book for Company B was found. Of the 137 men in Company B of the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI, a total of 25 men died (only one at Fort Jefferson<sup>154</sup>); one was killed in action during the Siege of Fort Blakely, Alabama in early April 1865; one man was arrested and imprisoned at Fort Jefferson;<sup>155</sup> 24 men were listed as deserters; three were discharged for disabilities; and 14 were promoted to non-commissioned officers, such as corporal and sergeant (Figure 13).

It is important to note that the men of the 82<sup>nd</sup> and many of the USCT were volunteers from the South that enlisted in Southern towns and cities. These men did not necessarily run away to the North before enlisting with the Union Army. The description book from Company B of the 82<sup>nd</sup> lists many of the men as having been born in Louisiana, but many others are from all over the South: Virginia, Kentucky, South Carolina, Maryland, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Texas.<sup>156</sup> It is not unreasonable to assume that just months prior to volunteering for the Union Army, these men were enslaved. Many list their occupation as farmers; field, boat, or stock hands; sailors; or cook. At the time of enlistment, most of the men were in their 20s, but the ages range from 18 to 40, with the exception of one individual who was 54 years old.

<sup>150</sup> Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*.

<sup>151</sup> War Department, The Adjutant General’s Office, 1821-4/28/1904, “Order Book for Companies A-E, 1861-1867,” 1867 1861, Record Group 94: Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1762-1984, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> War Department, The Adjutant General’s Office, 1821-4/28/1904, “Descriptive Book and Morning Reports for Company B, 1861-1867,” 1867 1861, Record Group 94: Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1762-1984, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

<sup>154</sup> John Smith, a 23-year-old man from Galveston, Texas who enlisted in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in 1863 and died of chronic diarrhea at Fort Jefferson on November 22, 1865

<sup>155</sup> Private Dick Nash, court martial on record at NARA, DC Record Group 153, Entry MM-2119.

<sup>156</sup> War Department, The Adjutant General’s Office, 1821-4/28/1904, “Descriptive Book and Morning Reports for Company B, 1861-1867.”

DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY										
No.	NAMES	AGE	DESCRIPTION				WHERE BORN		WHEN	
			HEIGHT		COMPLEXION	EYES	HAIR	Town or County		State
			Feet	Inches						
11	William Allen	18	Five	Six 1/2	Black	Black	Black	Baton Rouge Louisiana	Jan May 10 63	
12	Nathan Doyle	27	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Monroe Co Georgia	Jan May 7 63	
13	Major Pleasant	20	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Kelton Co Louisiana	Jan May 7 63	
14	George Washington	19	Five	Nine	Black	Black	Black	Baton Rouge Louisiana	Jan May 7 63	

Figure 13. Sample from 82<sup>nd</sup> USCT Descriptive Book for Company B, List of Enlisted Men. Source: Descriptive Book and Morning Reports for Company B, 1861-1867; Record Group 84, Entry PI-17 112, NARA, DC.

List of N. O. June 1865

1	Oswald Gardner	1 <sup>st</sup> Sgt	Feb 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Promoted to 1 <sup>st</sup> Sgt by S.C. Co 10 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated Feb 21 1864
2	Henry Codd	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sgt	27 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Promoted to 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sgt by S.C. Co 10 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated Feb 27 1864
3	Ethelred Ruffin	3 <sup>rd</sup> "	Apr 15 <sup>th</sup> 1865	Promoted to 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sgt by S.C. Co 12 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated April 15 1865 Reduced to 1 <sup>st</sup> Sgt by S.C. Co 12 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated June 1 1865
4	Sylvester Westbrook	4 <sup>th</sup> "	June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to 4 <sup>th</sup> Sgt by S.C. Co 12 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated June 1 1865
5	Clinton Johnson	5 <sup>th</sup> "	1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to 5 <sup>th</sup> Sgt by S.C. Co 12 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. to date June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865
1	Nathan Sathman	Corporal	Jan 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Promoted to Corp by S.C. Co 4 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated Feb 5 1864 Promoted to Sgt June 1 1865
2	Edward Absens	"	22 <sup>nd</sup> 1865	Promoted to Corp by S.C. Co 3 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated Jan 22 1865
3	Israel Souper	"	June 11 <sup>th</sup> 1865	Promoted to Corp by S.C. Co 12 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated June 11 1865
4	Henry Dick	"	1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to Corp by S.C. Co 12 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated June 1 1865
5	Nathan Doyle	"	1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to Corp by S.C. Co 12 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated June 1 1865
6	August Leontine	"	1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to Corp by S.C. Co 12 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated June 1 1865 Promoted to Sgt by S.C. Co 12 from Regt 4 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. dated June 1 1865
7	Clinton Linisha	"	Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 1863	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. date of promotion not given
8	Henry Crump	"	21 <sup>st</sup> 1863	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. date of promotion not given
	Thos. Westbrook	"	June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	
	Clinton M. Clain	"	June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	

Figure 14. Sample from 82<sup>nd</sup> USCT Descriptive Book for Company B, List of Non-Commissioned Officers. Source: Descriptive Book and Morning Reports for Company B, 1861-1867; Record Group 84, Entry PI-17 112, NARA, DC.

## COMMANDING THE 82<sup>ND</sup> USCI

Col. Ladislav L. Zulavsky was a Hungarian-Polish-American in direct command of the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI.<sup>157</sup> Zulavsky was assigned as lieutenant colonel of the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI when it was still the 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment Corps d'Afrique in September 1863.<sup>158</sup> Before the Regiment left Port Hudson, Zulavsky was promoted to colonel, and he then promoted his brother, Emil A. Zulavsky to sergeant major of the same regiment.<sup>159</sup>

The Zulavsky brothers (Ladislav, Emil, Sigismund, and Casimir) were part of a famous family from Hungary. Their mother, Emilia, was one of three sisters of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth, a revolutionary leader who fought the Hapsburgs for Hungarian independence in 1848-1849. After a short term as Regent-President, he fled Eastern Europe, ultimately ending up in the US in the early 1850s. Kossuth and his family were greeted with much praise except in the Deep South. He eventually returned to Europe, but his sisters opted to stay in New York City. Emilia married Sigismund Zulavsky (the elder), a Polish man who also fled the turmoil of the Hungarian War. After less than a decade together, he and Emilia divorced and she was left to raise their four sons. Unfortunately, Emilia fell ill with tuberculosis and died in June 1860. Due to her family's prominence, she was buried in Greenwood Cemetery in New York, her funeral attended by the entire Hungarian colony of New York.<sup>160</sup> Her eulogy was delivered by Alexander Asboth, a fellow Hungarian, who would later become the Brigadier General of the USCT.

Just after their mother's death, Ladislav and Emil returned to Europe to join the Hungarian Legion in Italy. Even though they suffered defeat, the "Legion was retained in the service of the newly formed Kingdom of Italy" and the brothers became officers assisting the commanding General of the Legion. The two brothers stayed with the Hungarian Legion in Italy until late in 1862, when they returned to the US and joined Casimir and Sigismund, as well as a cousin named Albert (Bela) Ruttkay, in the Union Army.<sup>161</sup>

It is intriguing to note that the commander of the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI, as well as some of its officers, and later the brigadier general of several, perhaps all, of the USCT Regiments were men intimately connected to the Hungarian War for Independence. Further research into foreign servicemen in the American Civil War would be useful in understanding the role these men played. Although recent immigrants to the US were not uncommon, surely foreigners and former slaves were minorities in the war and the nature of their relationship to one another could be telling. Without a history of institutionalized slavery and racism like that known in the US, the Hungarian expatriates may have brought a wholly other worldview to their leadership of the black regiments. As evidenced by some of the documented orders from Colonel Zulavsky to the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI, discussed in the following section, it appears that the white commanding officers, and the colonel in particular, often held the regiment to high standards and strove to demonstrate the comparable abilities of the black soldiers.

## PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK SOLDIERS AS SEEN THROUGH GENERAL ORDERS FROM COMMANDING OFFICERS

A rich source of information for the daily goings-on of a regiment is the general and special order books. The orders are essentially letters from the commanding officer, usually the major, lieutenant colonel, colonel, or sometimes the brigadier general to be read to the officers in charge of the troops. The orders

157 Sometimes spelled Zulawski or Zuloosky, as well as other variations. Zulavsky is the spelling on his military-issued tombstone and appears to best match the spelling used in the order books, therefore, this spelling should be considered correct.

158 Eugene Kusielewicz, "Polonia and the American Civil War Centennial," *Polish American Studies* 19, no. 1 (1962): 17-26.

159 War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, 1821-4/28/1904, "Order Book for Companies A-E, 1861-1867."

160 Stephen Beszedits, "The Kossuth Nephews in America," 2011, [http://www.sk-szeged.hu/statikus\\_html/vasvary/newsletter/11dec/kossuth.html#fent](http://www.sk-szeged.hu/statikus_html/vasvary/newsletter/11dec/kossuth.html#fent). The Vasvary Collection Newsletter online collection focuses on Hungarian-American history and has many more entries relating to Hungarians in the American Civil War and the Kossuth-Zulavsky family.

161 Ibid. The Zulavsky brothers have a history worth researching further. Emil Zulavsky became 2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant of the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI. Lt. Sigismund Zulavsky, Ladislav and Emil's brother, was also part of the 82<sup>nd</sup> but apparently died on September 16, 1863 in Port Hudson, Louisiana of typhoid fever. Also of note, after the war, Ladislav settled in Augusta, Georgia where he farmed cotton and was active in veteran's affairs. He was a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (MOLLUS), New York Commandery, Insignia #01167. Unfortunately, his business endeavors suffered in the 1880s and he fell ill to a "mental breakdown." He was sent to New York and committed to the New York State Asylum for the Insane (Middletown State Homeopathic Hospital), in Middletown. It was here that he died in 1884, aged 47 years. He is buried next to his brother, Sigismund, in Greenwood.

contain information on when the regiment is moving, memos on who has been promoted or demoted (sometimes with specifics as to why), what supplies the men are to receive or what they should do with these supplies. These orders can be in regards to the entire regiment or to specific companies or individual men. Some orders praise the men for their performance, while others berate them for a shortcoming. Also included are announcements about decisions made by the federal government that might affect the men, such as Congressional Acts that declare that Union soldiers of all races will be paid equally. Overall, these ledgers provide a sense of the general impression the officers held of the enlisted men and thus convey information on military life for African Americans in the military in general as well as those at Fort Jefferson.

Only two months after formation of the 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment Corps d’Afrique, the tensions between white commissioned officers and black enlisted men were a cause of concern for Lt. Col. Commanding L. L. Zulavsky who commented on “several cases of unjustifiable rudeness on the part of the officers toward the enlisted men. . .” He wrote that “even the meanest private should be respected.” He commented further on the men’s past enslavement, stating, “these men have had sufficient experience during their bondage and while in the hands of slaveholders.” The lieutenant colonel ultimately ordered that any officer found conducting himself with such behavior would be court martialed and dishonorably discharged from service.<sup>162</sup> Although the order did not explicitly state the nature and cause of the “rudeness,” it clearly stemmed from racism and the struggle for authority and respect that came with such major changes in the social order as the emancipation of slaves and the subsequent recruitment of black men into the Union Army began.

Zulavsky seemed to be acutely aware of the enlisted men’s past and labored to find a balance for his military discipline, while beseeching the men to understand his position. On June 5, 1864, from Fort Barrancas, Florida, he wrote – “The Colonel Commanding is deeply pained that a system of punishment so wholesale, should be inaugurated in the regiment. . . it is a deep cause of sorrow, but other means have to be resorted to. . .” The colonel pleads that disciplining the men is woeful for him and does not derive from:

...a want of power to punish them. Everyone can believe that the Colonel Commanding regrets from the bottom of his heart that such a course of treatment should become necessary – but it is his duty to the men as well as to the good which has placed him over the to insist upon the sacredness of the obligation the men have assumed upon enlisting and to uphold [illegible] . . . military laws and the authority he represents to this he will do to the best of his ability.<sup>163</sup>

As discussed below in another section, the men were being punished for a rowdy night of drunkenness that took place in New Orleans a couple months prior to this general order.

While the colonel expressed that he takes no pleasure in punishing the enlisted men and non-commissioned officers for their disorderly conduct, his punishment is not extraordinary for a military regiment. The same conduct would surely be punishable for any other regiment in the Union. However, it appears that the colonel was also aware of the constant scrutiny under which his troops were placed. Some of the official orders from high commanders of the Corps d’Afrique, and later the USCT, indicate that the black regiments were constantly being compared to the white troops. For instance, circular No.14 from Port Hudson, written by Brig. Gen. George L. Andrews, includes orders on training the men to properly salute. The brigadier general compliments the men of the Corp d’Afrique by saying:

It will be comparatively easy for troops of this command greatly exceed the average of white troops in this performance of guard duty while there is nothing which is so quickly observed, and will sooner be regarded as an evidence of superiority by those whose good opinion is of value. Credit is due the 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Corps d’Afrique for their attention to this matter.”<sup>164</sup>

162 War Department, The Adjutant General’s Office, 1821-4/28/1904, “Order Book for Companies A-E, 1861-1867.” This is from general order No. 29, issued on November 5, 1863 from Port Hudson, Louisiana.

163 Ibid. General order No. 32, June 5, 1864 from (Fort) Barrancas, Florida.

164 Ibid.

Evidence that the commanding officers thought that their black regiments were on par with white regiments was not rare.

In reference to an expedition toward Pollard, Alabama in July 1864, the colonel praised the regiment for their hard work and bravery. The men marched over 80 miles in just four days and got caught up in a skirmish where they “took a leading part in driving the enemy from a strong position – in capturing a large quantity of their stores, a great number of arms,” and one of the men was able to “take possession of their flag which they in their cowardly haste to save themselves abandoned.” The colonel believed the men’s actions will “silence those who doubted [their] courage, [their] devotion, and [their] endurance.” He indicated that the reputation of the men had changed and that “praises are heard from those who heretofore had no faith in you. Let us all be joyous, proud, and grateful over the results.” But he still cautioned that there is more work to be done and to think of all the brave soldiers in larger, more demanding combative circumstances.<sup>165</sup>

Also in July 1864, while back at Barrancas, Florida, Colonel Zulavsky, perhaps riding on the boost in morale that the recent victories provided, appeared to take great pleasure in informing the men of the recent Act of Congress which declares that

...all persons of color, who have been or who may be mustered into the military service of the United States shall receive the same uniforms, clothing, arms, equipment, camp equipage, rations, hospital and medical attendance, pay and endorsements other than bounty, as other soldiers of the regulars or volunteer forces of the United States of a like arm of the service...

