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Dr. Fitch's Report on the Fort Pillow Massacre

By JOHN CIMPRICH AND ROBERT C. MAINFORT

The worst day of Dr. Charles Fitch's life occurred on April 12, 1864, at Fort Pillow on a West Tennessee bluff overlooking the Mississippi River. Born about 1825 in Massachusetts, Fitch had gone west to Keosauqua, Iowa, where in 1863 he signed on as a contract surgeon with the Federal army. He arrived at Fort Pillow in late March, 1864, after five months of service in the Memphis area. On the fateful day of April 12, Major General Nathan B. Forrest successfully attacked the outpost with a Confederate force two and one half times the garrison's size. Exactly what followed the fort's fall has been a source of much controversy. Defenders of the Confederates claimed that the Federals refused to stop fighting, but recently published Confederate documents prove that some of the victors attempted to massacre the defeated garrison.¹

Fitch's official report about the incident lay unknown and buried in government archives until 1982.² Because Fitch did not compose the document until April 30, 1864, sensational atrocity stories circulating in the Northern press could have influenced his account, but several factors militate against this possibility. If Fitch had wanted to contribute to anti-Confederate propaganda, he could have testified before congressional investigators, who clearly had ulterior motives (according to his later claims, he conscientiously refused to cooperate with them). He could at least have blamed the massacre on the enemy commanders, as others would do. In fact, Fitch later defended the conduct of Confederate General James Chalmers.³ A superior forwarded Fitch's 1864 report up the chain of command and into oblivion with the comment that "the horrors of the massacre are but faintly depicted in this paper. The mind of Dr. Fitch is impaired,

¹Charles Fitch file, Personal Papers of Physicians, Record Group (hereafter RG) 94, National Archives (hereafter NA); John Cimprich and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., eds., "Fort Pillow Revisited: New Evidence about an old Controversy," *Civil War History*, XXVIII (December, 1982), 293-305.

²Returns of Medical Officers, RG 94, NA. The editors wish to thank Sara Dunlap Jackson for sharing with them her discovery of the document, Joe Mannard and Stephen Rogers for research assistance, and the Southeast Missouri State University Grants and Research Funding Committee for financial aid.

³U.S. Congress, *Senate Committee Reports*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 63, *passim*; C. Fitch to James Chalmers, May 13, 1879, in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, VII (October, 1879), 439; *New York Tribune*, April 14-21, 23, 17, 1864 (includes excerpts from other papers). Fitch also did not testify before the army's more circumspect investigators. U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901; hereafter *OR*), ser. 1, XXXII, pt. 1, 502-540.

and I fear permanently injured by the scenes witnessed.”⁴ Actually, the report stands as the most graphic, detailed, and unemotional account available about the nightmarish incident.

Despite a wound received at Fort Pillow, Fitch soon returned to active duty in Memphis. Finding his disabilities to be too great, he had his contract cancelled in August, 1864. The doctor practiced medicine in Iowa from then until his death at Chariton in 1890.⁵

Keosauqua, Iowa, April 30th 1864

Sir,

It being the duty of a Surgeon of a Post to make a Monthly Report of the Wounded-Killed-Sick &c. in accordance with said duty, I have attempted to make an Official Report of the Station of Fort Pillow. I have no statistics to refer to in making my Report[.] you will find it imperfect in many respects doubtless, having been on duty at the Post only ten days previous to the capture, and my time entirely engaged in fixing up Hospitals and procuring Medical supplies for the Post, that I had formed but little acquaintance with the Officers and Soldiers. I am not able to give the names of a half a dozen of the Officers and men, who were killed or wounded the 12th inst.

The forces consisted of a Battery of the 13th Tenn. Cavalry numbering some 300, and commanded by Major Bradford, the[y] were all raw Soldiers—a great portion of them had not been mustered into the service.⁶ The Regiment had just commenced forming, this imperfect Battalion was all there was of it. A Battery of the 6th U.S. Heavy Artillery A.D. some 300 strong commanded by Major Booth,⁷ A Detachment of the 2d U.S. Lgt. Art. numbering about 100.⁸ On the morning of the 11th I reported twenty three sick in Hospital and seventy three excused from duty. I learned there were

⁴Endorsement by A. B. Campbell, n.d., on a copy of the report, Returns of Medical Officers, RG 94, NA.

