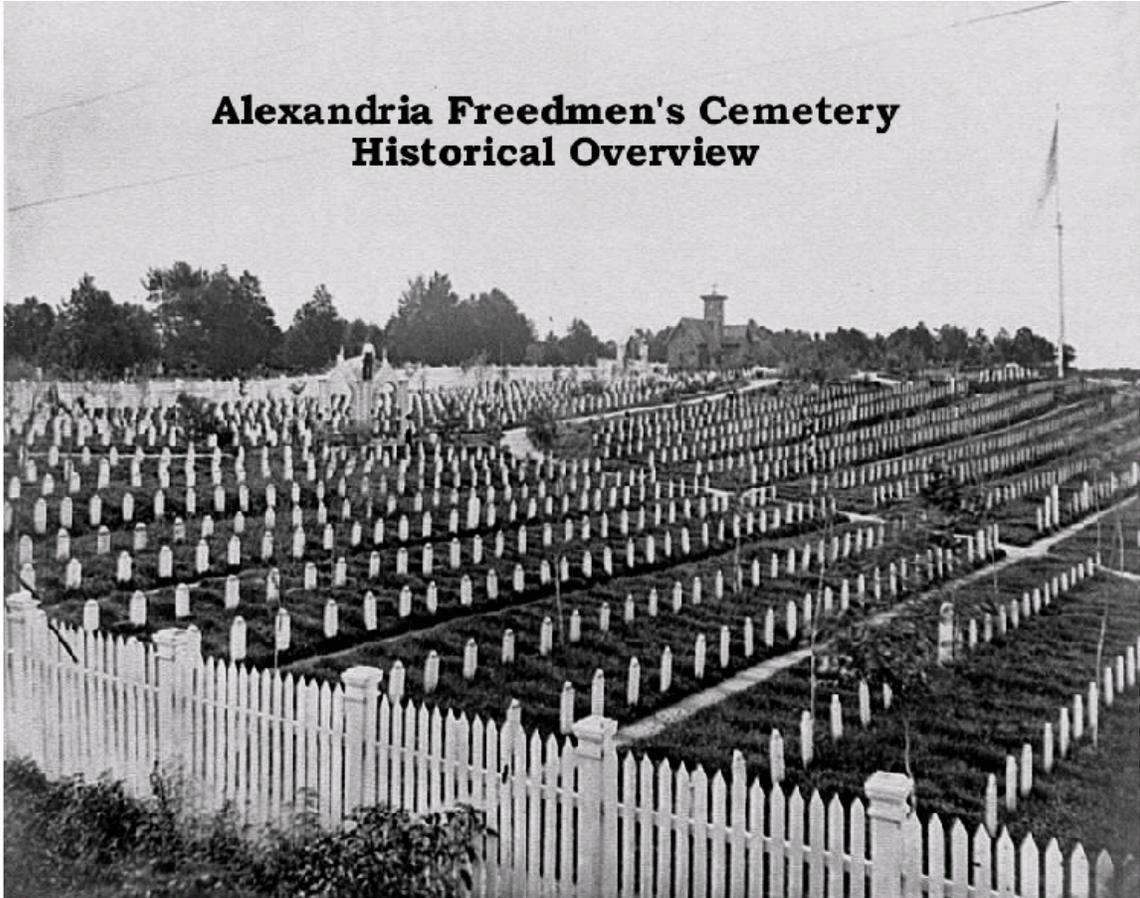


## Alexandria Freedmen's Cemetery Historical Overview



*Soldiers' Alexandria National Cemetery – Alexandria, Virginia, Circa 1876  
National Archives, – Mathew Brady Photograph Collection*

Freedmen's Cemetery probably resembled Alexandria National (Soldiers) Cemetery. They both had a fence and white washed, wooden grave markers.