And that all persons “shall receive from the US the same amount of bounty without regard to color.” To these declarations, and others, the colonel wrote,

...let us not pass over it lightly. Let no Colored man forget the amount of gratitude he owes the Government, and especially the great good man at its head... [who] steadily takes one step after another for bettering the condition of the colored race, for elevating them, for conferring upon them privileged which but four short years ago, they had no reasonable hope of enjoying for centuries to come. Let every ones heart utter a solemn blessing on our Government and on our noble President, Abraham Lincoln.<sup>166</sup>

By and large, the orders for the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI not only indicate that the commanding officers attempted to treat the men with as much fairness and equality as possible, but that Colonel Zulavsky, in particular, sought to give others no reason to doubt the abilities of his men. While this particular regiment was not free from crime and punishment, as evidenced by the orders book and several court martial records, it was overall successful. The regiment would have had about 1,500 or more men, of which, only about 50 died or deserted and over a dozen were promoted to non-commissioned officers.<sup>167</sup>

## REGIMENT RATIONS, EQUIPMENT, AND HEALTH

The American Civil War was predominantly fought in the South providing the Union troops with numerous challenges. The tremendous task of providing tens of thousands of troops with rations during a war is daunting enough without having to provide those rations to troops engulfed in enemy territory. And while the black regiments were fighting for the Union and the Emancipation Proclamation freed all people of color from slavery, there were still several means of inequality experienced by the black regiments.

Clothing, feeding, and sheltering soldiers was difficult at best, but black soldiers were initially paid less and made to purchase their own clothing. General order No. 1 from 1864 reminds the men that they “must be made to understand that they have to pay for every penny worth of clothing beyond their allowance.”<sup>168</sup> As a part of the military, highly focused on the uniformity of their troops, the men were provided with

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> War Department, The Adjutant General’s Office, 1821-4/28/1904, “Descriptive Book and Morning Reports for Company B, 1861-1867.

<sup>168</sup> War Department, The Adjutant General’s Office, 1821-4/28/1904, “Order Book for Companies A-E, 1861-1867.” From general order No. 1 from Port Hudson, Louisiana on January 1, 1864.

some items for which they were responsible for keeping in good order. General Order No. 11 outlines the provisions provided for each man in the regiment. Every man must have the following items when preparing for service: his clothing, this consists of “one good blouse, one good pair of pants, two pairs socks and underclothes, [and an] overcoat.” An extra pair of shoes, one blouse, and one pair of pants should be carried with them as well. It is also noted that the “dress coats will be immediately taken in and marked with the owner’s name and packed away by the Company Commander,” perhaps for safe keeping.<sup>169</sup> The order books describe frequent and strict inspections of the men, their uniforms, personal hygiene, and their firearms.

The order books say little of the food rationed to the men. It appears that the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI were provided the minimum, and perhaps the usual, amount of food. A general order from 1863 refers to orders giving every man two days cooked rations and two days uncooked rations, along with 40 rounds of ammunition, a wool blanket and a rubber blanket together, and two mess kettles.<sup>170</sup> There are some mentions of the quality of the food and its effect on the men’s health. General Order No. 40, among other things, refers to the distribution of corn meal in lieu of the usual hard bread. The order states that “the proper and judicious use of corn meal, it is hoped, [will] prevent the further spread of scorbutic (relating to scurvy) disease, in the regiment.”<sup>171</sup> Beyond this, there are few orders that mention sick or injured men, or the regiment’s health at large.

According to Manucy,<sup>172</sup> in the years 1862 and 1863, out of the average garrison size of 580 men, an approximate 86 percent of them were restricted to the hospital. That is nearly 500 men in hospital over those two years. Nearly 20 percent of them were ill with diarrhea or dysentery and another 20 percent had a type of fever, either yellow or typhoid presumably. Many of the hospital reports do not give the names of specific men, or if they do, they do not list the men’s illness and/or identify the position of the man. Furthermore, there does not appear to be one continuous set of records for the hospital at Fort Jefferson. Many years of reports are missing or incomplete.

Therefore, identifying African American soldiers and prisoners is difficult. In a “Register of Prisoner Hospital” from 1865, there is listed only one African American soldier: Lee Richard, Private, 98<sup>th</sup> USCI, Company F. He was admitted on September 23, 1865, ailment unknown, perhaps diarrhea, the most commonly listed disease on the register.<sup>173</sup> The only other records found that mention black prisoners are from 1872. These reports consist of a monthly tally of how many men suffer from what disease. Within the reports there are four cases recorded of black prisoners in the hospital. Three of the four cases are for acute diarrhea and the other is for catarrh or nasal congestion. There is only one man sick per month and most months have no sick black men at all, although it is not known whether or not the man tallied as having acute diarrhea in July and August is the same man. In comparison, the list of white prisoners for October 1872 has a total of 56 men ill with no less than 15 different diseases.<sup>174</sup>

## CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN THE REGIMENT

The most common offenses for both non-commissioned officers and enlisted men were the charges of: 1) absent without leave (AWOL), often accompanied by disobedience of orders; 2) sleeping on post; and 3) insubordination towards a fellow officer. These charges always resulted in a reduction of rank (most likely to Private, unless otherwise stated), which was not always permanent. The chevrons that adorned their sleeves and marked them as officers were removed by their company commander in front of the entire regiment. However, the men were often left open to the chance of redemption and the opportunity of

169 Ibid. General order No. 11 from Port Hudson on March 27, 1864.

170 Ibid. General order No. 33 from Port Hudson, Louisiana on December 22, 1863.

171 Ibid. General order No. 40 from (Fort) Barrancas, Florida on Aug 7 1864.

172 Manucy, *Pages from the Past: A Pictorial History of Fort Jefferson*.

173 War Department, Fort Jefferson, Florida, Office of the Surgeon, 11/4/1850-6/27/1884, “Register of Prisoners in the Hospital, 4/1865-9/1865,” 1865, Record Group 393: Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1817-1947, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

174 War Department, Fort Jefferson, Florida, Office of the Surgeon, 11/4/1850-6/27/1884, “Monthly Reports of Sick and Wounded, 1/1872-12/1872,” 1872, Record Group 393: Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1817-1947, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

promotion again, if their superiors deemed them worthy. Other punishments were confinement for days or weeks, with or without hard labor, sometimes with a ball and chain, and sometimes with only bread and water for rations supplied every other day.<sup>175</sup>

In April 1864, the regiment was redesignated as the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI and was moved to Fort Barrancas, Florida via New Orleans. Apparently some of the non-commissioned officers were arrested for intoxication while in New Orleans. General order No. 23 dated April 21, 1864 from Barrancas, Florida thoroughly describes the colonel's displeasure with the officers as he says that "men who have no control over themselves can have none over others and are unfit to be officers." Though the individuals are not named in this general order, it does mention that the incident resulted in the loss of 20 men from the regiment, as they had been court martialed. General order No. 31 lists the results of the court martials, all the men being charged with AWOL and disobedience of orders. Most men were punished with one month of confinement with hard labor and loss of pay.<sup>176</sup> Evidently this event was difficult for the colonel, as mentioned above, but it also must have riled the regiment. While there is no doubt that these soldiers were not the first, nor the last, to disobey orders by having a drunken night on the town, these particular soldiers must have had every eye upon them. Considering that only a year before many, if not all, of these men were slaves, the pressure for them to perform and succeed as soldiers in the Union Army must have been immense.

The accolades of praise juxtaposed with the accounts of punishment in the order books suggests a turbulent existence for the men. While the 20 men were being punished for their disorderly conduct, the remaining men of the 82<sup>nd</sup> are commended just a few days later having "made the best possible impression upon all the troops and authorities at [the] Post. . ." However, this does not last for long, as is laid out in General Order No. 25 from May 1, 1864 which states:

Since the arrival of the Regiment at this Post, several complaints have been made against enlisted men who have embraced the occasion of going to the spring, near the village to wash their clothes, for the base and cowardly purpose of insulting the poor and helpless white women in the so called refugee camp. No true man can be guilty of such shameful and brutish conduct, and the Col. Comdg. trusts that there are but few men in the Regiment capable of such contemptible actions. . .<sup>177</sup>

It goes on to remind the men of their mission and duty to the Government. No men were punished for these actions because no one was identified. As a result of the incident, the men were forbidden to go to the village to wash and if anyone had business in the village, a permission pass would need to be acquired. Also, orders for wells to be dug and maintained were given, one for each company for cooking and drinking, and as many more as was needed for washing were also ordered. Apparently troubles in the village caused by interactions with black enlisted men and white men from other troops did not cease. General Order No. 26, May 11, 1864: "Owing to the late unfortunate and unpleasant collisions between the white soldiers and enlisted men of this Regiment and to prevent a reoccurrence there of it is hereby ordered. Company commanders will grant no passes to enlisted men for going to the village. . ."<sup>178</sup>

<sup>175</sup> War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, 1821-4/28/1904, "Order Book for Companies A-E, 1861-1867."

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.



# Chapter 4.

## Military Prisoners at Fort Jefferson

The fortress of Fort Jefferson received its first prisoners in September 1861. The fort held up to about 800 prisoners at one time, many of whom were used for hard labor in the continued construction of the Fort, especially after the Emancipation concluded the hiring of slaves. According to Manucy,<sup>179</sup> the engineers needed to maintain a minimum of 200 men on the labor crew. However, once “the sick, the worthless, and the details for the Quartermaster and the Garrison,” were all accounted for, there was scarcely enough men left for the construction crew. This meant that the fort needed at least 500-600 convicted men on site to fill the ranks of the 200 necessary for the labor crews.

Among the prisoner records is a descriptive book from the years 1864 and 1865. Like those ledgers kept for the mustered troops, this ledger records the name, rank, company, regiment, arrival date and charge of all the men imprisoned at Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas (Figure 15). A total of 2,415 men are listed. Most are soldiers, but there are some citizens, or civilians, that have been charged with crimes related to the war such as harboring deserters or helping the enemy. For instance, records show that a group of 13 citizens were taken as prisoners of war in March 1865. They all appear to be residents of Key West. One is an engineer, another is a surgeon; one is charged with treason and another appears to be charged with murder. Also listed in the ledger is the famous Dr. Samuel Mudd and the other accused conspirators of Lincoln’s assassination.<sup>180</sup>

Name	Rank	Company	Regiment	Charge	Sentence
Smalley	Private	F	13 U.S. Col.	...	...
Wadings	Private	F	13 U.S. Col.	...	...
Finlay	Sgt	F	13 U.S. Col.	...	...
Thurston	Private	F	13 U.S. Col.	...	...
Sail	Sgt	R	13 U.S. Col.	...	...
Row	Private	R	13 U.S. Col.	...	...
Woodson	Private	R	13 U.S. Col.	...	...
Spotts	Private	R	13 U.S. Col.	...	...
Charles	Private	M	13 U.S. Col.	...	...
Normley	Private	M	13 U.S. Col.	...	...

**Figure 15.** Sample from Prison Descriptive Book, List of Prisoners with Charges and Sentences. Source: Prison Records of Dry Tortugas, Florida, 1864-1865; Record Group 94, Entry 172, NARA, DC.

Of the 2,415 men that were imprisoned at the fort, approximately 360 of these men were noted as black civilians or as members of a regiment of the Corps d’Afrique or USCT. Although this record is a combined list of all the men at the prison during 1864 and 1865, this indicates that an overall 15 percent of the population were black men. Focusing on these men alone, desertion appears to be the most common

<sup>179</sup> Manucy, *Pages from the Past: A Pictorial History of Fort Jefferson*.

<sup>180</sup> War Department, The Adjutant General’s Office, 1821-4/28/1904, “Prison Records of Dry Tortugas, Florida, 1864-1865,” 1865 1864, Record Group 94: Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1762-1984, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

charge, followed by mutiny and then robbery and/or larceny. There are a few charges of murder or manslaughter, arguably the worst offenses. Table 3 contains a sampling of the prisoner's names focusing on the variety of offenses and range of sentence lengths. Prisoners rarely served full terms and these records often state the general order by which they were released, but what that order says is unknown at this time.

**Table 3.** Sample List of Prisoners at Fort Jefferson from Black Regiments: 1864-1865

Name	Rank	Arrival/Release Dates	Sentence Length	Charge
George Washington	Private, 1st Louisiana Corps d'Afrique/73 <sup>rd</sup> USCT	January/February 1864; January 10, 1865	4 years; served 1 year	Assault and Battery, Robbery
William Crawford	Private, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Louisiana Corps d'Afrique/10 <sup>th</sup> USC Artillery	March/April 1864; January 10, 1865	1 year; served 10 months	Assaulting a citizen and Threatening to shoot
Harry Flemming	Private, 10 <sup>th</sup> USCT Heavy Artillery	February 1864; December 1864	Life; served 10 months, returned to duty	Disorderly Conduct; Disobedience of Orders
Willis Harris	Private 10 <sup>th</sup> USC Heavy Artillery, Company B	February 1864; January 1865	15 years; served 11 months	Drunkenness; Disorderly Conduct
Robert Richards	Private, 15 <sup>th</sup> Louisiana Corps d'Afrique/15 <sup>th</sup> USC Artillery	February 19, 1864; January 10, 1865	10 years; served 11 months	Disobedience of Orders; Threatening to kill
John Johnson	Private, 15 <sup>th</sup> Infantry Corps d'Afrique, Company D	March 30, 1864; November 26, 1865	10 years; served 1 year, 8 months	Desertion
Charles Williams	Private, 3 <sup>rd</sup> Engineering Corps d'Afrique/15 <sup>th</sup> Infantry Corps d'Afrique, Company E	March 30, 1864; January 19, 1865	1 year; served 10 months	Desertion
Julius Boudro	Private, 4 <sup>th</sup> Infantry Corps d'Afrique, Company D	February 1864; May 17, 1866	20 years; served 2 years, 3 months	Mutiny
Lewis Cady	Corporal, 4 <sup>th</sup> Infantry Corps d'Afrique, Company K	February 1864; December 1865	2 years; served 1 year, 10 months	Mutiny
William Blain	Private, 4 <sup>th</sup> Louisiana Heavy Artillery, Corps d'Afrique/76 <sup>th</sup> USCT	February 1864; January 10, 1865	1 year; served 11 months	Larceny
James McDonald	Private, 1 <sup>st</sup> Louisiana Corps d'Afrique, Company D	March 30, 1864; January 10, 1865	1 year; served 9 months	Stabbing with intent to kill
Andrew Germaine	Private, 1 <sup>st</sup> Louisiana Corps d'Afrique/ 10 <sup>th</sup> USC Artillery	February 1864; January 1865	3 years; served 1 year	Robbery; Desertion
Celestian Davis	Private, 4 <sup>th</sup> Infantry Corps d'Afrique, Company C	April 15, 1864; January 10, 1865	2 years; served 8 months	Sleeping on Post
Montgomery Polick or Polise Montgomery	Private, 4 <sup>th</sup> Infantry Corps d'Afrique, Company D	April 15, 1864; January 23, 1867	5 years; served 2 years, 3 months	Manslaughter
John Pool	Private, 14 <sup>th</sup> Rhode Island Heavy Artillery/ 8 <sup>th</sup> USC Artillery/ 11 <sup>th</sup> USC Artillery, Company C	September 22, 1864; April 8, 1865	Enlistment; served 7 months, returned to duty	Conducting prejudice, etc., Contempt, etc.
Henry Campbell	Private, 10 <sup>th</sup> USC Artillery, Company B	April 1865	Life	Murder, Robbery
Lewis Williams	Private, 82 <sup>nd</sup> USCI, Company C	January 1865	Life	Assault with intent to commit rape, assault with intent to kill
Columbus Fields	Private, 74 <sup>th</sup> USCT, Company I	December 28, 1865; January 23, 1867	20 years; served 1 year, 1 month	Manslaughter
Dudley Day	Private, 58 <sup>th</sup> USCT, Company G	February 18, 1866	Life	Murder
Charles Brown	Musician, 36 <sup>th</sup> USCT, Company F	July 20, 1866	5 years	Conducting prejudice
Reuben Hall	Private, 56 <sup>th</sup> USCT, Company B	August 8, 1866	15 years	Murder, Desertion, and Burglary