⁵Charles Fitch file, Personal Papers of Physicians, RG 94, NA.

⁶A monthly return dated April 8, 1864, reported that 295 men were present, of whom sixty-one were “unassigned recruits.” William F. Bradford (ca. 1832-64), a lawyer in Obion County, had begun recruiting the regiment during late 1863. Confederate soldiers, acting on their own, apparently murdered him several days after the battle. Bradford Battalion Muster Rolls, RG 94, NA; 1860 Census, Tennessee, Obion County, 77, RG 29, NA; Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Tennesseans in the Civil War* (2 vols., Nashville, 1964), I, 353-54; John Allen Wyeth, *The Life of General Nathan Bedford Forrest* (New York, 1899), 361.

⁷A.D. stands for African Descent. The unit’s monthly return of May 10, 1864, reported 256 men at the fort. Lionel F. Booth (1838-64) grew up in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he worked as a clerk. Enlisting in the regular army in 1858, Booth received several promotions, rising to the rank of major during the Civil War. 11th U.S. Colored Infantry Muster Rolls and Lionel F. Booth Compiled Service Record (hereafter CSR), RG 94, NA.

⁸Fitch greatly overestimated the strength of the section from Battery D, 2nd U.S. Colored Light Artillery, which actually numbered only thirty-five men. *OR*, ser. 1, XXXII, pt. 1, 568.

some twenty of the Tenn. Cav. deserted during the night of the 11th⁹ which would make the active force on the 12th less than 600. Fort Pillow is situated on the East bank of the Mississippi River, some 70 miles above Memphis, Tenn. The grounds previous to the Rebellion were known as the Chickasaw Bluffs[.] at the upper end of the Bluffs, Coal Creek empties into the Mississippi river, while at the lower end the Hatchie River empties. There are two Ravines—one runs from the North east, the other from the south east, forming a junction, some one hundred rods from the River, dividing the Bluffs as it were, so as to make three distinct Bluffs. Two bordering on the river, the other a wedge shaped one commencing at the junction of the Ravines, and extending East. The latter Bluff being much the highest. On this Bluff Genl. Pillow¹⁰ had thrown up extensive Earthworks, which to a very great extent were still remaining. On the Bluff up the River, we had commenced throwing up a small Earthwork, in the form of a Horse shoe.¹¹ For the past 12 days nearly every man that was capable of doing two hours labor, was engaged in this work. On the south side of this work, distant some eight or ten Rods, were several rows of Cabins running East and West. While on the East side was a Rifle Pit midway between the Pits and the Ravine, which ran from the North east to the Southwest. On this Bluff our Troops quartered, occupying the Cabins, and in Tents pitched both inside and outside of the Works except Co “B” 13th Tenn. Cavalry, who were camped at the first Breastwork on the wedge shaped Bluff. There were also Earthworks on the Bluff down the River, this Bluff was also much higher than the one we occupied. There were two roads leading into the Fort, one down the Ravine from the south east, the other over the wedge shaped bluff, forming a junction of the roads, at the junction of the Ravines. At this junction of the Roads there was a double log cabin, used as a Hospital for the white soldiers. At the rear,—east of the cabin—were two Hospital Tents, in which were 12 sick colored soldiers. There was a Contraband Camp,—distant from

⁹Although it is known that four men deserted on the night of April 11, the number stated by Fitch cannot be confirmed. Muster Out Roll, Co. E, 6th Tennessee Cavalry, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; James Thompson and Hugh A. Hill CSRs, RG 94, NA.

¹⁰Gideon J. Pillow (1806-78), a Tennessee lawyer and politician, gained recognition as a major general in the Mexican War. Serving as a Confederate brigadier general during the Civil War, his role in the loss of Fort Donelson caused his removal from field command. After the war, he practiced law in Memphis. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1959), 241.