Abstracted from Compilation by Margaret Richardson  
April 2007

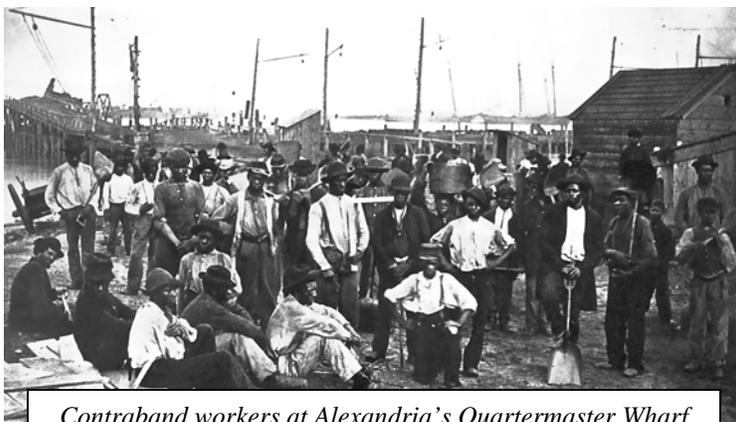


## **Background Information**

### ***General Overview***

As Federal troops extended their occupation of Confederate states during the Civil War, slaves escaped their bondage and flooded behind Union lines to towns like Alexandria. Many came from nearby Fairfax, Fauquier, Loudon, Prince William, and Culpeper counties, but their exact origins are unknown. These freedmen, or “contrabands,” sought freedom and refuge from slavery. Since they were still considered property, the slaves were labeled as “contrabands” in order to prevent them from being returned to their masters. This arrangement was beneficial to the Union, because the contrabands could join the wartime workforce.

Beginning in 1862, there was such an influx of contrabands that the town endured what has been described as a refugee crisis. According to one statistic, the population of Alexandria had exploded to 18,000 by the fall of 1863—an increase of 10,000 people in 16 months.



*Contraband workers at Alexandria's Quartermaster Wharf  
(New York Public Library)*

When they arrived in Alexandria, some freedmen found employment and the opportunity for a new life. They worked as nurses, bakers, laborers, stevedores (loading/unloading ships at port), painters, woodcutters, cooks, gravediggers, railroad workers, and personal servants. Some were provided with schools, hospitals, and housing; some even fought in the war.

### ***The Need for a Cemetery***

Freedmen also encountered sickness, disease, and death due to horrible living conditions and poverty when they moved to Alexandria. They lived in barracks and shantytowns hastily assembled in order to handle the

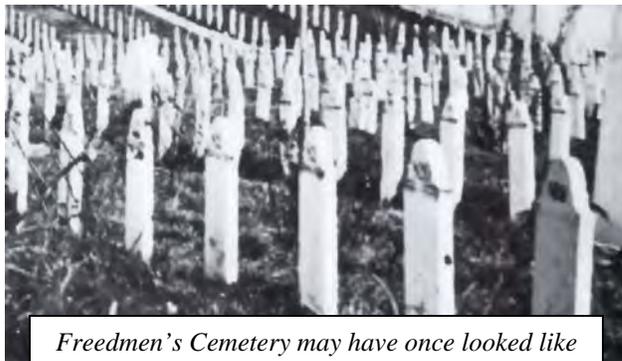


*L'Ouverture Contraband  
Barracks, Alexandria  
(Library of Congress)*

sudden rise in population. Smallpox and typhoid outbreaks were prevalent.

It eventually became clear that existing graveyards were not sufficient to handle the increasing numbers of Alexandria freedmen who were dying due to these conditions. In January of 1864, the federal government seized property at the corner of S. Washington and Church streets in order to establish a burying ground specifically for the freedmen. Burials started in March of that year.

The Freedmen's Cemetery is the final resting place of approximately 1,800 individuals. Over half of those buried at the cemetery are children under the age of sixteen, due to high infant mortality rates typical of the period and the quality of life endured by the contrabands. African American soldiers (otherwise known as "colored troops") were also buried



*Freedmen's Cemetery may have once looked like Alexandria National Cemetery, seen above in a Civil War-era photograph. (National Archives)*

at Freedmen's Cemetery. In December 1864, injured soldiers petitioned for the right to be buried at the Soldiers Cemetery. They were granted their request. All troops buried at Freedmen's Cemetery were disinterred and reburied at Soldiers Cemetery in 1865.

After the war, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands (commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau) continued the federal management of the cemetery. The agency also aided in reuniting and resettling free families. The Bureau worked to improve living conditions and opportunities for the freedmen who remained; permanent communities were established in Alexandria, as were churches, businesses, and schools.

Burials by the Federal Government at Freedmen's Cemetery ended in 1869, and the last time the burial ground appeared on a local map was in 1939. Ownership of the land changed hands several times in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, resulting in development of the property. A gas station, buried gas tanks, an office building, a brick factory, parking lots, and an interstate highway have had their effects on



*This gas station and office building were constructed on the cemetery. (Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery)*

the cemetery site. Unfortunately, many graves were lost or disturbed. The full extent of the damage to the graves is still unknown.

Interestingly, when the tract was sold in 1946, restrictions were involved in the sale that specifically prohibited the construction of an automobile service station or the sale of alcoholic beverages on the property. For reasons that are not entirely clear, these restrictions were first ignored and then revoked. A gas station was built on the site in the mid-1950s.

The cemetery was “rediscovered” in 1987. T. Michael Miller found a 19<sup>th</sup>-century *Washington Post* article referring to bones washing into the Potomac. Wesley Pippenger found the ledger of deaths maintained by Reverend Albert Gladwin, Superintendent of Contraband, and his successors. The record book documents names and ages of those who died. Further research and archaeological investigations confirmed the existence of graves and brought the story of the cemetery back into collective memory.