**Table 3.** Sample List of Prisoners at Fort Jefferson from Black Regiments: 1864-1865 (Continues)

Name	Rank	Arrival/Release Dates	Sentence Length	Charge
Martin Johnson	Citizen	February 1864; December 1864	30 years; served 10 months	Robbery
Alexander 2 <sup>nd</sup> (No last name)	Citizen	January/February 1864; January 10, 1865	Life; served 1 year	Assault and Battery with intent to kill
Moses (No last name)	Citizen	October 24, 1865	1 year	Attempt to commit rape

As tedious as these records may appear, they can be lacking. For example, a prisoner by the name of George Washington, 4<sup>th</sup>, a Private of the 13<sup>th</sup> USC Heavy Artillery, Company F is listed in the ledger, but the information on him is incomplete. It notes that his arrival date was unknown, as well as his charge. However, his is one of the few, if not the only, sentence to read, “to be hung, etc.” It also notes that this sentence was commuted to dishonorable discharge and confinement for 10 years (as of February 6, 1866).<sup>181</sup> More information can be found in the original court martial. Here it is stated that Washington was one of two men charged for murder in January 1866, in Louisville, Kentucky and sentenced “to be hung by the neck until dead,” but this sentence was not approved and subsequently commuted.<sup>182</sup> The court martial and the ledgers show that Washington was charged for manslaughter with 10 other men. This group arrived at Fort Jefferson on March 1, 1866. Privates Moses Smiley, Henry Hastings, and Sergeant James Finlay were also of the 13<sup>th</sup> USC Heavy Artillery; Privates James Thornton, Jeff Lisle, Alfred Roe, James Woodson, Charles Spotts, James Carter, and Gibson Wormley of the 12<sup>th</sup> USC Artillery were sentenced to 4 to 10 years for the crime (the record of these men can be seen in Figure 15). Henry Hastings served his full sentence of five years and was released on January 22, 1871. James Finlay died at the hospital on September 20<sup>th</sup>, shortly after arriving. There is no record of Moses Smiley’s release, but the rest of the men were released by a general order on June 28, 1866, only a few months into their sentences. What happened to George Washington, 4<sup>th</sup> in the following years is unclear, as both he and Smiley were sentenced to confinement for the next 10 years; only Smiley appears on the 1870 census as a military prisoner.<sup>183</sup>

Another interesting entry in the prison records is what appears to be a mutiny that may have taken place at Fort Taylor in Key West. Privates John Johnson, Davis Boyd, Henry Cornish, and William Colby, as well as Sergeant John Coats, all of the 2<sup>nd</sup> USCT were charged with some degree of violation of the articles of war, disobedience of orders, exciting and joining and/or being present during a mutiny. The men were sentenced from 6 months to 5 years or the length of their enlistment. They arrive at Fort Jefferson on September 1, 1864 and only two have release records dating to February 1865 and April 1866.

Records of other court martials involving black soldiers sent to the Dry Tortugas were found at the National Archives in D.C. The records for Henry Campbell, John C. Corsey, George Junior, William Steel, Reuben Hall, John Beals, and Jacob Hall were all located. In addition, records for Privates Lewis Williams, Dick Nash, Willis Johnson, all of the 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI show they were sentenced to the Dry Tortugas before the regiment was stationed at the Fort. All three men were most likely still imprisoned when the regiment arrived in September 1865. Willis Johnson was sentenced to two months hard labor with a ball and chain. It is possible that he completed his sentence and returned to duty with the garrison at Fort Jefferson.

By the time of the 1870 census, only 18 men were listed as military prisoners. This is a dramatic reduction from the hundreds of men confined there during the war. Of the 18, only seven are noted to be black or of mixed race. These men are John Beals, Dudley Day, Henry Campbell, Charles Brown, Moses Smiley, Rueben Hall, and Henry Hastings. The census records the men’s birthplace, however, it does not record the men’s regiment. Most of the names are unique enough that other information has been obtained about

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> War Department, Office of the Judge Advocate General, 1884-9/18/1947, “Smiley, Moses – Private, US Colored Troops - 82nd Infantry, Company F, 12/1800-10/1894,” n.d., Record Group 153: Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Amry), 1792-2010, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

<sup>183</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, “9th (1870) Census of the United States” (Online database. Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, Provo, Utah, 1870), 1870 U.S. Census, Population Schedules, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., <http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7163>. Military prisoners are on page 5 of the Monroe County, Key West, Florida, inhabitants of the Dry Tortugas.



SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in the Dry Tortugas, in the County of Monroe, State of Florida, enumerated by me on the 12 day of July, 1870. 310

Post Office: Key West Fla W. J. Allan, Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	4			7	8		10	11		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20						
			Age at last birthday, or next birthday, if under one month	Sex—Male (M.) Female (F.)	Color—White (W.) Black (B.) Mulatto (Mu.) Indian (I.)		Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate		Father of foreign birth	Mother of foreign birth														
52	38	Curtis Thomas	27	M	W	Private			Ireland	/	/							/							
3		O'Brien James	33	M	W	"			"	/	/							/							
4		Kippler Max	24	M	W	"			Baden	/	/							/							
53	39	Kuttan W. H. W.	32	M	W	Hospital Steward			Ohio									/							
5		Maria	23	F	W	Matron			R. I.																
6		Mabel	4	F	W				Illinois																
7		William	7	M	W				Fla		Sept														
8		Kott Christian	20	M	W	Hospital Steward			Prussia	/	/														
9	40	Beal John	23	M	B	Military, Dismer			Md						/	/		/							
10		Lawrence Edward	40	M	W	"			Penn									/							
11		Thomas John	23	M	W	"			Missouri									/							
12		Clark James	28	M	W	"			Illinois									/							
13		Cassiday William	19	M	W	"			England	/	/														
14		Porter Henry B.	24	M	W	"			Louisiana																
15		Green Howard	35	M	W	"			Canada	/	/														
16		Ray Dudley	25	M	B	"			Kentucky						/	/		/							
17		Campbell Henry	29	M	W	"			Bergeria						/	/		/							
18		Kaffay Francis	29	M	W	"			N. Y.	/	/														
19		Brown Charles	21	M	W	"			Dist. of Columbia						/	/		/							
20		Smiley Moses	35	M	W	"			Missouri						/	/		/							
21		Hall Reuben	36	M	B	"			"						/	/		/							
22		Hastings Henry	21	M	W	"			Ohio									/							
23		Johnson Samuel	30	M	W	"			"									/							
24		Chandler George	26	M	W	"			Georgia									/							
25		Leads Wm R	24	M	W	"			Miss									/							
26		Cates James	28	M	W	"			Ala									/							
27	41	Mason John A	30	M	W	St. House Keeper	400		Italy	/	/							/							
28		Mary	24	F	W	Keeping house			Fla	/	/														
29		Caroline	2	F	W				"	/															
30		Jaris Elizabeth	12	F	W				"	/	/														
31		Courtney Ellen	47	F	W	house-keeper			Ireland	/	/				/	/									
32	42	Edson Calvin	35	M	W	fisherman			Conn						/	/									
33	43	Whittaker Francis	29	M	W	Carpenter	500		Fla									/							
34		Jome	25	F	W	Keeping house			"	/															
35		Clara	3	F	W				"																
36		Orcan	1	M	W				"																
37		Alvarez Mary	55	F	B	Servant			"						/	/									
38	44	Ludicko August	34	M	W	Sailor			Prussia	/	/														
39	45	Woodward James	42	M	W	Bricklayer			R. I.									/							
40		Mary A.	38	F	W	Keeping house			Bahamas	/	/														
		No. of dwellings,	9			No. of white females,	8			No. of males, foreign born,	10			13			1			8			9		
		" families,	8			" colored males,	1			" females, "	1			1			1			1			1		
		" white males,	22			" females, "	1			" blind,															

Figure 16. Page 5 of 1870 Census of The Dry Tortugas, Key West, Monroe County, Florida – with African American Military Prisoners Highlighted. Source: 9th (1870) Census of the United States; NARA, DC, via Online Database, Ancestry.com.

them, except for Charles Brown. While there is a Charles Brown in the prison ledger, a court martial could not be found. Figure 16 is a page from the 1870 census.<sup>184</sup> The prison ledger notes that Private Reuben Hall of the 56<sup>th</sup> USCT was brought to the fort on August 8, 1866 to serve a 15-year sentence for murder, desertion, and burglary. His presence at the fort is reconfirmed in the 1870 census, however, the prison ledger notes that on December 24, 1871 he and another unknown soldier escaped on a sailboat.

---

184 Ibid.



---

# Chapter 5. Conclusions and Recommendations for Further Research

The history of the African American experience at Fort Jefferson is just one layer of its historic narrative but it is as foundational as Vauban's architecture to the history of the fort. The hard labor of men and women of color brought the beautiful but forbidding fort into reality under the supervision of the Department of Engineers, a federal agency that saw slavery as an efficient means to a practical end rather than as a social construct. No historic narrative exists that tells us the range of thoughts of the first slaves brought to Garden Key – fear, horror, interest, potential for escape, thirst for knowledge or maybe despair. We only know of them through public records or the correspondence between their owners and their renters.

This study has compiled a compelling narrative based on these sources, however, many research questions remain.

- We were not able to fully research individual enslaved persons. While the identification of individual slaves is mostly difficult, some full names have been identified. These could be further researched to create biographical profiles showing where they were prior to their time at Fort Jefferson and where they went afterwards. This research would indicate if any individuals left with new skillsets and would help identify any families that may have resided at Fort Jefferson. Smith comments on how not all slaves were unskilled laborers. He points to men who definitely worked at Fort Taylor, and possibly worked at Fort Jefferson, including John Moreno – a blacksmith, Boston Browne – a mason, and Harry Bracewell – a mason and stone cutter. Smith quotes Ernest Dibble in pointing out that men like these “were better prepared to find a place in the local economy when freedom was gained.” According to Smith, however, about 95% percent of the slaves would have been unskilled.
- The research was suggestive that the lack of space on the key or just its geography discouraged segregation and made for more communal living. Housing for slaves appears to have been concentrated outside the fort location on a small piece of land to the south; within what is the primitive camping area today. The wooden buildings included a two-story, workmen's barracks, kitchens and mess room, storehouse, and stable. The sleeping quarters were shared, with the slaves sleeping on the lower level and the white workers on the upper floor. This was a departure from the original plan, which provided separate segregated workers quarters. More research is needed to look at this physical aspect of living at Fort Jefferson and to see if work and recreation practices were also more egalitarian due to the engineers' apparent lack of interest in mastery and the more diverse thinking about race and slavery among the soldiers and other workers.

- More research is needed to flesh out how emancipation was actually carried out at Fort Jefferson and this should be placed in the context of emancipation in Florida.
- Research within the regimental histories of the white soldiers garrisoned at Fort Jefferson may produce first hand accounts, diaries, etc. that may help inform our understanding of the enslaved era.
- The Polish leadership of the 82<sup>nd</sup> Colored Infantry and their experience as freedom fighters from the Hungarian Revolution is a fascinating storyline that warrants further research to better interpret the influence that leadership had on the black soldiers garrisoned at Fort Jefferson.
- The Court Martial Records housed at NARA in D.C. provide tremendous insight into the treatment of African American soldiers and in particular cases that referenced Fort Jefferson.
- More information is needed on Senator Stephen Mallory, General David Hunter and others that may have influenced events at Fort Jefferson.
- Fort Taylor's history needs to be further researched in tandem with Fort Jefferson's, given their common history to look for patterns or differences that could give us a better understanding of this era and the role of the US engineers.

---

Appendix A.  
Ledger – 82<sup>nd</sup> USCI, Company B  
Descriptive Book

RG 94: Records of the Adjutant General's Office

Book Records of Volunteer Union Organizations

82nd USCT Infantry

Descriptive Book &  
Morning Report B

E112-115

PI-17

Vol 1 of 2

## LIST OF COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

No.	NAMES.	RANK.	DATE OF APPOINTMENT.	REMARKS.
1	James Mc Holan	Capt	March 3/63	Disch'd by Co. No 3 & 17 from N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Regt of Ill. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Lt dated New Orleans La. Jan <sup>o</sup> 5 <sup>th</sup> 1864.
2	George H. Maynard	1 <sup>st</sup> Lt	" 7/63	Transferred to Co. G by order of Col. Johnston,
3	David R. Smith	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lt	" 6/68	Promoted 1 <sup>st</sup> Lt & transferred to Co. "K"
4	George H. Lohrey	1 <sup>st</sup> Lt		Transferred to Co. B from Co. G, Jan. 1863.
5	William H. Fellows	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lt	Nov. 1 <sup>st</sup> 1863	App'd to Co. B. Dec. 7 <sup>th</sup> 1863 - Transf'd to Co. C
6	Henry S. Macminis	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lt	Feb 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864	App'd to 2 <sup>nd</sup> Lt Co. B
7	Wm. H. Fellows	1 <sup>st</sup> Lt	" 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Promoted from 2 <sup>nd</sup> Lt - Transf'd to Co. C
8	David R. Smith	Capt	" 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864	" " 1 <sup>st</sup> Lt of Co. C
	David R. Smith	Captain	Feb 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Promoted from 1 <sup>st</sup> Lt of Co. K same Regt.
2	Henry S. Manning	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lt	Feb 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Appointed from civil life Disch'd by Co. No 2 & 17 from 10 <sup>th</sup> Regt of Ill. official from Regt. N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Jan <sup>o</sup> 25 <sup>th</sup> 1864.

Co. \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ Reg't U S. Col'd \_\_\_\_\_

Card Descriptive Roll only.

Carded *May 13*, 1891.