¹¹The Union forces actually reinforced a small earthwork which had been built sometime prior to June, 1863. Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., “It Brings History Alive,” *Tennessee Conservationist* (May-June, 1981), 12-13.

the Fort three fourths of a mile—on the Ravine Road in which were some fifty women and children. From the junction of the two Ravines—above mentioned—to the River, there were several stores, Dwelling Houses, a Hotel, and the Provost Marshall's Office. The Levee was very broken, on this were situated several buildings used mostly by the Post Quartermaster. Between day-light and sunrise, the Pickets came running in on the Ravine Road, crying the Rebs are coming. I sprang out of bed—hurried on my clothes—ran down to the Provost Marshall's Office and aroused him, returning immediately back to the Hospital, giving the alarm to the Hotel and stores as I passed, by this time some of the women and children were approaching from the Contraband Camp, the Camp appearing to be on fire, in an instant I started for Major Booth's Quarters. I found him at or near the Earth work, making preparations to give the Rebs a warm reception. I told the Major that there was a mail at the Provost Marshall's Office, which was brought up from Memphis, on a boat during the night; he requested me to go and get it, and take it to the Gun Boat.¹² I done so, after which I returned to the Breastworks. By this time the Rebs could be seen in large numbers at a distance, their Sharp shooters were posted in a line extending from Coal Creek to the Northeast, round to the Mississippi River on the south, having the advantage of the old Breastworks to a great extent. By this time the women, children, and most of the Citizens of the Fort, had got into a Coal Barge, and were towed by the Gun Boat, No. 7, Up the River, above the mouth of Coal Creek.¹³ The Rebel sharp shooters must have fired at the Breast works over one hour, without doing any harm, I was the first one wounded, which was merely a flesh wound in my left Thigh, on the receipt of which, I passed down the Bluff next to the river, I had not been there but a few minutes, before my steward¹⁴ informed me that Major Booth was killed[.]¹⁵ I ordered him brought down the Bluff which was immediately done, the Steward taking charge of his ring and such effects as he had on his person. The fighting continued until near 3 O'clock P.M. when the

¹²The gunboat *New Era* participated in the defense of Fort Pillow.

¹³This took place at about 8:15 a.m. *New Era Log*, April 12, 1864, Logs of U.S. Naval Ships, RG 24, NA.

¹⁴Thomas C. George (1843-1912), a farmer originally from Ohio, had enlisted in the 7th Kansas Cavalry in 1861 but drew only noncombat duties after an injurious fall from a horse in 1862. Fitch, having worked with him in Memphis, secured his appointment as hospital steward at Fort Pillow. After nearly a year in Confederate prisons, George required three months of hospitalization between parole and discharge. During the rest of his life he drifted about, living in a number of northeastern and western states. Thomas C. George CSR, RG 94, NA; Thomas C. George Pension file, RG 15, NA.

¹⁵Major Booth was killed at about 9:00 a.m.