### ***Archaeology at the Cemetery***

The City of Alexandria is in the process of saving the cemetery and creating a memorial park. The City Archaeologists will work at Freedmen’s Cemetery in 2007 to determine the location of graves so they will remain undisturbed during the development of the Alexandria Freedmen’s Memorial Park. The park will commemorate the lives of the freedmen and acknowledge the cemetery as sacred ground.

Unfortunately, there are no longer markers or headstones indicating where the individuals were buried. If the locations of the graves are known, it can be ensured that trees, walkways, and other features of the Memorial Park do not damage them.

Archaeologists associated with the Woodrow Wilson Bridge Improvement Project (Federal Highway Administration and Virginia Department of Transportation) worked between 1999 and 2000 to confirm the presence of graves. The City archaeologists conducted an investigation in 2004.



*Archaeologists at work in the parking lot of the gas station.  
(Alexandria Archaeology)*

These excavations identified 123 graves within the boundaries described in 19<sup>th</sup>-and 20<sup>th</sup>-century deeds of the cemetery. The burials are arranged in rows running north/south, with the head to the west, in keeping with Christian tradition. Archaeologists have also discovered outlines of coffins, grave shafts, and even evidence of prehistoric Native Americans. If a coffin, grave shaft, or other burial

feature was uncovered, digging immediately ceased in order to preserve the integrity of the burial.

Usually archaeology is about digging in the ground to learn more about our history; archaeologists search for artifacts and other cultural remains to discover how people lived and died. However, at Freedmen's Cemetery, the City archaeologists are working to protect this information in the ground out of respect for those who are buried there.

### ***The Cemetery's Future***

The City archaeologists return to the site in 2007 to continue grave location efforts. The City is demolishing the gas station and office building. After the archaeologists have completed their work, a competition will select the memorial park designer.

The final design has not yet been determined, but the Alexandria Freedmen's Memorial Park will most likely include an open field of grass. A memorial will honor all freedmen who were mentioned in the cemetery record book by name. Walkways, fences, benches, and interpretive signs will be placed as to not disturb the burials. City officials, City staff, Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery, and designers are working together in order to make the best use of the memorial space while maintaining the cemetery. Ultimately, the park will be a sacred space intended for remembrance, appreciation, and recognition.

## **Quick Reference Guide and FAQ's**

### ***Who were the freedmen?***

- Escaped slaves seeking safety behind Union lines during the Civil War; also known as freedmen
- Still considered property
- Labeled as “contrabands” so they would not have to be returned to their masters

### ***How many freedmen came to Alexandria?***

According to one statistic, the population of Alexandria had exploded to 18,000 by the fall of 1863—an increase of 10,000 people in 16 months.

### ***Where did the freedmen live in Alexandria?***

- Alexandria was ill prepared to handle the massive influx of contrabands
- Most lived in overcrowded shanties and a few in barracks
- Poor drainage, miserable conditions, spread of disease
- Approximately 20 neighborhoods throughout city: Petersburg, Contraband Valley, Pump Town, etc.

### ***What jobs did the freedmen have in Alexandria?***

Occupations included:

- Nurses
- Bakers
- Laborers
- Stevedores (loading/unloading ships at port)
- Woodcutters
- Cooks
- Gravediggers
- Railroad workers
- Personal servants
- Laundresses

### ***When was the Freedmen's Cemetery used?***

March 1864 to January 1869

### ***Who is buried in Freedmen's Cemetery?***

Approximately 1,800 individuals→

800+: Number of children under the age of 5

927: Number of males (that can be determined by name)

702: Number of females (that can be determined by name)

### ***How many graves archaeologists have uncovered?***

As of 2005, 123 graves have been located.

***What are the causes of death listed in the Gladwin Record?***

Not all causes of death are listed in the ledger, but those that were include the following:

- stillborn
- smallpox
- drowning
- freezing
- sudden lung hemorrhage
- acute bronchitis
- skating injuries
- wood train accident
- one man “dropped dead while unloading hides, just as he threw out the last”

***Where were freedmen buried before 1864?***

Unknown—possibly Penny Hill pauper’s cemetery.

***Are there any soldiers buried at Freedmen’s Cemetery?***

- Most African American soldiers (a.k.a. “colored troops”) are buried at the Alexandria National Cemetery
- Some colored troops were originally buried at Freedmen’s Cemetery, then re-interred in the National Cemetery
- Gravestones for 227 African American soldiers can be found at the National Cemetery

***How do we know about the freedmen?***

Albert Gladwin, the first Superintendent of Contrabands, recorded most of the information we now have about their deaths. He kept track of some marriages, as well. Civil War-era government records, newspaper articles and diaries also provide a great deal of information.