# LIST OF NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
1	Benjamin Gardner	1 <sup>st</sup> Sgt.	March 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864	
2	Henry Todd	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sgt.	" 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864	
3	Edmund Ruffin	3 <sup>rd</sup> "	" 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Reduced to the ranks by order Col. L.L. Jenkins of 4 <sup>th</sup> 1865
4	Jonathan Johnson	4 <sup>th</sup> "	" 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Reduced to the ranks by order Col. L.L. Jenkins of 4 <sup>th</sup> 1865
5	Edward Darsens	5 <sup>th</sup> "	Apr 9 <sup>th</sup> 1864	
1	Isaac Temper	1 <sup>st</sup> Capt.	Aug 10 <sup>th</sup> 1863	Reduced to the rank of 2 <sup>nd</sup> Lt. by order Col. Jenkins of July 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1864
2	Isaac Temper	2 <sup>nd</sup> "	Jan 24 <sup>th</sup> 1864	
3	Nathan Seltman	3 <sup>rd</sup> "	Jan 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864	
4	Jonathan Johnson	4 <sup>th</sup> "	March 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864	
5	John Brown	5 <sup>th</sup> "	Aug 7 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Discharged on certificate of disability June 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1865
6	Henry Dick	"	Jan 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1865	Reduced to the ranks by order Col. L.L. Jenkins of 4 <sup>th</sup> 20 <sup>th</sup> 1865
7	Edward Darsens	"	" 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1865	

## List of A. O. June 1865

1	Benjamin Gardner	1 <sup>st</sup> Sgt.	March 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Promoted to 1 <sup>st</sup> Sgt by S.O. No. 10 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> March 1864
2	Henry Todd	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sgt.	" 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Promoted to 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sgt by S.O. No. 10 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> March 1864
3	Edmund Ruffin	3 <sup>rd</sup> "	Apr 15 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Promoted to 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sgt by S.O. No. 17 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> April 15 <sup>th</sup> 1864
4	Jonathan Johnson	4 <sup>th</sup> "	June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to 4 <sup>th</sup> Sgt by S.O. No. 12 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865
5	Jonathan Johnson	5 <sup>th</sup> "	" 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to 5 <sup>th</sup> Sgt by S.O. No. 12 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865
1	Nathan Seltman	Capt.	Jan 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Promoted to Capt by S.O. No. 4 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> dated Feb 5 <sup>th</sup> 1864
2	Edward Darsens	"	" 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1865	Promoted to Capt by S.O. No. 3 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> dated Jan 28 <sup>th</sup> 1865
3	Isaac Temper	"	June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to Capt by S.O. No. 12 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> dated June 4 <sup>th</sup> 1865
4	Henry Dick	"	" 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to Capt by S.O. No. 12 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> dated June 4 <sup>th</sup> 1865
5	Nathan Doyle	"	" 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to Capt by S.O. No. 12 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> dated June 4 <sup>th</sup> 1865
6	August Landon	"	" 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Promoted to Capt by S.O. No. 12 from Regt 11 <sup>th</sup> Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> dated June 4 <sup>th</sup> 1865
7	Newton Lincoln	"	Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 1863	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. date of promotion not given
8	Henry Crump	"	" 21 <sup>st</sup> 1863	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. date of promotion not given
	Thos. Westbrook	"	June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1866	
	Clairborne McClain	"	June 1 <sup>st</sup> 1866	

### REGISTER OF MEN TRANSFERRED.

No.	Names.	Rank.	When.	By whose Order.	What Reason.	Remarks.
1	Samuel White	Priv	Aug 29/65	to C.C. & B. authority	to equalize the companies	transferred to C. 14
2	Abraham Courtney	"	"	"	"	"
3	Joe Johnson	"	"	"	"	"
4	Jack Laundry	"	"	"	"	"
5	Jesse Sanders	"	"	"	"	"
6	<del>John Hatcher</del>	<del>"</del>	<del>Aug 5/65</del>	<del>"</del>	<del>discharged</del>	<del>to the 6<sup>th</sup> Co</del>
7	<del>Wm. Aber</del>	<del>Corpl</del>	<del>May 20/65</del>	<del>"</del>	<del>"</del>	<del>from Co. C. to Co. H.</del>

### REGISTER OF MEN TRANSFERRED.

No.	Names.	Rank.	When.	By whose Order.	What Reason.	Remarks.
1	William Aber	Private	May 20/65			from Co. C. to Co. B.
2	Henry Crump	Corpl	July 12/65			
3	Anton Linichar	"	" 12/65			
4	John Battice	Private	" 12/65			
5	John Vedar	"	" 12/65			
6	Charles Bruce	"	" 12/65			
7	James Cannon	"	" 12/65			
8	Cyrus Pruear	"	" 12/65			
9	Samuel Richaw	"	" 12/65			
10	Geno Graybaugh	"	" 12/65			
11	Henry Graybaugh	"	" 12/65			
12	Frederick Graybaugh	"	" 12/65			
13	Brazil Laundry	"	" 12/65			
14	Sally Ramey	"	" 12/65			
15	George Washington	"	" 12/65			
16	Jesse Hill	"	" 12/65			

### REGISTER OF MEN DISCHARGED.

No.	Names.	Rank.	When.	By Whose Order.	Where.	Remarks.
1	Samuel Wilson	Priv	July 11/65	to C. & B. authority	Baton Rouge La	Disability
2	John Gowan	Corporal	June 24/65	to C. & B. authority	Baranacas Flt	"
3	Alfred Hawkins	Private	" 11/65	"	"	"

## REGISTER OF DEATHS.

No.	Names.	Rank.	When.	Where.	Cause.	Remarks.
1	John Antwerp	Priv	July 14/61	Batavia	Disease	
2	Samuel Summers	Private	July 24/61	T. H. S. S.	Disease	
3	Thomas Kelley	"	" 26/61	"	"	
4	Lee Rogers	"	Sept 16/61	"	"	
5	William Johnson	Capt	" 11/61	"	"	
6	Samuel Wilson	Priv	Oct 25/61	"	"	
7	Thomas Lee	"	Nov 2/61	"	"	
8	Jack Bacon	"	Jan 1/62	"	"	
9	Charles Smith	"	" 2/62	"	"	
10	Geo Washington	"	April 14/62	"	"	
11	Shadrach Handy	"	" 15 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	
12	Chatteff	"	May 5 <sup>th</sup>	Barrancas	"	
13	Sandy Allen	"	April 25 <sup>th</sup>	Hudon	"	
14	Joseph Edwards	"	Sept 8 <sup>th</sup>	Barrancas	"	
15	Sam Miller	"	" 12 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	
16	Robert Parker	"	" 20 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	
17	Allen Wain	"	Nov 13 <sup>th</sup>	Fort Richmond	Small pox	
18	Oliver Woodin	"	Nov 17 <sup>th</sup>	Barrancas	Small pox	
19	Henry Jackson	"	Jan 1 <sup>st</sup> 62	"	Dysentery	
20	William Atkinson	"	" 1 <sup>st</sup>	"	"	
21	James Taylor	"	Feb 23 <sup>rd</sup> 62	"	Pneumonia	died at Regt Hospital
22	Henry Clay	"	Apr 12 <sup>th</sup>	Blakely	W. M. in action	
23	Levi Steph	"	" 14 <sup>th</sup>	Barrancas	Dysentery	
24	Major Pleasant	"	June 18 <sup>th</sup>	Fort Mifflin	"	
25	Sam Smith	"	" 21 <sup>st</sup>	Appalachia	"	died at Regt Hospital
26	Robert Thompson	"	July 16 <sup>th</sup>	"	Consumption	died at Regt Hospital
27	Abraham Mathys	"	Sept 1 <sup>st</sup>	Union	Wound	
28	John Smith	"	Nov 22 <sup>nd</sup>	Appalachia	Cholera	
29	James Carron	"	Dec 13 <sup>th</sup>	Barrancas	"	died at Regt Hospital

## REGISTER OF DESERTERS.

No.	Names.	Rank.	When.	From Where.	Remarks.
✓ 1	Leynes Taylor	Private	July 28/63	Fort Hudson	
✓ 2	Daniel Eclair	"	"	"	
✓ 3	William Atkinson	"	"	"	
✓ 4	John Randolph	"	"	"	
✓ 5	Andrew Billie	"	"	"	
✓ 6	E. Talbot	"	Aug 5/63	"	
✓ 7	James Russ	"	"	"	
✓ 8	George Sadeal	"	Sept 20/63	"	
✓ 9	Dwain Dantos	"	Oct 26/63	"	
✓ 10	Samuel Turner	"	Jan 3/64	"	
✓ 11	Stephen Burgess	"	Apr 11/64	"	
✓ 12	Antoin Dence	"	" 11/64	"	
✓ 13	Joseph Spowder	"	" 11/64	"	
<del>✓ 14</del>	<del>William Johnson</del>	<del>"</del>	<del>Sept 12/64</del>	<del>"</del>	
✓ 14	Wm Martin	"	July 27/65	Barrancas Fla	
✓ 15	Scott Robinson	"	" 27/65	"	..apprehended from desertion Oct 1/65
✓ 16	Briston H Coleman	"	Apr 23/65	Hudson La.	
✓ 17	Wm Taughm	"	Aug 5/65	Barrancas Fla	
✓ 18	Solomon Crosby	"	Apr 29/65	Selma Ala.	
✓ 19	Hollin Adee	"	May 11/65	Montgomery Ala.	never mustered
✓ 20	George Mathews	"	" 10/65	"	never mustered
✓ 21	Augustus Mathews	"	" 10/65	"	never mustered
✓ 22	Alford Hall	"	" 18/65	Mobile Ala.	never mustered
✓ 23	John Jewitt	"	" 18/65	"	never mustered
✓ 24	Emanuel Bassett	"	July 30/65	apprehended	

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY.

(9)

No.	NAMES.	AGE.	DESCRIPTION.						OCCUPATION.	
			HEIGHT.		Complexion.	EYES.	HAIR.	WHERE BORN.		
			Feet.	Inches.				Town or County.		State.
1	Amos Johnson	31	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Baltimore	Maryland	Woodsman
2	Ruston H. Coleman	24	Five	Four	Black	Black	Black	Halifax	Virginia	Writer
3	James Rues	19	Five	Five	Dark	Dark	Dark	Brown	La. Louisiana	Writer
4	James Taylor	23	Five	Five	Dark	Dark	Dark	Green	Kentucky	Labourer
5	John Randolph	22	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Franklin	North Carolina	Writer
6	William Johnson	21	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Jeff. Dist.	Louisiana	Farmer
7	Leopold Taylor	18	Five	Four	Black	Black	Black	Stonewall	La. Louisiana	Woodsman
8	Bernard Gardner	32	Five	Four	Black	Black	Black	Clarksville	Tennessee	Cropper
9	Abner Horn	22	Five	Four	Black	Black	Black	Fort Hudson	Louisiana	Farmer
10	Henry Todd	28	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Woodford	Kentucky	Farmer

Fifth REGIMENT, U. S. VOL.			
ENLISTMENT.			
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	REMARKS.
May 6 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	Detained at Regt. V M Dep't by Order from Regt. H. Q. Co. dated July 21 <sup>st</sup> 1863 Returned to Co by Order from Regt. H. Q. Co. dated off attached at P. H. July 21 <sup>st</sup> 1863
May 6 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	Deserted at Pt Hudson on Apr. 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1863
May 6 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	Deserted Aug 6 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Port Hudson La Never mustered
May 6 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	sent to Post Hospital at Barrancas Fla. Feb 10 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Died at Genl Hospital at Barrancas Fla. Feb 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1863 of the same Final statements forwarded Feb 25 <sup>th</sup> 1863
May 6 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	Deserted July 28 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
May 6 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	Corporal Died at Post Hospital La Sept 12 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
May 7 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	Deserted July 28 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
May 7 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	Mustered as 1st Sgt. Mch 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864. by Order from Regt. H. Q. Co. dated Mch 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864
May 7 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	
May 7 '63	Baton Rouge	Capt Holden Col. Zulawsky, 3 years or more	Mustered as Sgt. Mch 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864 by Order from Regt. H. Q. Co. dated Mch 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY.

(5)

No.	No.	NAMES.	AGE.	DESCRIPTION.							OCCUPATION.		
				HEIGHT.		COMPLEXION.	EYES.	HAIR.	WHERE BORN.				
				Feet.	Inches.				Town or County.	State.			
1	11	William Aber	18	Five	Eight 1/2	Black	Black	Black	Black	Porter	Bayou	Louisiana	Bayou
2	12	Nathan Doyle	27	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Marion	Georgia	Labourer	
3	13	Major Pleasant	20	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Clinton	Louisiana	Labourer	
4	14	George Washington	19	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Porter	Louisiana	Labourer	
5	15	Abner Sprigman	20	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Porter	Louisiana	Labourer	
6	16	Joseph Watter	20	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Porter	Louisiana	Labourer	
7	17	Charles Smith	18	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Porter	Louisiana	Labourer	
8	18	Daniel Ellcard	19	Five	Seven	Light	Black	Black	Black	Charleston	South Carolina	Labourer	
9	19	Daniel Webster	19	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Bellevue	Tennessee	Labourer	
10	20	Isaac Marton	32	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Edgely	South Carolina	Labourer	

Fifth REGIMENT, U. S. VOL			
ENLISTMENT			
WHEN	WHERE	BY WHOM	REMARKS
May 20 '63	Baker Range Camp	Co. 3	Transferred from Co. "G" to Co. "D" May 20 '63 Corporal promoted by Regt Promoted to 3rd Sgt from 1st Sgt Mohr by G.O. 1111 from Regt No. 1 dated March 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864 Reduced to the ranks by order of L.L. Galusha April 15 <sup>th</sup> 1865
May 7 '63	"	Capt Holden	Promoted to Capt Mohr 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1864. Reduced to the ranks May 7 <sup>th</sup> 1865. Promoted to 3rd Sgt Promoted to Corp by G.O. 1112 from Regt No. 1 dated June 5 <sup>th</sup> 1865
May 7 '63	"	Capt Holden	Promoted to Sgt Mohr 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864 by G.O. 1110 from Regt No. 1 dated March 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864 Reduced to the ranks by G.O. 1111 dated Nov 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1864. Promoted to 3rd Sgt Said for Sick Hospital for Regt No. 1 dated June 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 Final statements forwarded July 2 <sup>nd</sup> 1865
May 7 '63	"	Lt Smith	died at Fort Hudson La April 1864
May 7 '63	"	Capt Holden	"
May 7 '63	"	Lt Smith	"
May 8 '63	"	Lt Smith	died at Regt Hospital January 3 <sup>rd</sup> 1864
May 8 '63	"	Lt Smith	Deserted to Fort Hudson on Gun Boat May 8/63 Returned to Camp three days after May 11/63 Deserted July 28 <sup>th</sup> 1863
May 8 '63	"	Capt Holden	died at Regt Hospital Sept 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864
May 9 '63	"	"	Detached as Quartermaster at Camp 2 <sup>nd</sup> M by Order from Regt No. 1. Returned to Co for duty July 1 <sup>st</sup> 1864 Sent to Sick Hospital at Camassee 11 <sup>th</sup> Feb 1865 Returned to Co for duty June 15 <sup>th</sup> 1866