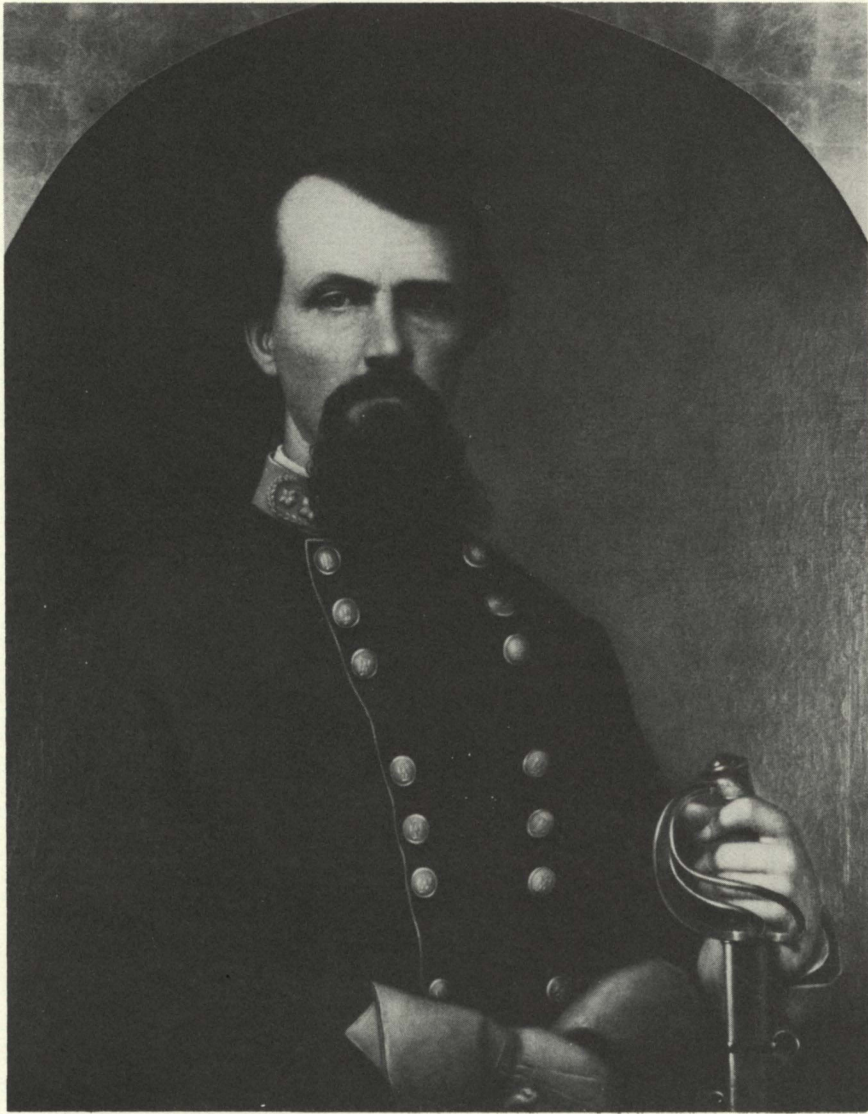
Rebels then sent in a Flag of Truce, demanding an unconditional surrender. Up to this time we had not lost in killed and wounded over 25 or 30 men—the Rebel loss at this time I am not able to state, some of them admitted a lost of seventy five,¹⁶ the most of them being killed or wounded prior to the Flag of Truce. The Gunboat No. 7 fired some 250 shells, at different points, as signaled by Captain Bradford,¹⁷ who was Detailed as the Signal Officer, the Boat ceased firing at about one O[']clock P.M. and moved up the River, near two miles where she was still laying at 9 O[']clock P.M. There was little or no stragglng of our Forces in the Fort previous to the flag of Truce, they all fought like Braves, the wounded were all brought down to the Bluff as fast as they were wounded and their wounds dressed. The Flag of Truce lasted about one hour—during which time the Rebs were engaged in creeping up and gaining possession of the Cabins and the Rifle Pit,¹⁸ which as I stated previously were situated from the Breast works some eight or ten Rods. Major Bradford refused to surrender, he and his Officers returning inside the Breast works, they had not been in over ten or fifteen minutes before the Rebs made a charge with overwhelming numbers, at this time for about five or ten minutes, there was the most active firing on both sides that there had been during the day, after which our men came rushing down the Bluff next to the River, the greater portion of them throwing away their arms as they came, there were only two Officers that came down with them, Major Bradford and Captain Posten,¹⁹ all of the other officers that were engaged in the fight, were either killed or wounded before they were driven down the Bluff, Major Bradford on reaching the edge of the River held up both hands, crying at the top of his voice that he surrendered, he had no coat, vest, or

¹⁶OR, ser. 1, XXXII, pt. 1, 616, reports Forrest's losses as twenty dead and sixty wounded; a partial casualty list (not listing the 18th Mississippi Cavalry) in the Confederate Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, lists thirteen dead and eighty-three wounded.