## **Freedmen's Cemetery Timeline**

Based on a timeline by T. Michael Miller, Research Historian, Office of Historic Alexandria

**1861:** *April 12*— Confederate forces attack Fort Sumter, South Carolina, beginning the Civil War.

**1862:** *November 26*—One hundred and eighty five contrabands, mostly victims of smallpox and typhoid fever epidemics, had been buried in Alexandria by this date.

**1863:** *January 1*—The Emancipation Proclamation is passed.

**1864:** *January*—Approximately 1.5 acres of land are seized by the Federal Government from Confederate sympathizer Francis L. Smith. According to the Gladwin record:  
“About one acre and a half of land belonging to Francis L. Smith of Alexandria, situated at the extreme South end of Washington Street, just beyond the city limits of Alexandria, was seized by the military authority as abandoned in January 1864, and by order of Brig. General John P. Slough (1829-1864) of Ohio.”

*March 4*—A story in the Alexandria Gazette notes: “A grave yard for the burial of ‘contrabands,’ who may die in this place has been laid off near the Catholic Cemetery.”

*April 12*—Miss Julia Wilbur writes in her diary about visiting the new contraband burying ground: “65 graves there already, as good a place as they could get...”

**1865:** *April 9*—Robert E. Lee surrenders at Appomattox, ending the Civil War.

**1866:** *January 1*—A note made in the Gladwin record indicates that over 1,200 bodies have been interred in the cemetery by this date.

**1867:** *January 28*—William Beckham is buried at Freedmen's Cemetery. (See the Beckham Family section for more details.)

*March*—Francis L. Smith offers to sell the lot of land used as a cemetery to the Freedmen's Bureau for \$1,000. The Bureau refuses, as it has no authority to purchase real estate.

**1869:** Military rule ends in Alexandria.

**1870:** Virginia re-admitted to the Union.

**1877:** *May 10*—Francis L. Smith dies.

*May 30*—Francis L. Smith's property is bequeathed to his wife, Sarah G. Smith.

**1885:** *November 6*—Margaret V. and Francis L. Smith Jr., children of Sarah G. and Francis L. Smith Sr., inherit the cemetery at 1001 S. Washington St. after Sarah Smith's death.

**1894:** *January 5*—The *Alexandria Gazette* denies the claims contained in an article distributed by the *Washington Post* in 1894 describing a "graveyard [in Alexandria] containing defunct colored people [which] was being washed away by the rains and those not washed into the Potomac were ground into fertilizer." The *Gazette* further stated that the Contraband Cemetery was situated across from the Catholic Cemetery and contained a few hundred graves.

"The deep cut dug for the independent line of the old Manassas Gap railroad is on the south of the graveyard and the property of the Alexandria Brick Works on the west. Most of the bodies buried there were colored children, generally infants, a fact which will be attested by all whose recollections go back to war times. This spot of ground was then studded with shingles bearing the names of children, many but a few days old and others only as many hours. During the years which have elapsed occasionally some bones may have been brought to the surface by the encroachments of the brickyard, but no such state of things exists as portrayed in the Washington paper." - *Alexandria Gazette*, January 5, 1894

**1917:** *April 25*—Margaret Smith, daughter of Francis and Sarah G. Smith, conveys 1001 S. Washington St. to Reverend Dennis J. O'Connell, Bishop of Richmond.

**1939:** A notation appears on City tax map – "Negro Cemetery." No boundaries are provided.

**1946:** *June 25*—The Alexandria City Council rezones the property. The Alexandria Planning Commission opposes the rezoning of this tract.

*September 3*—Bishop Peter L. Ireton of Richmond sells the property at 1001 S. Washington St. to George Landrith with the following restrictions:

1) Said property nor any portion thereof, shall ever be used for an automobile service station and the definition of automobile service station shall include a public garage either used for storage or automobile repairs;

2) The sale of alcoholic beverages or the storage thereof for sale is prohibited on the property.

**1952:** *March 24*—When George Landrith sold 1001 S. Washington St. to Mildred Koplín and James Juliano, the restrictions which Bishop Ireton of Richmond had placed on the property were still in effect.

**1955:** *July 13*—Dwight H. Chase submits an application for Tidewater Associated Oil Co. to construct a gasoline station at 1001 S. Washington St.

*July 29*—Mildred Koplín conveys the property to Tidewater Oil Co.

*August 9*—The restrictions placed on the property by Bishop Ireton in 1946 are revoked by Bishop Ireton.

**1965:** *April 6*—Permit issued to install one 3,000 gallon gas tank underground on the property.

**1987:** Historian T. Michael Miller uncovers 19<sup>th</sup> century newspaper articles referring to a Freedmen's Cemetery in Alexandria.