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF GUARDS

No.	NAMES	AGE	HEIGHT			COMPLEXION	EYES	HAIR	WHERE BORN	
			Feet.	Inches.					Town or County.	State.
1	William Adair	30	Five	Seven		Black	Black	Black	Baton Rouge	Louisiana
2	Israel Sander	22	Five	Seven		Black	Black	Black	Bayou Sara	Louisiana
3	Jack Landry	21	Five	Six		Black	Black	Black	Bayou Sara	Louisiana
4	Richard Sautiers	25	Five	Five		Black	Black	Black	Port Hudson	Louisiana
5	Robert Parker	21	Five	Four		Black	Black	Black	Charleston	South Carolina
6	Henry Gray	18	Five	Six		Black	Black	Black	Greene Co	Alabama
7	Isaac Wilson	24	Five	Six		Black	Black	Black	Baton Rouge	Louisiana
8	Eli Talbot	25	Five	Seven		Black	Black	Black	Baton Rouge	Louisiana
9	Anderson Pearson	22	Five	Six		Black	Black	Black	Bayou Sara	Louisiana
10	Thomas Kelley	21	Five	Six		Black	Black	Black	Jackson	Louisiana

<i>Fifth</i> REGIMENT, U. S. Vols				
ENLISTMENT.				
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.	REMARKS.
May 9-63	Baton Rouge	Capt. Holden		
May 11-63	Baton Rouge			Confessed - Promoted to Capt Aug 13 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Reduced to the ranks July 23 <sup>rd</sup> by order of Col. Galveston Promoted to Corporal by S.O. No 12 from Reg <sup>t</sup> H. O. Det <sup>l</sup> Appalachicola Fla. June 17 <sup>th</sup> 1865.
May 11-63	Baton Rouge			Transferred to Co "H." August 30 <sup>th</sup> 1863 by order Lieut. Col L. Zubarsky
May 11-63	Baton Rouge	Lt. Maynard		
May 11-63	Baton Rouge	Lt. Smith		Died at Ry <sup>l</sup> Hapt. Sept 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864 at Annapolis Md (Seoury)
May 14-63	Baton Rouge	Lt. Smith		Killed in Front of Blakey's, Apr 11 <sup>th</sup> 1865. Final statement forwarded Apr 11 <sup>th</sup> 1865.
May 14-63	Baton Rouge	Capt. Holden		Discharged for disability July 11 <sup>th</sup> 1863 by order New mustered
May 14-63	Baton Rouge	Capt. Holden		Deserted Aug 8 <sup>th</sup> 1863 New mustered
May 14-63	Baton Rouge	Lt. Maynard		
May 14-63	Baton Rouge	Lt. Maynard		Died July 2 <sup>nd</sup> 1863 New mustered

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY

REGIMENT	NAMES	AGE	HEIGHT		COMPLEXION	EYES	HAIR	WHERE BORN		WH
			Feet	Inches				Town or County	State	
	Milton Thompson	18	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Talala	Mississippi	July 1864
	John Smith	21	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Galveston	Texas	February 1864
	Sountain Johnson	23	Five	Six	Black	Black	Black	Smythburg	Virginia	January 1864
	Samuel Turner	23	Five	Six	Black	Black	Black	Chapman	Tennessee	January 1864
	Jeffer Sanders	22	Five	Six	Dark	Black	Black	Jackson	Mississippi	February 1864
	Lemuel White	19	Six	One	Dark	Black	Black	Clinton	Louisiana	February 2, 1864
	Avian Anderson	20	Five	Eight	Black	Black	Black	Port Hudson	Louisiana	February 19, 1864
	Edmond Puffin	25	Five	Nine	Black	Black	Black	Milliken	Louisiana	February 1864
	Henry Jackson	14	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Robinson	Tennessee	February 17, 1864
	Joe Edwards	29	Five	Six	Black	Black	Black			June 11, 1864

Fifth REGIMENT, U. S. VOL				ENLISTMENT.	REMARKS.
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.		
May 14-63	Baton Rouge	St Smith			
May 16-63	Baton Rouge	St Smith			Died at Regt Hospital at Fort Jefferson Fla. Nov. 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1865 Final statement forwarded Nov 24 <sup>th</sup> 1865.
May 16-63	Baton Rouge	St Smith			Ordered to A. O. Davis 22 <sup>nd</sup> Co. as guard to prisoners returned to Co January 27 <sup>th</sup> 1865 Promoted to Capt. Mch 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864 by Oct 10 from Regt H. O. O. dated Mch 20 <sup>th</sup> 1865 Promoted to Lt by S. O. 1862 from Regt H. O. O. dated June 15 <sup>th</sup> 1865.
May 16-63	Baton Rouge	St Smith			Deserted January 3 <sup>rd</sup> 1863 at Hudson Ld.
May 16-63	Baton Rouge	H. Morgan			Transferred to Co 2 <sup>d</sup> Aug 30 <sup>th</sup> 1863 by order from Lt Col L. L. Fulwaker
May 20-63	Baton Rouge	Capt. Adams			Transferred to Co 2 <sup>d</sup> Aug 30 <sup>th</sup> 1863 by order from Lt Col L. L. Fulwaker
May 19-63	Baton Rouge	Capt. Adams			Died at Regt Hospital Jan 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865
May 19-63	Baton Rouge	St Smith			Promoted to Capt. Mch 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864 Promoted to Sgt. Mch 15 <sup>th</sup> 1864 by S. O. 1864 from Regt H. O. O. dated April 15 <sup>th</sup> 1864 Reduced to the ranks by S. O. 1864 from H. O. O. dated of Jackson Fla. dated July 15 <sup>th</sup> 1864.
May 17-63	Baton Rouge	St Smith			Died at Regt Hospital Jan 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865
June 11-63	New Orleans	Lt. L. L. Fulwaker			died at Regt Hospital Sept 8 <sup>th</sup> 1865

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY

NAMES	AGE	HEIGHT		COMPLEXION	EYES	HAIR	WHERE BORN	
		Feet	Inches				Town or County	State
1) Levy Stevens	23	Five	Two	Dark	Black	Black	Plantersburg	La
2) Dick Stash	21	Five	Three	Black	Black	Black	Orleans Co	Louisiana
3) Henry James	30	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Savannah	Georgia
4) Joe Johnson (Pacul)	19	Five	Four	Black	Black	Black	Savannah	Georgia
5) Peter Jones	22	Five	Four	Black	Black	Black	Jasper Co	Georgia
6) John Jefferson	25	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	New Orleans	Louisiana
Jarrison Summers	21	Five	Eight	Black	Black	Black	Louisville	Mississippi
John Antwerp	38	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	San Antonio	Louisiana
Sandy Allen	24	Five	Six	Black	Black	Black	Randolph Co	North Carolina
Abraham Courtney	25	Five	Three	Black	Black	Black	Port Hudson	Louisiana

**REGIMENT, U. S. Vol**

J. J. J.

ENLISTMENT.				REMARKS.
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.	
June 11-63	New Orleans	Lieut. Foley		Died at Post Hospital at Barrancas Fort, Sept 14 <sup>th</sup> 1865. Final statement forwarded June 3 <sup>rd</sup> 1865.
June 11-63	New Orleans	Lieut. Foley		Enticed by S.O. No 351 Ex 31 from War Dept. dated Washington D.C. July 5 <sup>th</sup> 1865. To serve the remainder of his enlistment in confinement & ad. to receive \$2.50 per month pay. Sent to Dry Tortugas
June 11-63	New Orleans	Lieut. Foley		
June 11-63	New Orleans	Lieut. Foley		Transferred to Co "H" Aug 30/63 by order Lieut. Col L. L. Zulausky
June 11-63	New Orleans	Lieut. Foley		
June 11-63	New Orleans	Lieut. Foley		
June 15-63	Baton Rouge	capt H Majors Lister		Died July 24 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
June 15-63	Baton Rouge	capt H Majors Lister		Died July 16 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
June 15-63	Baton Rouge	capt H Majors Lister		Sent to Post Guard House January 17 <sup>th</sup> 1863. Returned to Co Jan 25 <sup>th</sup> 1864. Died at Post Guardhouse at Ft. Hudson La. Feb 5 <sup>th</sup> 1864
June 16-63	Baton Rouge	Ironquard Majors Lister		Transferred to Co H by order Lt. Col Zulausky Aug 30/63

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY

NAMES	AGE	HEIGHT		COMPLEXION	EYES		HAIR		WHERE BORN	
		Feet	Inches		Town or County	State	Town or County	State		
		DESCRIPTION								
Oliver Woodin	30	Five	6	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	St. Landry	Louisiana
Henry Dick	22	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	St. Landry	Louisiana
Clairborn Mc Lane	20	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Jackson	Mississippi
John Howan	23	Five	Seven	Light	Black	Black	Black	Black	Jefferson	Louisiana
William Atkinson	22	Five	Eight	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Jackson	Mississippi
Andrew Pitts	22	Five	Eight	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Cluston	Louisiana
George Fodeal	22	Five	Six	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	N.D.	Louisiana
Louis Jackson	22	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Bayou Lafourche	Louisiana
Nathan Saltzman	28	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Bayou Lafourche	Louisiana
Eugene Ballan	24	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	New Orleans	Louisiana

ENLISTMENT			REMARKS
WHERE	BY WHOM	TERM	
1863	Baker Range Major <i>Holden</i>		Sic at Post West House Nov 11 <sup>th</sup> 1861 (small post)
1863	Baker Range Major <i>Holden</i>		Promoted to Corporal by G.O. from Reg't 11 <sup>th</sup> Q. dated Jan 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1865. (Reduced to the ranks by order of G.O. dated Apr 20 <sup>th</sup> 1865. Promoted to Corp by G.O. 20 <sup>th</sup> Nov 12 from Reg't 11 <sup>th</sup> Q. dated June 27 <sup>th</sup> 1865.
1863	Baker Range Major <i>Holden</i>		
1863	Baker Range Capt <i>Holden</i>		In arrest at A.C.O Dec 26. 1863. for desertion changed to Post Guard House at Ft Hudson La Fined by G.O. at Ft Hudson La (not guilty) returned to Co June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1864. Promoted to Corp and 7 <sup>th</sup> Reg't Discharged in compliance with G.O. 677 from Ft. (see List) June 27 <sup>th</sup> 1865. Deserted July 28 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
1863	Baker Range Major <i>Holden</i>		Deserted July 28 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
1863	Baker Range Capt <i>Holden</i>		Deserted July 28 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
1863	New O Lt <i>H. W. Toby</i>		Deserted September 20. 1863.
1863	New O Lt <i>H. W. Toby</i>		
1863	New O Lt <i>H. W. Toby</i>		Coorporal Jan 12 <sup>th</sup> 1864 by G.O. 4 from Reg't 11 <sup>th</sup> Q. (one dated Feb 1 <sup>st</sup> 1864) On detached service at Div <sup>n</sup> Sta Gns. S.C. No. reported permanently Jan 20. 1864. Returned to Reg't for duty Apr 17 <sup>th</sup> 1864
1863	New O Lt <i>H. W. Toby</i>		

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY

NAMES	AGE	HEIGHT.		COMPLEXION	EYES	HAIR.	WHERE BORN.		OCCUPATION
		Feet.	Inches.				Town or County.	State.	
Wellington Johnson	25	Five	Six	Black	Black	Black	Woodburn	Louisiana	Farmer
Jonas Turner	36	Five	Nine	Black	Black	Black	Ellington	Ala.	Cook
Abraham Belser	23	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Dayton	Lafayette La	Farmer
Robert Thyson	22	Five	Nine	Black	Black	Black	Jackson	Miss	Farmer
Joseph Brown	24	Five	Eight	Black	Black	Black	Robinson	La	Farmer
Shadrach Handy	22	Five	Seven	Light	Black	Black	Jackson	La	Farmer
Charles Jeff	35	Five	Six	Light	Black	Black	Watches	Miss	Farmer
Francois Jules	19	Five	Eight	Light	Light	Black	John Baptist	La	None
Elijah Murphy	22	Five	Seven	Dark	Black	Black	Terra Buff	La	Farmer
August Lacoutan	25	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Terra Buff	La	Farmer

ENLISTMENT.				REMARKS.
WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.		
Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>	New O Liberty	3 years	or more	
Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>	New O Liberty			Detained as ambulance driver at Regt <sup>l</sup> Hosp <sup>l</sup> by S. Co. from Regt <sup>l</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> Ill <sup>th</sup> Inf <sup>y</sup>
Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>	New O Liberty			Detained as ambulance driver at Regt <sup>l</sup> Hosp <sup>l</sup> by S. Co. from Regt <sup>l</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> Ill <sup>th</sup> Inf <sup>y</sup> returned to Co
Aug 13	New O Liberty			Died at Regt <sup>l</sup> Hosp <sup>l</sup> at Appalacheicola Fla July 16 <sup>th</sup> 1864
Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>	New O Liberty			
Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>	New O Liberty			Died at Port Hudson La. Apr 10 <sup>th</sup> 1864
Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>	New O Liberty			Died at Regt <sup>l</sup> Hosp <sup>l</sup> at Baranacas Fla. Mar 5 <sup>th</sup> 1864
Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>	New O Liberty			
Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>	New O Liberty			
Aug 13 <sup>th</sup>	New O Liberty			Promoted to Corporal by S. Co. 12 from Regt <sup>l</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> Ill <sup>th</sup> Inf <sup>y</sup> dated Appalacheicola Fla June 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1864 Reduced to the rank of Private by S. Co. 12 from Regt <sup>l</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> Ill <sup>th</sup> Inf <sup>y</sup> dated June 24 <sup>th</sup> 1864

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF

NAMES.	AGE.	HEIGHT.		Complexion.	EYES.	HAIR.	WHERE BORN.		OCCUPATION.
		Feet.	Inches.				Town or County.	State.	
Henry Benjamin	30	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Baltimore	MD	Carpenter
Edward Arant	22	Five	Seven	Black	Black	Black	Racine	Texas	House
Peter Ambrose	19	Five	Four	Black	Black	Black	Blasmin	LA	Farm
Alfred Hawkins	22	Five	Four	Black	Black	Black	Bata Rouge	LA	Farm
Spencer Chaney	21	Five	Six	Light	Black	Black	Alexandria	LA	Farm
Scott Robinson	21	Five	Six	Light	Black	Black	Martinsburg	VA	Farmer
Jack Baum	19	Six	Six	Light	Black	Black	Liberty	Miss	Farm
Lee Royce	20	Five	Four	Dark	Black	Black	Lock Labor	Miss	Farm
Dorson Carlos	23	Five	Five	Black	Black	Black	Springfield	LA	Farm
Samuel Wilson	30	Five	Eight	Light	Black	Black	Mitco	Miss	Farm