¹⁷Theodorick Bradford (ca. 1827-64) served as captain of Co. A, 13th Tennessee Cavalry and was killed during the final assault on the fort. Theodorick Bradford CSR, RG 94, NA; OR, ser. 1, XXXII, p. 1, 520-21.

¹⁸This aspect of the battle was been critically examined by Albert Castel, who concluded that this apparent violation of the truce was actually prompted by the approach of a Union steamer loaded with troops. Castel, "The Fort Pillow Massacre: A Fresh Examination of the Evidence," *Civil War History*, IV (March, 1958), 41.

¹⁹John L. Poston (ca. 1829-85), a farmer from Haywood County, enlisted as captain, Co. E, 13th Tennessee Cavalry on January 10, 1864. Despite the issuance of a muster-in order, Co. E was never mustered into service. Captured at Fort Pillow, Poston subsequently escaped from prison and later was mustered in as captain, Co. E, 6th Tennessee Cavalry. After the war Poston returned to his home in West Tennessee, where he suffered for the rest of his life from diseases contracted while in Confederate prisons. His pension claim was denied on the technicality that he was not mustered in until after the illness began. John L. Poston CSR, RG 94, NA; John L. Poston Pension file, RG 15, NA; Crockett County Court Clerk Minutes, vol. for 1884-94, 155-157; 1860 Census, Tennessee, Haywood County, 481, RG 29, NA.



Tennessee State Museum

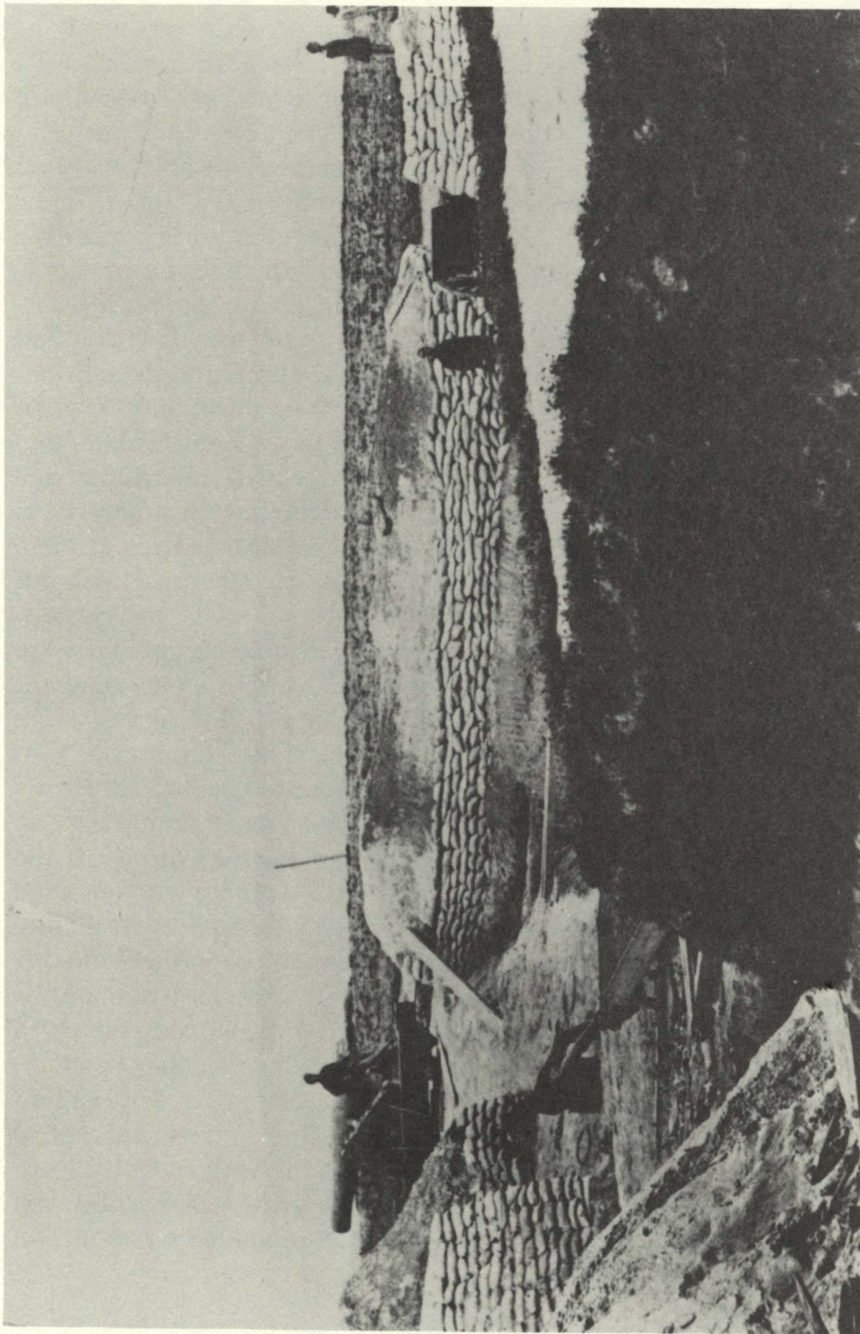
Portrait of N.B. Forrest by Nicola Marschall
Photo by Steve Harbison