**1995:** Historian Wesley Pippenger publishes the Gladwin Record, a list of burials in Freedmen's Cemetery.

**1996:** Preliminary investigations on sub-surface cultural resources at Freedmen's Cemetery begin. Remote sensing surveys including ground penetrating radar (GPR) and electromagnetic surveying techniques are used to determine grave locations.

**1997:** Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery is founded to memorialize and raise public awareness about the cemetery.

**2004:** *June*—Alexandria Archaeology Museum begins test excavations at the cemetery site in order to locate and protect graves.

## **Summary of Black Soldier Burial Controversy December, 1864**

On December 28, 1864, a letter was written to the Quartermaster General concerning the burials of black soldiers in Alexandria. The author of the letter, Alexandria Quartermaster Captain J.G.C. Lee, had recently begun a campaign to ensure that all troops were interred in Alexandria National Cemetery, referred to at the time as Soldiers Military Cemetery. It was Captain Lee's opinion that this cemetery was established specifically for soldiers, regardless of their race, and colored troops should not be denied the opportunity to be buried there. "It seems to have been the desire to have all soldiers in one place," wrote Lee. "The feeling on the part of the colored soldiers is unanimous to be placed in the military cemetery, and it seems but just and right that they should be."

According to Captain Lee, however, Contraband Superintendent Gladwin continued to bury United States Colored Troops (USCT) at Freedmen's Cemetery. Gladwin even had gone so far as to arrest the driver of a black soldier's funeral procession to Military Cemetery and reroute the hearse to Freedmen's Cemetery. Lee was disturbed by these events and wrote the letter to request his superior's involvement in the matter.

Lee enclosed a poignant petition written by more than 400 black soldiers in Louverture Hospital discussing the issue. "We are not contrabands, but soldiers of the U.S. Army," they wrote:

As American citizens, we have a right to fight for the protection of her flag, that right is granted, and we are now sharing equally the dangers and hardships in this mighty contest, and should shair *[sic]* the same privileges and rights of burial in every way with our fellow soldiers, who only differ from us in color...We ask that our bodies may find a resting place in the ground designated for the burial of the brave defenders, of our countries *[sic]* flag.

It appears that Lee's letter and the soldier's petition had their desired effect. A section of Alexandria National Cemetery became the final resting place of African Americans, including 122 soldiers buried at Freedmen's Cemetery, who were re-interred before the war ended in 1865, and those buried at Freedmen's Cemetery were reburied at Alexandria National.



*Gas Station at 1001 S. Washington Street – Friends of Freedmen’s Cemetery*



*Alexandria National Cemetery, Circa 1876 with original wood grave markers – National Archives*



*Workers at Alexandria's Quarter Master Wharf, Civil War era  
- New York Public Library*



Walking north to freedom after Emancipation Proclamation – *Harper's Weekly*, February 21, 1863



Freedmen reading at Contraband Barracks, Alexandria, Virginia – New York Public Library

**DEPOT QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE**  
**Alexandria, Va., December 28<sup>th</sup> 1864**

Major General M.C. Meigs  
Quartermaster General, U.S.A.  
Washington, D.C.

General,

I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of a letter written by me on the 24<sup>th</sup> inst., in relation to the interment of colored soldiers dying at the General Hospital here. I desire now to lay the facts before you more fully and, as my duties have been forcibly interfered with, would ask your early decision.

The U.S. Military Cemetery at this place has been purchased by this Dept. as a place of burial for soldiers. It has been handsomely improved and adorned, is systematically conducted by a superintendent and the necessary laborers.

Notifications of deaths in the various hospitals are sent to me in the usual way, they are recorded at the office, and the interments are made accordingly, the coffins, hearse, attendants, &c. being furnished by me. Headboards are placed at each grave and a careful record of the men in every particular.

I have recently learned that Mr. Gladwin, Superintendent of the Freedmen at this place has caused the interment of colored soldiers to be made at the contraband burying-ground. This ground is not owned by the U.S., is not fenced, as I learn, nor is it taken care of, as the regular cemetery is.

On learning this I directed that the interment of colored men, as well as white, be made in the military cemetery, keeping them in a separate portion. This has been done since then until Mr. Gladwin prevailed on Gen. Slough, Military Governor, to issue an order that they be interred at the contraband burying-ground. A copy of this order not being sent to me officially, I continued my duties, without conferring with Gen. Slough on the subject.

Yesterday however while the hearse and the escort were proceeding to the military cemetery, Mr. Gladwin and a party of soldiers arrested my driver, took him from my hearse and drove it where they pleased, the escort returning to the hospital. As might be expected, the most intense feeling on the part of officers was felt, that this man, a citizen, should be allowed to interfere.