ENLISTMENT.				REMARKS.
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.	
Aug 18 <sup>th</sup> 1863	Port Hudson	L. R. Smith	3 years	Presented to Corp by SO from Regt. 11 <sup>th</sup> Q. 2 <sup>d</sup> dated Jan 22 <sup>nd</sup> 1865
Aug 19 <sup>th</sup> 1863	Port Hudson	John Cannon		
Aug 20 <sup>th</sup> 1863	Port Hudson	L. R. Smith		sent to Regt Hospital at Baranacas Fla. Feb 17 <sup>th</sup> 1864 Discharged in compliance with SO 1677 from War Dept dated Washington DC, Oct 28 <sup>th</sup> 1865. Date of discharge June 16 <sup>th</sup> 1865
Aug 21 <sup>st</sup> 1863	Port Hudson	L. R. Smith		
Aug 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1863	Port Hudson	Geo. W. Hayward		Deserted July 27 <sup>th</sup> 1864 from Baranacas Fla. Apprehended from desertion Oct 21 <sup>st</sup> 1864 Sentenced by C.M. at Baranacas Fla. to 6 mos hard labor at Ft. Pickens 500 cents cash paid, & reported to his Co. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Regt 8 <sup>th</sup> 1865
Sept 1 <sup>st</sup> 1863	Port Hudson	Geo. W. Hayward		Died at Regt. Hospital January 1 <sup>st</sup> 1864 Mustered Oct 12 <sup>th</sup> 1863, at Port Hudson La. by Maj. Ward 3 <sup>rd</sup> Regt 10 <sup>th</sup>
Sept 12 <sup>th</sup> 1863	Port Hudson	L. R. Smith		Died Sept 26 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
Sept 13 <sup>th</sup> 1863	Port Hudson	Geo. W. Hayward		Deserted October 26 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered
Sept 14 <sup>th</sup> 1863	Port Hudson	Geo. W. Hayward		Died at Regt. Hospital October 25 <sup>th</sup> 1863 Never mustered

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY. O

NAMES.	AGE.	HEIGHT.		Complexion.	EYES.	HAIR.	WHERE BORN.		OCCUPATION.
		Feet.	Inches				Town or County	State.	
8 Sylvester Westbrook	25	Five	Seven	Light Black	Black	Black	Wit Co	Miss	Farmer
9 Thomas Westbrook	18	Five	Four	Light Black	Black	Black	Wit Co	Miss	Farmer
10 Joseph Monroe	18	Five	Two	Black	Black	Black	St Charles Co	France	Farmer
11 Thomas Lee	20	Five	Eight	Light Black	Black	Black	Transporton	Miss	Farmer
12 Thornton Jackson	21	Five	Eight	Light Black	Black	Black	Jackson	La	Farmer
13 Stephen Burgess	28	Five	Six	Black	Black	Black	Jackson	La	Blacksmith
14 Joseph Browder	21	Six	5/4	Black	Black	Black	Bayou Sara	La	Farmer
15 Antoin Sene	26	Five	1 1/4	Black	Black	Black	Bayou Sara	La	Farmer
16 Henry Camille	18	Five	6	Light Black	Black	Black	Bayou Sara	La	Farmer
17 William Vaughn	23	Five	7	Light Black	Black	Black	Assucola	Fla	Coop

**REGIMENT, U. S. Corps d'Afrique**

ENLISTMENT.				REMARKS.
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.	
Sept 17 <sup>th</sup> 63	Port Hudson	Geo. H. Maynard (3 years)		Mustered Oct 29 <sup>th</sup> 63, at Port Hudson La. by my hand 3 <sup>rd</sup> c d a promoted to Corporal Davis 24 <sup>th</sup> 1864 by P.O. 1010 from Reg't 11 <sup>th</sup> Q. dated March 20 <sup>th</sup> 1864 Promoted to Sgt by P.O. 112 from Reg't 11 <sup>th</sup> Q. dated June 5 <sup>th</sup> 1864
Sept 17 <sup>th</sup> 63	Port Hudson	Geo. H. Maynard	"	Mustered Oct 29 <sup>th</sup> 63, at Port Hudson La. by my hand 3 <sup>rd</sup> c d a
Sept 17 <sup>th</sup> 63	Port Hudson	Capt. Allen	"	Mustered Oct 29 <sup>th</sup> 63, at Port Hudson La. by my hand 3 <sup>rd</sup> c d a
Oct 5 <sup>th</sup> 63	Port Hudson	Capt. Miller	"	Died at Reg't Hospital November 21, 1863
Oct 8 <sup>th</sup> 64	Port Hudson	Capt. Smith	"	Mustered Sept 7 <sup>th</sup> 64, at Port Hudson La. by my hand 3 <sup>rd</sup> c d a
Mar 12 <sup>th</sup> 64	"	S. Manning	"	Deserted at Port Hudson La. April 11 <sup>th</sup> 64 Never mustered
Mar 12 <sup>th</sup> 64	"	"	"	Deserted at Port Hudson La. April 11 <sup>th</sup> 64. Never mustered
Mar 12 <sup>th</sup> 64	"	"	"	Deserted at Port Hudson La. April 11 <sup>th</sup> 64 Never mustered
Mar 12 <sup>th</sup> 64	"	"	"	Mustered Sept 7 <sup>th</sup> 64, at Port Hudson La. by my hand 3 <sup>rd</sup> c d a
May 2 <sup>nd</sup> 64	Barrancas Sta.	Capt. Smith	"	Deserted at Barrancas Sta. Aug 5 <sup>th</sup> 64 Never mustered

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY.

No.	NAMES.	AGE.	DESCRIPTION.						OCCUPATION.	
			HEIGHT.		Complexion.	EYES.	HAIR	WHERE BORN.		
			Feet.	Inches				Town or County		State.
91	George Martin	23	5	5 1/2	Dark	Black	Black	St. Lawrence	Penn	Sailor
92	Joseph Winn	21	5	6 1/2	Light	Black	Black	Marion	Fla	Farmer
93	Allen Winn	25	5	6 1/2						
94	Wesley Winn	19	5	6	Dark					
95	Jacob Winn	18	5	6 1/2	Black					
96	Augustus Haddle	19	5	4 1/2						
97	Robert Haddle	23	5	4	Dark					Writer
98	Don Smith	19	5	11	Black			Steward	Georgia	Farmer
99	Jacob Smith	14	5	8	Light					
100	Albert Bush	20	5	7	Black					Writer

ENLISTMENT.				REMARKS.
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.	
June 27 <sup>th</sup> 1864	Barrancas Fla	Capt Smith or Coan	3 Years	Presented at Barrancas Fla July 27 <sup>th</sup> 1864 Never mustered
Oct 27 <sup>th</sup>	Barrancas Fla	"	"	Mustered Oct 27 <sup>th</sup> 1864 at Barrancas Fla by Lt Richardson
" 7 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	Died at Post House at Fort Pickens Nov 13 <sup>th</sup> 1864 Never mustered (Small pox)
" 7 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	Mustered Jan 31 <sup>st</sup> 1865 at New Orleans La by 2 <sup>d</sup> Lt Hamilton 1 <sup>st</sup> ad. 20/4
" 7 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	Mustered Jan 31 <sup>st</sup> 1865 at New Orleans La by 2 <sup>d</sup> Lt Hamilton 1 <sup>st</sup> ad. 20/4
" 7 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	Mustered Oct 27 <sup>th</sup> 1864 at Barrancas Fla by Lt Richardson
" 7 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	Mustered Oct 27 <sup>th</sup> 1864 at Barrancas Fla by Lt Richardson
" 7 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	Mustered Oct 27 <sup>th</sup> 1864 at Barrancas Fla by Lt Richardson Died at Post Hosp <sup>l</sup> at Appalacheicola Fla Jan 21 <sup>st</sup> 1865 Final statement forwarded Jan 23 <sup>rd</sup> 65
" 7 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	Mustered Oct 27 <sup>th</sup> 1864 at Barrancas Fla by Lt Richardson
" 7 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	Mustered Jan 31 <sup>st</sup> 1865 at New Orleans La by 2 <sup>d</sup> Lt Hamilton 1 <sup>st</sup> ad. 20/4

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY.

No.	NAMES.	AGE.	DESCRIPTION.						OCCUPATION.	
			HEIGHT.		Complexion.	EYES.	HAIR	WHERE BORN.		
			Feet.	Inches				Town or County		State.
1	Frank Russ	18	5	1/2	Light	Dark	Black	Merriam	Florida	Farmer
2	Solomon Crosby	22	5	8	Dark	"	"	Cross Station	"	"
3	Thomas Williams	21	5	9	"	"	"	Monroe	La	"
4	James Smith	32	6	2	"	"	"	"	"	"
5	Ransom Smith	21	5	10	Light	"	"	"	"	"
6	Nicodemus Smith	22	5	8	Dark	"	"	"	"	"
7	Emanuel Russell	21	5	8	"	"	"	"	"	"
8	Jerry Howard	25	5	7	"	"	"	"	"	"
9	Richard Taylor	22	5	10	"	"	"	"	"	"
10	Thomas Calhoun	19	5	6	"	"	"	Columbus	Ge	"

ENLISTMENT.				REMARKS.
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.	
Jan 26 <sup>th</sup> 1865	Commerce	Capt. J. H. Smith	3 years	Mustered Jan 21 <sup>st</sup> 1865 at New Orleans La. by Lt. H. H. Houghton 1 <sup>st</sup> U.S.C.
March 7 <sup>th</sup> 1865	Cannon Station	"	"	From Mustered at Blakeley Ala. by Lt. W. M. Douglas 48 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. Mustered at Selma Ala. April 27 <sup>th</sup> 1865
April 26 <sup>th</sup> 1865	Bridgeport	"	"	Mustered April 28 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Selma Ala. by Lt. W. M. Douglas 48 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.
"	"	"	"	Mustered April 28 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Selma Ala. by Lt. W. M. Douglas 48 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.
"	"	"	"	Mustered April 28 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Selma Ala. by Lt. W. M. Douglas 48 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.
"	"	"	"	Mustered April 28 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Selma Ala. by Lt. W. M. Douglas 48 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.
"	"	"	"	Mustered April 28 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Selma Ala. by Lt. W. M. Douglas 48 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C. Mustered July 30 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Appalacheicola Fla.
"	"	"	"	Mustered April 28 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Selma Ala. by Lt. W. M. Douglas 48 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.
May 1 <sup>st</sup> 1865	Montgomery	"	"	Mustered May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Mobile Ala. by Lt. Houghton 1 <sup>st</sup> U.S.C.
"	"	"	"	Mustered May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Mobile Ala. by Lt. Houghton 1 <sup>st</sup> U.S.C.

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY.

No.	NAMES.	AGE.	DESCRIPTION.						OCCUPATION.	
			HEIGHT.		Complexion.	EYES.	HAIR	WHERE BORN.		
			Feet.	Inches				Town or County		State.
111	William Jones	24	5	4	Blk	Blk	Blk	Montgomery Ala.	Farmer	
112	William Callaway	21	5	6	"	"	"	"	"	
113	Andy Taylor	18	5	5	"	"	"	"	"	
114	Hollin ad	18	5	7	"	"	"	"	"	
115	Abraham Mathews	21	5	4	"	"	"	"	"	
116	John Jewitt	20	5	4	"	"	"	"	"	
117	Leiford Hall	23	5	8	"	"	"	"	"	
118	Primus Mathews	20	5	7	"	"	"	Charleston SC	"	
119	George Mathews	23	5	10	"	"	"	Cal	"	
120	Harvey Watts	18	5	7	"	"	"	Charleston SC	"	

# REGIMENT, U. S.

ENLISTMENT.				REMARKS.
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.	
May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865	Montgomery	W. H. H. Jones		Mustered May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Mobile Ala. by Lt. Houghton 5 <sup>th</sup> Regt.
"	"	"	"	Mustered May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Mobile Ala. by Lt. Houghton 5 <sup>th</sup> Regt.
"	"	"	"	Mustered May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Mobile Ala. by Lt. Houghton 5 <sup>th</sup> Regt.
"	"	"	"	Never Mustered, Deserted at Montgomery Ala. May 17 <sup>th</sup> 1865
"	"	"	"	Mustered May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Mobile Ala. by Lt. Houghton 5 <sup>th</sup> Regt. Was drawn from 1 <sup>st</sup> Co. drawn out with up. Capt. Black. etc. on Sept 4 <sup>th</sup> 1865. Final Statement forwarded Sept 15 <sup>th</sup> 1865.
"	"	"	"	Never Mustered, Deserted at Mobile Ala. May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865
"	"	"	"	Never Mustered, Deserted at Mobile Ala. May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865
"	"	"	"	Mustered May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Mobile Ala. by Lt. Houghton 5 <sup>th</sup> Regt.
"	"	"	"	Never Mustered, Deserted at Montgomery Ala. May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865
"	"	"	"	Mustered May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Mobile Ala. by Lt. Houghton 5 <sup>th</sup> Regt.

# DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF COMPANY.

NAMES.	AGE.	DESCRIPTION.						OCCUPATION.	
		HEIGHT.		Complexion.	EYES.	HAIR.	WHERE BORN.		
		Feet.	Inches				Town or County		State.
<i>Begin</i> 1 Augustus Mathews	21	5	9	Black	Black	Black	Wilmington	Sc	Blacksmith
22 Nelson Sims	22	5	9	"	"	"	Wilkinson	N.C.	Farmer
23 Henry Crump	33	5	10	"	"	"	Richmond	va.	"
24 Anton Lincha	32	6	4	Yellow	"	"	St. Marys Par	La.	Carpenter
25 John Battice	34	6	3	Black	"	"	St. Martinville	La.	Farmer
26 John Vedar	30	5	3	"	"	"	St. Marys Par	La.	"
27 Charles Bucci	25	5	10 1/2	"	"	"	New Orleans	La.	"
28 James Cannon	30	5	6	"	"	"	Richmond	va.	"
29 Cyrus Brucan	26	5	10	"	"	"	Texas Par	La.	"
30 Samba Reshaw	19	5	7 1/2	"	"	"	Hamilton	La.	"

REGIMENT, U. S.

ENLISTMENT.				REMARKS.
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.	
May 27 63	New Jersey	(for 20 years)		Not mustered. Decided May 10 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at New Jersey as in
5 63	"	"	"	Mustered May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1865 at Mobile Ala. by Lieut. Houghton 20 years
Nov 4 63	New Orleans	J. Whitlock		Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E 7 dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Sept of the Gulf New Orleans La June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Orleans La. by Lt. M. Callister by J. H. Hancher Promoted to Capt. Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 1863.
Oct 12 63	"	J. R. Wallace		Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E 7 dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Sept of New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Orleans La. by Lt. M. Callister by J. H. Hancher Promoted to Capt. Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 1863.
Oct 25 63	"	E. Bigelow		Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E 7 dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Sept of New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Orleans La. by Lt. M. Callister by J. H. Hancher
Nov 12 63	"	J. Whitlock		Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E 7 dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Sept of New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 64) Mustered Feb 28 64 at Franklin La. by Capt. Annable by J. H. Hancher
Oct 31 63	"	J. M. Hancher		Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E 7 dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Sept of New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Orleans La. by Lt. M. Callister by J. H. Hancher
Nov 12 63	"	J. Whitlock		Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E 7 dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Sept of New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Orleans La. by Lt. M. Callister by J. H. Hancher Died at Regt. Hospital at Barrancade St. of Cholera Diarrhea Final Statement forwarded Dec 15 <sup>th</sup> 1865
Nov 7 63	"	"		Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E 7 dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Sept of New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Orleans La. by Lt. M. Callister by J. H. Hancher
Jan 4 64	Franklin La	J. M. Hancher		Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E 7 dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Sept of New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 64) Mustered Feb 20 64 at Franklin La. by Capt. Annable by J. H. Hancher Died at New Orleans La. Feb 20 64. Final Statement forwarded to the Adj. Gen. Feb 25 64.