Harper's Weekly



Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper



Library of Congress

Fort Pillow

hat on, the Rebs fired volley after volley at him. Bradford retreated backwards into the River, crying that he surrendered, until the water became so deep that he had to swim, he swam out some five or six Rods into the River, and then turned and swam back to the shore, during this time there were thousands of shots fired at him, after reaching the shore he started on the run up the Bluff holding up his hands still crying that he surrendered, the Rebs fired at him until he passed up the bluff out of my sight. While the above was transpiring every man seemed to be crying for Quarters[,] the Rebs paying no attention to their cries except to reply if you Damm scoundrels surrender, fall into line, there were over 20 who fell into one line, near the edge of the River, when there was a volley fired into them bringing them all down but two,²⁰ these men were all holding up their hands pleading for quarters. I had started to get into this line, and was within fifteen or twenty feet of the lower end of the line, when they were fired into, The two that were not killed swam out into Coal Creek, and got behind a log, there were several shots fired at them behind the log, killing one of them, the other one remained there until 9 o'clock when he came out, he was my steward[,] his name is George, he belongs to the 7th Kansas Cavalry, he and myself were standing together among the wounded soldiers, they were encircled, as it were, with red flags stationed around them[,] I think they were all killed except two, the most of them were chopped to pieces with Sabres; the two there were not killed belonged to the 6th U.S. Heavy Artillery A.D. one was a Captain[,] the other was a Lieut.²¹ I do not know their names. I saw them on the 13th among the Prisoners in the Rebel Camp and shook hands with them, the Captain was wounded on the side of his head, a scalp wound, the Lieut. had a severe wound in his left fore arm. I formed lock step with a Rebel Soldier who was leading a horse up the Bluff. I inquired who was in command? a soldier replied Genl[,] Forrest. I asked where is he? he pointed to Forrest saying that is him sighting the Parrott Gun²² on the Gun boat, the breech of the gun was not over forty feet from me. I sprang instantly to Forrest addressing him, are you Genl. Forrest? He replied yes sir, What do you want? I told him I was the Surgeon of the Post, and asked protection from him that was due a prisoner. He said, you are Surgeon of a Damn Nigger Regiment. I replied, I was not. You

²⁰Fitch was the alleged source for a description of this incident which appeared in the *St. Louis Democrat*, April 16, 1864.

²¹These were probably Captain Charles Epeneter and Lieutenant Henry Lippett.