I therefore called on Genl. Slough in regard to the matter and after explaining the position of affairs he requested me to get your orders in the matter, which should be final. He seemed to think that the only matter that stood in the way was that there are quite a number already in the

contraband burying-ground but these could be removed very easily and without additional expense by the men who take care of the military cemetery.

It seems to have been the desire to have all soldiers in one place, as last winter I was required to disinter all in this neighborhood and Fairfax Seminary and have them brought to this place.

The feeling on the part of the colored soldiers is unanimous to be placed in the military cemetery and it seems but just and right that they should be. I therefore ask your early action in the matter.

Very Respectfully,  
Your Obt. Servant  
J.G.C. Lee  
Capt. A. Q.M. U.S.A.

P.S. I enclose a memorial received by me on this subject from the soldiers at L'ouverture General Hospital. J.G.C.L.

2 enclosures.

**Louverture General Hospital,  
Alexandria, Va. December 27, 1864**

To Major Edwin Bentley,  
Surgeon in Charge

Sir, we the undersigned Convalescents of Louverture Hospital & its Branches and soldiers of the U.S. army, learning that some dissatisfaction exists in relation to the burrial of colored soldiers, and feeling deeply interested in a matter of so great importance to us, who are a part and parcel with the white soldiers in this great struggle against rebellion, do hereby express our views, and ask for a consideration of the same.

We learn that the government has purchased ground to be used exclusively for Burrial of soldiers of the United States Army, and that the government has also purchased ground to be used for the burial of contrabands, or freedmen, so called, that the former is under the controll of Capt Lee, A.Q.M. U.S.A. The latter under the controll of Rev. A. Gladwin, Superintendent of Contrabands. We are not contrabands, but soldiers of the U.S. Army, we have cheerfully left the comforts of home, and entered into the field of conflict, fighting side by side with the white soldiers, to crush out this God insulting, Hell deserving rebellion.

As American citizens, we have a right to fight for the protection of her flag, that right is granted, and we are now sharing equally the dangers and hardships in this mighty contest, and should shair the same privileges and rights of burial in every way with our fellow soldiers, who only differ from us in color,

To crush this rebellion, and establish civil, religious, & political freedom for our children, is the hight of our ambition. To this end we suffer, for this we fight, yea and mingle our blood with yours, to wash away a stain so black, and destroy a Plot so destructive to the interest and Prosperity of this nation, as soldiers in the U.S. Army. We ask that our bodies may find a resting place in the ground designated for the burial of the brave defenders, of our countries flag;

It has been said that the colored soldiers desire to be burried in the Contrabands Cemetary, we have never expressed such a desire, nor do we ask for any such distinction to be made, but in the more pertinent language of inspiration we would say, (Ruth 1:16-17) "Entreat me not to leave thee, for whither thou goest I will go" "and where thou fightest I will fight," and where thou diest I will die," and there will I be burried," and for this, your humble petitionars will ever pray, the unanimous voice of our Soldiers was given, and their names herin enrolled,

First Ward.

Jessie Adderson	Serg <sup>t</sup>	C <sup>o</sup> C 23 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C.T
Joseph Ross	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> B 29 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T
Amos Jackson	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> G 8 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T

Duncan Gibbs	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> B 29 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T
William Johnson	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> A 43 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C.T
William Hackitt	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> D 19 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T
John Turner	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> M Mich C.T.
Charles Dolley	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> F 23 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C.T
William Millander	Corp	C <sup>o</sup> A 29 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T
Thomas Hyman	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> A 29 <sup>th</sup> C <sup>onn</sup> C.T
Patrick Johnson	Corp	C <sup>o</sup> H 19 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T
Milton Airey	Corp	C <sup>o</sup> A 43 <sup>rd</sup> U.S.C.T
Daniel Williams	Serg <sup>t</sup>	C <sup>o</sup> D 7 <sup>th</sup> [?] D.C.C.T
John Cooper	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> G 30 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T
John E. Hyman	Sergt	C <sup>o</sup> H 37 <sup>th</sup> [?] U.S.C.T
Richard Jackson	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> H 39 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T
William F. Loucks	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> H 28 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T
Russell Thomas	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> B 20 <sup>th</sup> U.S.C.T
Joseph Clark	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> A, V <sup>a</sup> Home Guard
Alex <sup>a</sup> Wright	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> G 5 <sup>th</sup> Mass Cavl
James Wilson	Serg <sup>t</sup>	C <sup>o</sup> C, 37 <sup>th</sup> [?] U.S.C.T
Frank Paine	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> C 29 U.S.C.T
Joseph Hood	Priv	C <sup>o</sup> C 30 <sup>th</sup> C <sup>onn</sup> C.T