# ROLL OF COMPANY.

NAMES.	AGE.	DESCRIPTION.							OCCUPATION.
		HEIGHT.		Complexion.	EYES.	HAIR	WHERE BORN.		
		Feet.	Inches				Town or County	State.	
31 Jens Gravenbaugh	30	5	8	Black	Black	Black	St Marys Pa	La	Farmer
32 Henry Gravenbaugh	30	5	10	Yellow	"	"	"	"	"
33 Thomas Gravenbaugh	40	5	9 1/2	Black	"	"	"	"	"
34 Brazil Landry	25	5	9	"	"	"	"	"	"
35 Gable Rawetz	28	5	8 1/2	"	"	"	Salt mine	"	"
36 George Washington	28	5	8 1/2	"	"	"	St Marys Pa	"	"
37 Jesse Gill	29	5	8	"	"	"	Salt mine	"	"

# REGIMENT, U. S.

ENLISTMENT.				REMARKS.
WHEN.	WHERE.	BY WHOM.	TERM.	
Oct 10/63	New Orleans	J. M. Blauvelt	3 Years	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E.D. dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1865 New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 <sup>th</sup> 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Iberia La. by Lt M <sup>o</sup> Callister Maj. H. H. Hanson
10/63	"	"	"	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E.D. dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1865 New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 <sup>th</sup> 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Iberia La. by Lt M <sup>o</sup> Callister Maj. H. H. Hanson
10/63	"	"	"	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E.D. dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1865 New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 <sup>th</sup> 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Iberia La. by Lt M <sup>o</sup> Callister Maj. H. H. Hanson
10/63	"	"	"	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E.D. dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1865 New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 <sup>th</sup> 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Iberia La. by Lt M <sup>o</sup> Callister Maj. H. H. Hanson
22/63	"	E. Bigelow	"	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E.D. dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1865 New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 <sup>th</sup> 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Iberia La. by Lt M <sup>o</sup> Callister Maj. H. H. Hanson
10/63	"	J. M. Blauvelt	"	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E.D. dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1865 New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 <sup>th</sup> 64) Mustered Nov 21 <sup>st</sup> 63 at New Iberia La. by Lt M <sup>o</sup> Callister Maj. H. H. Hanson
Oct 10/63	"	E. Bigelow	"	Transferred from 93 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C. by G.O. No 117 E.D. dated N <sup>o</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1865 New Orleans La. June 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1865. (Paid to Feb 28 <sup>th</sup> 64) Mustered at Franklin La. Feb 20 <sup>th</sup> 64 by Capt. Curran Col. Maj. H. H. Hanson



---

# Appendix B.

## Census Records, Dry Tortugas, 1850-1870

**SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in** *Portugal District* **in the County of** *Monroe* **State**  
**of** *Florida* **enumerated by me, on the** *24th* **day of** *Aug* **1850.** *W. Mabry* Ass<sup>t</sup> Marshal **146**

1	2	3	DESCRIPTION.			7	8	9	10 11 12			13
			Age.	Sex.	Color.				Married within the year.	Attended school within the year.	Deaf, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.	
		The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.				Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	PLACE OF BIRTH. Naming the State, Territory, or Country.					
1	1	<i>H. G. Wright</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Engineman</i>	<i>Conn</i>					
2		<i>L. M. "</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>Id</i>					
3		<i>W. H. "</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>Id</i>					
4		<i>Ed. B. "</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>Id</i>					
5	2	<i>Geo. H. How</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Light House keeper</i>	<i>Vir of Va</i>					
6		<i>Annitta "</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>Germany</i>					
7		<i>Thomas "</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>Id</i>		<i>1</i>			
8		<i>Annitta "</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>"</i>					
9		<i>Thomas "</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>"</i>					
10		<i>Edgar "</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>"</i>					
11		<i>Pauline "</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>"</i>					
12	3	<i>L. H. Whitcomb</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Physician</i>	<i>Virginia</i>					
13		<i>Annitta "</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>Id</i>					
14		<i>Clarice "</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>Id</i>					
15	4	<i>David Marquis</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Carpenter</i>	<i>Ireland</i>					
16	5	<i>Franklin Morrison</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Idler</i>	<i>N. York</i>					
17		<i>Isabel "</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>"</i>					
18		<i>Melrose "</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>"</i>					
19		<i>Mary Grant</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>Germany</i>					
20	6	<i>Francis Kelly</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>		<i>Ireland</i>					
21		<i>John "</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>New York</i>					
22		<i>Thomas "</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>N. York</i>					
23		<i>William "</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>Id</i>					
24	7	<i>Henry Warren</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Sailor</i>	<i>Ireland</i>					
25		<i>Bridget "</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>"</i>					
26		<i>Franklin "</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>N. York</i>					
27		<i>Henry "</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>Kentucky</i>					
28		<i>Mabel "</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>Id</i>					
29		<i>John S. "</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>"</i>					
30		<i>Catherine "</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>F</i>			<i>"</i>					
31	8	<i>William Shields</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Laborer</i>	<i>Ireland</i>					
32		<i>Joseph Gray</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Mariner</i>	<i>Madison</i>					
33		<i>Joseph Moore</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Laborer</i>	<i>Id</i>					
34		<i>Henry Campbell</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Laborer</i>	<i>Ireland</i>					
35		<i>William George</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Mariner</i>	<i>Id</i>					
36		<i>John Cook</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Laborer</i>	<i>Ireland</i>					
37	9	<i>Lucas Phillips</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Mariner</i>	<i>Conn</i>					
38		<i>James Collier</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Engineman</i>	<i>N. York</i>					
39		<i>Harvey Westcott</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Laborer</i>	<i>Virginia</i>					
40	10	<i>James Addison</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Carpenter</i>	<i>Id</i>					
41												
42												

*James W. Smith*



847

SCHEDULE 2. Slave Inhabitants in Fortgas District in the County of Marion State of Florida, enumerated by me, on the 21 day of August, 1850. P.C. Maloney Ass't Marshal.

NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.		Number of Slaves.	DESCRIPTION.			Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.		Number of Slaves.	DESCRIPTION.			Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.
1	2		Age.	Sex.	Colour.				1	2		3	4	5			
1	<u>W. G. Whitt</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>M</u>					1	1							1
2	<u>W. Whitehead</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>B</u>				2	2							2
3		<u>1</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>B</u>				3	3							3
4		<u>1</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>B</u>				4	4							4
5		<u>1</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>B</u>				5	5							5
6		<u>1</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>B</u>				6	6							6
7	<u>no</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>B</u>				7	7							7
8		<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>B</u>				8	8							8
9									9	9							9
10									10	10							10
11									11	11							11
12									12	12							12
13									13	13							13
14									14	14							14
15									15	15							15
16									16	16							16
17									17	17							17
18									18	18							18
19									19	19							19
20									20	20							20
21									21	21							21
22									22	22							22
23									23	23							23
24									24	24							24
25									25	25							25
26									26	26							26
27									27	27							27
28									28	28							28
29									29	29							29
30									30	30							30
31									31	31							31
32									32	32							32
33									33	33							33
34									34	34							34
35									35	35							35
36									36	36							36
37									37	37							37
38									38	38							38
39									39	39							39
40									40	40							40
41									41	41							41
42									42	42							42

400  
 SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in at Gordon Hwy (Sotugas) in the County of Monroe State of Florida enumerated by me, on the 10 day of September, 1860. Thomas D. Simons Post Marshal. Post Office Ny West.

1	2	3	4			7	8		10	11	12	13	14
			Age	Sex	Color		Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate					
1	533	511	George Phillips	41	M		Oversced	1000	Connecticut				
2			Mary "	41	F		Housekeeper		do				
3			George B "	23	M		Child	1000	do				
4			Mary Ellen "	17	F				New York				
5			Caroline W. "	16	F			1000	do		1		
6			Emily id "	15	F				do		1		
7			John L. O'Connell	32	M		Clerk	100	New York				
8	533	510	Joseph B. Holder	34	M		Physician	1000	Massachusetts				
9			Emily W. "	30	F		Housekeeper		do				
10			Charles F. "	9	M				do		1		
11	534	516	William Dewdall	34	M		Day Laborer	100	England				
12			Ann "	30	F		Housekeeper		Belmont Mass				
13			Martha "	3	F				Ohio				
14			George "	20	M				do				
15	535	517	Isaac Babby	32	M		Baker	50	Wilmington				
16			Ann "	29	F		Housekeeper		Barren				
17			George "	4	M				Virginia				
18			Henry "	20	M				Ohio				
19	534	511	John Fitzgerald	41	M		Cook	200	Delaware				
20			Bartholomew "	30	M		Carpenter		Florida				
21			William "	11	M		do		do				
22			Jeremiah "	15	M				do		1		
23	537	519	Walter Flanagan	34	M		Day Laborer	1500	New York				
24			James Madocomb	25	M		do	500	Ireland		1		
25			John Murphy	27	M		do	500	do				
26			John Padman	27	M		do	500	do		1		
27			Joseph Pink	28	M		do		Baden (Germany)				
28			John Strates	28	M		do	500	Ireland				
29			Thomas Morris	30	M		Shoe Dresser	500	England				
30			William F. Smith	37	M		do	1500	Ireland				
31													
32													
33													
34													
35							Concluded						
36													
37													
38													
39													
40													
30			No. white males, 20	No. colored males, _____	No. foreign born, _____	No. blind, _____	200	14,450	No. idiotic, _____				No. convicts, _____
			No. white females, 17	No. colored females, _____	No. deaf and dumb, _____	No. insane, _____			No. paupers, _____				



Page No. /

Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) merely by an affirmative mark, as /.



SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in the city of Tortugas, in the County of Monroe, State of Florida, enumerated by me on the 12 day of July, 1870. 303

Post Office: Key West Fla Wm Allen, Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	DESCRIPTION.			7	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED.		10	PARENTAGE.			14	15	16	17	18	19	20
			4	5	6		8	9		11	12	13							
1	1	Jibson Augustus A	51	M	W	Capt Col 5th Regt		500	Maine										
2		Shea Francis	40	M	W	servant			England	/	/								
3		Patterson Mary E	25	F	W	servant			Ira				/	/					
4	2	Stewart Samuel A	39	M	W	surgeon		500	Va	/									
5		Valentine Henry	25	M	W	servant			Ill										
6	3	Day Marry E	28	M	W	Asst Surgeon		300	N. Y.	/	/								
7		Green Sophy	28	F	W	servant			Ira				/	/					
8	4	Machine Chas C	31	M	W	Mechanic		300	Ohio										
9	5	Lancaster James M	29	M	W	Mechanic		300	Kentucky										
10	6	Hill's John A	37	M	W	1st Sergeant			Penn	/	/								
11		Annie	30	F	W	Laundress			P. I.										
12		John	42	M	W				"										
13		Ryan	20	M	W				"										
14		Sperry	7	F	W				District of Columbia										
15		Mary	4	F	W				Mass										
16	7	Daly Bernard	40	M	W	Sergeant			Ireland	/	/								
17		McArthur Jeremiah	29	M	W	"			"	/	/								
18		Thompson Eben	25	M	W	"			Maine										
19	8	Moore Dorace W	26	F	W	"			"										
20		Murphy John	20	M	W	Corporal			Ireland	/	/								
21		Wilson Chas	27	M	W	"			Mass										
22	9	Norton Edward	24	M	W	"			N. Y.	/	/								
23		Mattuck James	23	M	W	"			New Brunswick	/	/								
24		Maltz Rudolph	30	M	W	Artificer			Switzerland	/	/								
25	10	McArdam Thomas	24	M	W	"			England	/	/								
26		Messard Napoleon	24	M	W	Magasin			Canada	/	/								
27	11	Conners Jacob	33	M	W	Private			Ohio										
28		Maria	33	F	W	Laundress			"										
29	12	Higgins James	22	M	W	Private			England	/	/								
30		Hansen Charles	25	M	W	"			Ohio										
31		Lukens Greenville	24	M	W	"			Penn										
32	13	McGuire Thomas	21	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/								
33		Miller Lorenzo	26	M	W	"			Bavaria	/	/								
34		O'Reilly Patrick	35	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/								
35	14	Shelps John	25	M	W	"			Kentucky										
36		Conell Charles	24	M	W	"			Indiana										
37		Rockets John W	31	M	W	"			"										
38	15	Shaw William	24	M	W	"			New York	/	/								
39		Stevenson James	33	M	W	"			Scotland	/	/								
40		Stell Edward	24	M	W	"			England	/	/								
U. S.		No. of dwellings, 15	No. of white females, 5	No. of males, foreign born, 14			1900		No. of insane, 18	17									
		" " families, 12	" " colored males, 1	" " females, "															
		" " white males, 33	" " females, 1	" " blind, "															

SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in the Army Fortugas, in the County of Mourae, State of Florida, enumerated by me on the 12 day of July, 1870.