²²A total of six pieces of artillery were captured by the Confederates at Fort Pillow, including two 10-pound Parrotts.

are a Damn Tenn. Yankee then. I told him I was from Iowa. Forrest said what in hell are you down here for? I have a great mind to have you killed for being down here. He then said if the North west had staid at home the war would have been over long ago, then turning to a Soldier told him to take charge of me and see that I was not harmed. For which I thanked him. I was taken to the south side of the Breast works, where I was guarded til about 10 O[']clock P.M. while here I saw them kill every negro that made his appearance dressed in Federal uniform. I had not been blessed with a Guard but a few moments, before the White soldiers as they gained the bluff, and seeing a Guard with me, rushed to him claiming protection[.] In a short time there was a Guard detailed under the command of a Lieut. and placed over us. It was but a short time before some drunken Rebel soldiers came up and fired in among the Prisoners with their Revolvers, wounding some four or five. General Chalmers²³ riding up and seeing such conduct, ordered a strong Guard, the Guard to be mounted in double file, forming a hollow square around us, after which we were not molested. About 5 O[']clock the Rebs commenced burying our dead, and continued at it, until near 10 O[']clock in the night.²⁴ The dead were placed mostly in the Entrenchments on the south side of the Breastworks.²⁵ Major Booth and some of the other Officers were buried in separate graves, close up to the Entrenchment. I saw them place Major Booth in the grave. A Rebel soldier had taken off his uniform, and was parading around with it on. About the time they commenced burying the dead, I heard General Forrest order Captain Young²⁶ to take five or six of our Soldiers—find a skiff, and go up to the Gunboat, and have it come for our wounded. The Captain made a search for a skiff but could not find one. The most of our wounded were gathered up by the Rebels

²³James Chalmers (1831-98) was born in Virginia and practiced law in Mississippi before the war. Entering the war as colonel of the 9th Mississippi Infantry, he rose in 1862 to brigadier general. During 1864-65 he commanded a division in Forrest's cavalry. During Reconstruction Chalmers served three terms as a Democratic congressman from Mississippi and later revived his legal practice in Memphis. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 46.

²⁴Wyeth, *Forrest*, 356, insisted that Union survivors buried their dead, a point clearly refuted by Dr. Fitch.

²⁵Archaeological excavations have confirmed this. Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., *Archaeological Investigations at Fort Pillow State Historic Area* (Nashville, 1980), 24.

²⁶John T. Young (1829-1915), a Kentuckian who became a school teacher in Missouri, joined the 24th Missouri Infantry as a lieutenant in 1861. During the early part of the war he performed quartermaster and commissary duties in his adopted state and Arkansas. Promoted to captain in 1863, he began serving as provost marshal at various Tennessee posts. Young's Confederate captors paroled him in ill health during September, 1864, just before his enlistment ended. Remaining unhealthy the rest of his life, he returned to teaching in Missouri, worked as postmaster for a time, and then migrated to the Southwest as a mining expert and real estate dealer. John T. Young CSR, RG 94, NA; John T. Young Pension file, RG 15, NA.

and placed in a building which Major Booth used for his Head Quarters. As they were passing by us with some of our wounded, the Officer of the Guard ordered me to go with them, and dress their wounds. I started but had not gone but a few Rods before I was ordered to return. On returning the Officer of the Guard informed me that Forrest had given orders for me to be held as a Prisoner; that he would not do so, but that they had left an Assistant Surgeon at Paducah²⁷ in charge of their wounded and the Federals had taken him, and was still holding him as a Prisoner in close confinement. About 10 O[']clock P.M. the Prisoners we[re] marched out, East from the River some three miles. We passed close by the Hospitals, they were still standing. On arriving in Camp the Rebs built good fires for us and gave us plenty to eat. On the morning of the 13th about sunrise they brought us our breakfasts, after we had eaten it, we were formed into line, and our names taken. There were 101 prisoners of us, four officers, Capt. Posten[,] Lieut. Young, and the Captain and Lieut. of the 6th U.S. Heavy Artillery A.D. I spoke of before. There were over twenty of these Prisoners that were wounded. There were not over between Seventy and Eighty, out of the whole Federal forces at Fort Pillow, but what were killed and wounded. I saw Major Bradford at the Fort about 7 O[']clock P.M.[,] shook hands with him, asked him why he did not surrender, when the Flag of Truce came in demanding the surrender. He replied his name was not Hawkins.²⁸ I did not see him afterwards. The rebels soldiers were frequently making the remark that Major Bradford ought to be killed. the Major must have heard such remarks often[.] During the night the question was asked by our men, why Major Bradford was not with us? The Rebs some of them replying that he had been Paroled for twenty four hours, others that Forrest had taken Bradford with him. I do not think Major Bradford would take a Parole for 24 hours, knowing as he did, that his life would not be safe. During the night Captain Posten and Lieut. Young remarked to me several times, that the Rebs would kill Major Bradford, and would be telling in the morning that Major Bradford had violated his Parole, Before 9 O[']clock in the morning the Rebs were cursing Major Bradford for violating his Parole, which only