#### Ward Third

Serg Wm Green	Williams Williams
Wm Conner	Henry Clark
Samuel Holloway	Robert Deyo
Alexander Ebb	Anthony Selvy 1
John Brown	Anthony Selvy 2
Eli Brett	John Smith
John Horton	Jefferson Watts
Joseph Wilson	Robert Harding
David Grimes	John Green
William Wood	Nathaniel Lawson
Isaac Ford	Charles Coonick
Peter Simpson	George P. Reynolds
John Lewis	Benj Hollingsworth
Samuel Bateman	Paul Murray
Louis Scott	Isaac Still
David Jones	James Downs
Edward Stepney	John Thompson
William Body	Toby Trout
Elias C. Thompson	Charles Brown
John Turner	James Meade
Sheppard Currey	William Ross
William Lee	Columbus Jones

Louis Green  
Joseph Carr  
Daniel J. Bryant

Richard Jones  
Miah [?] T. Sparrowrass  
John Lander

[Fourth Ward?]

Samuel W. Fairfax  
Jefferson Henly  
Samuel Johnson  
William S. White  
John White  
James M. Smith  
William Hartwood  
Isaac W. Stillgess  
Lewis Miller  
Samuel Gleanes  
Daniel Thomas  
William Taylor  
Benjamin Eadlin  
Edward Fletcher  
John Blakey  
Hamaff Davies  
Jerry Duckins  
Thompson Hay  
John Rice  
John Haligood  
James Hammonds  
Wm. H. Stansbury  
William Underwood  
Jerry Miles  
French Manefey  
Robert Walken  
Antoine Vanwinkle

George Branson  
Robert Mathews  
Lee Allan  
George H. Smith  
Asa Carr  
Joseph Miner  
James H. Smith  
James Henson  
Fieldon Walker  
William Fisher  
    John Hall  
    William E. Davis  
George Cudgel  
Joseph Lewis  
William W. Phillips  
    Paul Sandridge  
James Henry  
Nathaniel Carrington  
Daniel Reid  
Daniel Brown  
Laranzes Hill  
John Barrack  
Samuel Cole  
John Chrestapher  
Alfred Lamer  
    Elijah Miller

Ward 5

W<sup>m</sup> P Thomppson  
W<sup>m</sup> Pury  
W<sup>m</sup> Seals  
W<sup>m</sup> Brooks  
W<sup>m</sup> Burke  
W<sup>m</sup> Hiskins  
W<sup>m</sup> Thomas  
Joseah Hooker  
John Wells

James H Singleton  
John Cook  
Barney Osbourne  
Samuel Forman  
Moses Burt  
Charles Brokeos  
Daniel Hanson  
David T Scott  
Joseph W Edwards

Franklin Smith  
John H Murphy  
Samuel Bell  
Adam Bentley  
Joseph Williams  
George Bailey  
Allen Bolden  
Joseph Justin  
Jackson James  
Benj Jones  
Charles Jones  
Archibald Anderson  
Chancalor Dickerson  
Joseph Molton

John King  
John French  
Elias Hall  
John Baties  
Calvin Rice  
Joseph Jackson  
Samuel N. Barber  
Alexander Jinkson  
Samuel Scott  
John Clark  
Joseph Martin  
Joseph Morton  
Chancalor Dickerson

#### 6 Ward, Louverture Hospital

Sergt Alfred Carroll  
Sergt Garrett Jefferson  
Sergt John Major [?]  
Sergt Abraham Johnston  
Sergt Henry Pipes  
Jenkins Young  
James Hanffeild  
Thomas Brenink  
David ...ens  
William H. Clay  
John Briggs  
Andrew Thompson  
William Brown  
William Crawford  
Nathaniel Chase  
Wilbert Jackson  
Charles Lewis  
Nelson Hunt  
Francis James  
Charles Diggs  
Isaak Douglas  
Charles [illegible]

Isaac Bibbins  
Helling Bruce  
Frank Jackson  
Steven Vance  
John Williams  
John Christeen  
Asbury Harris  
Henry Gant  
William Jackson  
Lebbias Wright  
Mortimer Wright  
Alonzo Saraga  
Isaac Clark  
Jacob Warren  
George Jones  
William Thomas  
Loyd James  
Charles Dualls [?]  
Isaha Douglass

#### [Seventh Ward]

Solomon King  
Elijah Enty

James ONeal  
Henry C. Todd  
John Wills

Gabrel Enty  
John Green  
Jefferson Harris  
Alexander Johnson  
Reuben Pollard  
Andrew Tonzal  
Samuel Smith  
Peter Dyer  
Francis Meeds  
Daniel Barrett  
John Terral  
John S. Smith  
James Brewster  
Niclas Clark  
Thomas Mcwinfield  
John Johnson  
Benjamin Niclosson  
Philop Willkins  
Hireiser Jackson  
George W Bratcher  
John Jackson  
Charles Baoan [?]  
William H. Dorsy  
James H. Parker