Post Office: Key West, Fla Wm J Allen, Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	4			7	8		10	11		13	14	15		18	19		20
			4	5	6		8	9		11	12			15	16		17	19	
Inventories, numbered in the order of valuation.		Families, numbered in the order of valuation.		DESCRIPTION.			VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED.		Place of Birth, naming State or Territory of U. S.; or the Country, if of foreign birth.	PARENTAGE.		If born within the year, state month (Date, Feb., &c.)	If married within the year, state month (Date, Feb., &c.)	Attended school within the year.	EDUCATION.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS.		
The name of every person whose place of abode on the first day of June, 1870, was in this family.		Age at last birthday, if under 15 years give month and day.	Sex—M or F.	Color—White (W.), Black (B.), Mulatto (M.), Indian (I).	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female.	Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Father of foreign birth.		Mother of foreign birth.	Male Citizens of U. S. 21 years of age and up.						Male Citizens of U. S. 21 years of age and up. If unable to vote in consequence of absence from the State or other cause.		
1	16	Warren Charles W	23	M	W	Private			Maine									/	
2		Welch John	24	M	W	"			Ohio	/	/							/	
3		French James	40	M	W	Indomance Sergeant			N. Y.									/	
4	17	Bartlett Wm C	30	M	W	Private Battery 3 <sup>d</sup>	500		N. Y.									/	
5	18	Holmes John D. C.	24	M	W	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieut	500		Missouri									/	
6		Kendall George	30	M	W	Servant			N. Y.									/	
7		Ellis George	14	M	W	"			Louisiana									/	
8	19	Finley Edward	30	M	W	1 <sup>st</sup> Sergeant			Ch. I.	/	/							/	
9		Williams Augustus	24	M	W	Sergeant			Maine	/								/	
10		King Patrick	34	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
11	20	Smith William	24	M	W	"			N. Y.	/	/							/	
12		Snyder Daniel	24	M	W	Corporal			Ireland	/	/							/	
13		Cairns James	22	M	W	"			Scotland	/	/							/	
14	21	Julius Waldemar	27	M	W	"			Prussia	/	/							/	
15		Piquet Eugene	23	M	W	"			N. Y.	/	/							/	
16		O'Donnell Patrick	21	M	W	Drum			N. Y.	/	/							/	
17	22	Swanson Michael	25	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
18		Richardson Francis	22	M	W	Artificer			Bavaria	/	/							/	
19	23	Gardner William	37	M	W	"			Nova Scotia	/	/							/	
20		Mary	37	F	W	Laundress			"	/	/							/	
21		Caru	42	F	W	"			Fla	/	/							/	
22	24	Sagan George	22	M	W	Wagoner			Mass	/	/							/	
23		King Kate	26	F	W	Laundress			Scotland	/	/							/	
24		Ada	15	F	W	"			N. Y.	/	/							/	
25		Hamilton Josephine	36	F	W	"			Nova Scotia	/	/							/	
26	25	Atkins William B	20	M	W	Private			Conn									/	
27		Baptiste John	23	M	W	"			Missouri									/	
28		Brandenburg Antone	31	M	W	"			Prussia	/	/							/	
29	26	Juras Michael	23	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
30		Gonzalez James H.	34	M	W	"			R. I.									/	
31		Kaulon Robert	24	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
32	27	Keady Michael	34	M	W	"			Mass	/	/							/	
33		Lindsey George F	24	M	W	"			"									/	
34		Woodward Michael	26	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
35	28	Parsons John	27	M	W	"			Mass									/	
36		Pack Holland	21	M	W	"			Maine	/	/							/	
37		Robinson John	20	M	W	"			England	/	/							/	
38	29	Russell Joseph	35	M	W	"			N. Y.									/	
39		Smith George H.	21	M	W	"			Maine	/								/	
40		Might William B.	23	M	W	"			"	/	/							/	
U. S. Barracks		No. of dwellings, <u>14</u>		No. of white females, <u>5</u>		No. of males, foreign born, <u>10</u>		No. of insans, <u>28</u>		26		1							
		" families, <u>8</u>		" colored males, <u>2</u>		" females, " <u>3</u>													
		" white males, <u>33</u>		" females, " <u>3</u>		" blind, " <u>0</u>													

Page No. 3

Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20 are to be answered merely by an affirmative mark, as /.



SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in the Dry Tortugas, in the County of Monroe, State of Florida, enumerated by me on the 12 day of July, 1870.

Post Office: St. Mark Fla Wm. Allen, Ass't Marshal. 303

1	2	3	DESCRIPTION.			VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED.		10	PARENTAGE.		14	EDUCATION.		18	19	20	
			4	5	6	7	8		9	11		12	13				15
The name of every person whose place of abode on the first day of June, 1870, was in this family.			Age at last birthday, or next birthday if under 1 year.	Sex—Male (M), Female (F).	Color—White (W), Black (B), Mulatto (M), Indian (I).	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female.	Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Place of Birth, naming State or Territory of U. S.; or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Father of foreign birth.	Mother of foreign birth.	If born within the year state named (Name, Page, &c).	If married within the year state named (Name, Page, &c).	Attended school within the year. Cannot read. Cannot write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	Main Culture of U. S. of age and sex. Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic. Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS.
1	30	21	Slone Richard	35	M	W	Private		Ireland	/	/					/	
2			— Catherine	30	F	W	Landress		"	/	/						
3			— Kate	8	F	W			Mass	/	/						
4			— Richard	5	M	W			"	/	/						
5			— Michael	7/12	M	W			Fla	/	/	Oct					
6	31	22	Hittings Irkine	30	M	W	Captain Battery, "S"	200	Ind							/	
7			Pike Albert F	24	M	W	1st Lieut	500	Mass							/	
8	32		Adams Sarah	23	F	B	servant		So Carolina					/			
9			Luke Alexander	14	M	W	servant		Alabama Islands	/	/						
10	33		Medary Chat S	28	M	W	1st Lieut	500	Ohio							/	
11	34	23	Hardy Patton S	22	M	W	2nd Lieut	500	Mass							/	
12			— Catherine	22	F	W	Keeping house		A. B.								
13			— Sherman	2	M	W			Fla								
14	35	24	Murphy Thomas	36	M	W	1st Sergeant		Ireland	/	/					/	
15			Kahn Charles	32	M	W	Sergeant		Brunswick	/	/						
16			Quarts Burton	24	M	W	"		Conn							/	
17	36	25	Taylor Chas F	37	M	W	"		Mass							/	
18			— Joanna	32	F	W	Landress		N. Y.	/	/						
19			— Frederick	14	M	W			Oregon								
20			— Kate	4	F	W			Maine								
21			— Samuel	2	M	W			"								
22	37	26	Poulos Christian	33	M	W	Corporal		Mirtemburg	/	/					/	
23			— Joanna	27	F	W	Landress		Ireland	/	/						
24			— Frederick	2	M	W			Maine	/	/						
25			— William	1	M	W			"	/	/						
26	38	27	Scary Jefferson	25	M	W	Corporal		Ireland	/	/					/	
27			— Foster John Sr.	28	M	W	"		Penn							/	
28			— Sales James G.	21	M	W	"		Maine							/	
29			Richardson Edward	19	M	W	Musician		N. Y.							/	
30	39	28	Libby Rouben	40	M	W	Wagner		Penn							/	
31			— Harriet	24	F	W	Landress		Maine	/	/						
32			— George	7	M	W			"								
33	40	29	Curtis William	31	M	W	Private		N. Y.							/	
34			Cushing Harrison	22	M	W	"		Maine							/	
35			Fox Horace S.	24	M	W	"		Conn							/	
36	41		Hillibush David	21	M	W	"		Penn							/	
37			Karkins Edward	22	M	W	"		Ireland	/	/					/	
38			McEver Hugh	38	M	W	"		N. Y.	/	/					/	
39	42		Wright John F.	27	M	W	"		Maine							/	
40			Monahan John	22	M	W	"		Ireland	/	/					/	

U. S. Census Office  
 No. of dwellings, 13  
 " " families, 9  
 " " white males, 31  
 No. of white females, 7  
 " " colored males, 1  
 " " females, 1  
 No. of males, foreign born, 2  
 " " females, " " 2  
 " " blind, " " 1

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in Free Dry Tortugas, in the County of Monroe, State of Florida, enumerated by me on the 12 day of July, 1870.

Post Office: Key West Fla Wm Allen, Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	4			7	8		10	11			14	15	16	17	18	19	20
			Age at last birthday, or under 15, or give months, days, & c.	Sex	Color		Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate		Place of Birth, naming State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	Whether citizen of U. S. at date of enumeration, or not, and if not, of what country.							
		Northrup Thomas J.	25	M	W	Private			Conn									/	
48		Chaton Ezra W	23	M	W	"			Mass									/	
		Quinn George W	23	M	W	"			Maine									/	
		Surles Jesse	25	M	W	"			Maine									/	
44	30	Fuller William D	31	M	W	Captain Battery "F"	300		Maine									/	
45	31	Tratt Sedgewick	25	M	W	2nd Lieut	1000		District of Columbia									/	
		Mottis W	24	M	W	Keeping house			Mass									/	
46	32	Abbott Sea S.	28	M	W	2nd Lieut & S.M.	300		Maine									/	
47	33	Soran Thomas	35	M	W	1st Sergeant			Ireland	/	/							/	
		Hermitte Andrew	36	M	W	Sergeant			"	/	/							/	
		Beck George	24	M	W	Corporal			Mass	/	/							/	
48	34	O'Brien James	25	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
		Burke James	30	M	W	"			Illinois									/	
		Whelan James	29	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
49	35	Holmes Mead	31	M	W	Artificer			N. Y.	/	/							/	
		Cooney Ambrose	31	M	W	"			Mass	/	/							/	
		Krafton Chas L.	22	M	W	Wagoner			Maine									/	
50	36	Malone Bernard	37	M	W	Private			Ireland	/	/							/	
		Eliza	32	F	W	Laundress			"	/	/							/	
		Mary	10	F	W				Mass	/	/							/	
		John	7	M	W				"	/	/							/	
		James	3	M	W				"	/	/							/	
		Bernard	2	M	W				"	/	/							/	
51	37	Blinn Edgar	26	M	W	Private			Conn									/	
		Javis William	28	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
		Jorcy John	30	M	W	"			"	/	/							/	
		Flaherty Michael	24	M	W	"			N. Y.									/	
		Flaming Joseph	24	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
		Hancock Daniel	22	M	W	"			Peru	/	/							/	
		Hannegan Patrick	22	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
		Lee John	25	M	W	"			"	/	/							/	
		Otto Charles	26	M	W	"			Prussia	/	/							/	
		Reilly Patrick	25	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
		Taylor William	22	M	W	"			Conn	/	/							/	
		Muhlfeed Jacob	18	M	W	"			N. Y.	/	/							/	
		Weston Emory O.	22	M	W	"			Maine									/	
		West Charles	24	M	W	"			N. Y.									/	
		Barone Anthony	24	M	W	"			Switzerland	/	/							/	
		O'Kallaram Michael	32	M	W	"			Ireland	/	/							/	
		McArdle Michael	29	M	W	"			Mass	/	/							/	
		No. of dwellings, <u>7</u>		No. of white females, <u>3</u>		No. of males, foreign born, <u>14</u>				No. of insane, <u>2</u>									
		" " families, <u>8</u>		" " colored males, <u>1</u>		" " females, <u>1</u>													
		" " white males, <u>3</u>		" " females, <u>1</u>		" " blind, <u>1</u>													



Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) merely by an affirmative mark, as /.

SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in the Dry Tortugas, in the County of Mourne, State of Florida, enumerated by me on the 12 day of July, 1870.

Post Office: Key West, Fla Wm Allen, Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	4			7	8		10	11		13	14	15			18	19		20
			Age at last birth, say, if under 1 year, give months in fraction, thus, 7/12	Sex—Male (M), Female (F)	Color—White (W), Black (B), Mulatto (M), Chinese (C), Japanese (J)		Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate		Place of Birth, naming State or Territory of U. S.; or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Parentage			Education	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	Marital Status		Year of Immigration	Whether naturalized or not	
		Woodward Luisa	8	F	W				Fla	/										
		Augusta Rosa	15	F	W				"	/										
60	46	Hard William	36	M	W	Butcher			Virginia									/		
		Rebecca	19	F	W	Keeping house			Fla	/										
		Charlotte	1	F	W				"											
61	47	Imden Mrs F	40	M	W	Pilot	500		England	/	/							/		
		Aunt	44	F	W	Keeping house			Bahamas	/	/									
		Martha	12	F	W				Fla	/	/			/						
		George	10	M	W				"	/	/			/	/					
		Mary F	4	F	W				"	/	/									
62	48	Rand Robert	45	M	W	fisherman			Bahamas	/	/							/		
63	49	Rudgers Jacob D.	33	M	W	Engineer	500		Penn	/								/		
		Charlotte	23	F	W	Keeping house			Bahamas	/	/									
		Charles	3	M	W				Fla	/										
		William W	7/12	M	W				"	/	Oct									
		Croper Sarah	24	F	B	Servant			"					/	/					
64	50	Mrs Onido John	28	M	W	Sutlers Clerk			N. Y.									/		
65	51	Mitchell Martha	46	F	B	Servant			Virginia					/	/					
66	52	Frank Thomas	21	M	B	Servant			So Carolina					/	/			/		
67	53	Hamilton Cha	21	M	W	Butler	500		N. Y.									/		
68	54	Thompson Robert	28	M	W	St House Keeper			Bahamas	/	/							/		
		Julius	17	F	W	Keeping house			Fla	/	/									
		Robert	1	M	W				"	/										
		Margaret A	50	F	W	house Keeper			Bahamas	/	/									
		Anna	17	F	W	"			"	/	/									
		John	15	M	W				"	/	/									
		Bush Henrietta	23	F	W	Keeping house			"	/	/									
		Henry L.	5	M	W				Penn	/				/						
		Sarah A	3	F	W				"	/										
55		Taylor Mrs B.	49	M	W	St House Keeper			Sweden	/	/							/		
		Ellen J	44	F	W	Keeping house			Ireland	/	/									
		Atvir Lauretta	25	F	W	seamstress			Fla	/	/									
56		Buckley Jeremiah	30	M	W	St House Keeper			Ireland	/	/							/		
		Mary	28	F	W	Keeping house			Fla	/										
		Sarah	6	F	W				"	/				/						
		Emma	4	F	W				"	/				/						
		Mary	1/2	F	W				"	/	Sept									
I hereby certify that the enumerations in the foregoing return consisting of six pages were well and truly made according to the laws of my office.																				
										Wm Allen Ass't Marshal										
No. of dwellings, <u>9</u>		No. of white females, <u>19</u>		No. of males, foreign born, <u>6</u>		6000		No. of insane, <u>21</u>		25		2		5		4		5		
" families, <u>11</u>		" colored males, <u>1</u>		" females, <u>6</u>																
" white males, <u>15</u>		" females, <u>2</u>		" blind, <u>—</u>																

F. M. B. - 76





5 John ...  
 6 Henry Dick ...  
 7 Edward ...  
 (Aug 7 1864) ...  
 (Jan 22 65) ...  
 (22 64) ...

List of A. O. June 1865

- 1 Orosius Gardner 1st Sgt. Mch 20 1864 Promoted to 1st Sgt by Co. 111 from Regt 11th Co. Feb 21 1864
  - 2 Henry Todd 2nd Sgt. 27 1864 Promoted to 2nd Sgt by Co. 111 from Regt 11th Co. Feb 21 1864
  - 3 Edward Ruffin 3rd. Apr 15 1864 Promoted to 3rd Sgt by Co. 111 from Regt 11th Co. Feb 21 1864
  - 4 Sylvester Westbrook 4th. June 1 1865 Promoted to 4th Sgt by Co. 111 from Regt 11th Co. Feb 21 1864
  - 5 Jonathan Johnson 5th. 1 1865 Promoted to 5th Sgt by Co. 111 from Regt 11th Co. Feb 21 1864
- 
- 1 Nathan Sathman Corporal Jan 12 1864 Promoted to Corp by Co. 111 from Regt 11th Co. Feb 21 1864
  - 2 Edward ... " 22 1865 Promoted to Corp by Co. 111 from Regt 11th Co. Feb 21 1864
  - 3 David ... " Jan 15 1865 Promoted to Corp by Co. 111 from Regt 11th Co. Feb 21 1864