²⁷On March 25, 1864, Forrest attacked Paducah, Kentucky, and demanded an unconditional surrender of the Federal garrison. They refused and with the assistance of two Union gunboats repulsed a Confederate attack. *OR*, ser. 1, XXXII, pt. 1, 607; Ronald K. Huch, "Fort Pillow Massacre: The Aftermath of Paducah," *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, LXVI (Spring, 1973), 65-70.

²⁸On March 24, 1864, Colonel Isaac R. Hawkins unconditionally surrendered his command at Union City, Tennessee, to Forrest, an action for which he was harshly criticized. *OR*, ser. 1, XXXII, pt. 1, 607; U.S. Congress, *Senate Committee Reports*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 63, 43-47.

strengthened Captain Posten's and Lieut. Young's suspicions. About 8 O'clock in the morning on the 13th two Rebel Surgeons came and dressed the wounded Prisoners in Camp after which they went with me to General Chalmers's Head Quarters, and urged him to Parole me. The General done so. I send you a copy of the Parole[.]

Hd. Qrs. 1st Div. Forrest's Cav. Dept.
Fort Pillow April 13th 1864

I Charles Fitch Asst Surgeon 13th Tenn. Cav. U.S. Volunteers, having been captured by the Confederate forces, do give my Parole of honor that I will not bear Arms, nor do any other Military service in any capacity whatsoever for the United States, until Exchanged, except to attend to the wounded of the U.S. Forces captured at Fort Pillow by the Confederate states forces[.]

Charles Fitch
A. A. Surg. 13th Tenn. Cavalry

Attest

W. A. Goodman
Captain and A. A. General

I left the Camp about 10 O'clock A.M. for the Fort[,] General Chalmers sending an Escort with me. On arriving at the River I found to my great joy, the Gunboats, Nos. 7 and 28, and the Steamer Platte Valley, they were carrying the wounded, that had been left at the Fort, on board of the latter. As I came in, I passed by the Hospitals, they were burned down, one man by the name of Turpin,²⁹ was lying on a Cot some five Rods from where the log cabin Hospital stood, he belonged to the 13th Tenn. Cavalry, a patient in the Hospital. Turpin was very low with Typhoid Fever[,] he could not give me any reliable information of what became of the rest of them. There were fifty nine taken on board of the Platte Valley, forty of them belonged to the 13th Tenn. Cavalry, Nineteen to the U.S. Heavy Artillery A.D.³⁰ Seven of the 13th Tenn. Cavalry died on the way to Mound City Hospital and one of the Colored Soldiers.

We arrived at Mound City Hospital on the 14th about 9 O'clock P.M. The Surgeon of Gunboat No. 28³¹ came up with us, he rendered Very important services in helping take care of the wounded.

Chas. Fitch
A. A. Surgeon 13th Tenn. Cav. U.S.A.

²⁹Joseph Turpin subsequently died of typhoid at Mound City. Joseph Turpin CSR, RG 94, NA.

³⁰A list of paroled prisoners received on the gunboat *Silver Cloud* and transferred to the *Platte Valley* includes forty-two members of the 13th Tennessee Cavalry, twelve members of the 6th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery (including three officers), a civilian clerk, and a black servant for a total of fifty-six. Letters from Squadron Officers (1863-64), vol. 31, RG 24, NA.

³¹Dr. O. B. Damon. St. Louis *Democrat*, April 16, 1864.