Alfred Bolden  
George Evens  
Isac Heiren  
Alexander Cornish  
Levi Nelson  
George Washington  
Joshua Burrel  
William H. Carter  
Levi Beer  
Robert Green  
Lewis Desheild  
John Lankford  
Isac Mattee  
Charles H. Butler  
Francis Deal  
James Logan  
Samuel Smith  
Charles Mccown  
Charles C. Williams  
John H. Champlain  
Andrew Jackson  
William Brogden  
Littleton Spence  
Henry C. Clay

[Eighth Ward]

Serg Anthony N Davis  
Robert Grey  
James A Tomey  
Spencer Small  
Solomon Coursey  
Arther Elise  
Alexander Burton  
Oscar Gregory  
John Scott  
Terry Snowden  
John Custus  
Edward King  
Joseph Sterling  
Rufus Germain  
Abram Reding  
George W. Hawkins  
Henery Moten

James R Slater  
Jacb Barclay  
Emanuel Richland  
W<sup>m</sup> Hughes  
W<sup>m</sup> H. Tompsom  
Anthony Gregg  
Thomas Grant  
Robert Boardley  
Benjamin Malone  
Thomas Ditto  
W<sup>m</sup> Warren  
George Scott  
James H Brown  
Jefferson Floyd  
James Jackson  
James St Dany  
Andrew J. Cooper

Edmond Mayers  
David Rochester  
W<sup>m</sup> De Graff  
Carter Moore  
Joseph Freeland  
Woolston Hickerson  
Frank Day  
Holliss Mathews  
W<sup>m</sup> P. Smith

Benjamin Welsh  
Serg Isaac Porter  
George Carr  
George Jackson  
Peter Julius  
Serg George W. Potter  
Edward Hall  
Barclay Holmes  
Sterling Love

Wassella Eamas [?]  
Jery lisle  
Joseph Deshallo  
Charls Agago  
Charley lane  
William braun  
Charls j Denis  
John D Smith  
William StrawDer  
Bales more  
Peter Frasure  
Robert Johnson  
Richard Brown  
Humphry mcdowell  
Charls Anderson  
edward Stewart  
Jacob murray  
Squier Willson  
lewis martin  
George W hall  
George Washington  
Henry linsy  
Frank usem [?]  
Samuel Bond

#### 9 Ward

William harles  
Charles haris  
augustus bagdon  
moses G. Wilson  
Josiah Thomas  
Isah Williams  
Charles Smith  
William Williams  
marchel hamand  
moses nelson  
Oliver W Scott  
ellick Sander Joshua  
James Elsie  
nickaus Duffin  
Charles H Lewis  
William Ray  
Robert Brown  
Samuel Smith  
Thorton Lamount  
John Morgan  
Samuel Steel  
John Liverpool  
Georg Dugalas  
Joshua Williams

#### [Second or Tenth Ward?]

Sergt Richard Dericks  
Corp George W. Hazel  
George Watson  
Ransom Jones  
Fredrick Proctor  
John Portor

Daniel Waters  
Garrison Cuff  
James Degroot  
John Porter  
Joseph Winsler [?]  
John Ready

Thomas Brinkly  
W<sup>m</sup> Paige  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Coleman  
Albert Cheatham  
Henry Snowden  
Miles Case  
Richard Gilbert  
Henry H Tabbot  
Jeanie Truit  
Alexander Tubman  
George Bruner  
Jefferson Finley  
Edmond Garret  
W<sup>m</sup> Brown  
John Andrews  
John Thompson  
Henry Cotton  
Rob<sup>t</sup> R S Richardson Sergt Maj  
Frank Mason  
Joseph Sulivan  
Cha<sup>s</sup> Hall  
James Qualls [?]  
Samuel Blaney  
James Marshall  
John Bass  
Elias Williams  
Sidney Palmer  
Victor Dickson  
George Esquaboy  
John H. Elliott  
Frank Watson  
Harrison Woodfork  
W<sup>m</sup> Asher  
Bithorn Tasker  
Thornton Harris  
Mark Grant  
John Thurlkill  
George Johnson  
Richardson Jackson  
Henry Strawther  
Andrew Johnson  
Edmond Tabor  
Issick Thomas  
Thomas Nelson  
Emery Watts  
Lamby [?] Pike

Levi Mapp  
John Boyd  
William Norman

Lorenzo Corm [?]  
George Thomas  
Samuel Clayton  
Edmond Dorsey  
John Warren  
Daniel Grasper  
John Colins  
Reason Biender  
John Burgess  
Robt Scott  
Joseph Black  
Joseph Brown  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Lloyd  
Henry Wilson  
Bennet Holmes  
Patrick Semmes  
Edward Arthur