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GULF ISLANDS

SHIP ISLAND

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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
SHIP ISLAND
HARRISON COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI
GULF ISLANDS NATIONAL SEASHORE
FLORIDA/MISSISSIPPI

by
Edwin C. Bearss

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Denver Service Center

FOREWORD

This report has been prepared to provide the National Park Service with a Cultural Resource Study of the significant historical features associated and identified with Ship Island, Mississippi. Coincident with the research and writing of this document, the Historical Data Section for the Fort Massachusetts Historic Structure Report has been prepared and submitted.

Research for this study was undertaken in Washington at the National Archives and Records Service, Library of Congress, and the Department of the Interior Library; at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in the U.S. Army's Military Institute; at Jackson, Mississippi, in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; and on Mississippi's Gulf Coast in the Jim Stevens Collection and in the files of the Mississippi Unit, Gulf Islands National Seashore. Thousands of documents were studied and evaluated and a comprehensive report prepared which we hope will assist Service personnel in managing and interpreting an area which possesses much that is significant to the history of our country through more than three centuries.

As always in a report of this character, numerous people have assisted in its preparation. At Gulf Islands National Seashore, former Assistant Superintendent Noel J. Pachta and key staff members William V. Westphal, Bob Bradley, and Mike Brown assisted and encouraged us and provided transportation from the mainland to the island. Chief of Interpretation, Gulf Islands National Seashore Mary Jones, in cooperation with Regional personnel and Harold LaFleur of the Denver Service Center, insured that funding was sufficient and adequate for a comprehensive report.

"Mr. History of the Gulf Coast," Jim Stevens, a friend of more than a score of years, and his charming and gracious wife made our field trip to the Mississippi Gulf Coast enjoyable, profitable, and intellectually stimulating. Mr. Stevens gave unlimited access to his incomparable and well organized library on local history, which he has been assembling since his arrival on the Gulf Coast in the mid-1940s.

Our World War II Marine Raider foxhole buddy Charles E. Cameron, now a Gulfport resident, was helpful to our local research.

Long-time friends and colleagues at the National Archives: Dale Floyd, Mike Musick, John Matias, and Richard Cox of Old Military Records Branch, Jerry Hess of Industrial and Social Branch; and Terri Matchette and Bill Sherman of Judicial and Fiscal Branch, offered guidance and diligently searched the stacks in response to our seemingly endless requests and then copied thousands of plans and documents.

Dr. Richard J. Summers, Archivist-Historian for the U.S. Army Military Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pa., drew upon his encyclopedic knowledge of Civil War documents for which he is responsible to make available the Henry Rust Journal; Dr. Elbert R. Hilliard and his staff at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History went out of their way to make our visit to that institution rewarding and enjoyable; personnel at the University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill and the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, promptly responded to our requests with copies of needed documents; Mr. Arthur Duvie of New Orleans shared his knowledge of the Ship Island Light Station; and Mr. George DeCoux of Kessler Air Force Base his information on the Defense Department's use of Ship Island as a recreation area.

Colleagues and associates former Assistant Superintendent Noel Pachta of the Mississippi Unit, Gulf Islands National Seashore; Drs. Harry Pfanz and Harry Butowsky of the NPS's Cultural Resources Management Division; Jim Stevens, President of the Mississippi Historical Society; and John Garner, former Chief, Cultural Preservation Branch, and Len Brown, Regional Historian, Southeast Regional Office, read the draft manuscript and made valuable suggestions and comments calculated to strengthen the report. Last, but not least, we wish to thank Nancy Arwood and Beverly Ritchey for their editorial assistance and for the long hours spent typing the manuscript.

Edwin C. Bearss

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I. HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SHIP ISLAND AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Ship Island is a valuable cultural resource. In the late 1930s, it was on at least two occasions seriously considered by the Department of the Interior for inclusion in the National Park System as a national memorial.

Except for the beautiful white sand beaches, sea oats, and rolling surf of its Gulf of Mexico shore strand, which delight the mid- and late-20th century seashore-oriented visitor, Ship Island possesses few, if any, economic attributes likely to arouse man's interest. The low lying barrier island, subject to violent storms, its only wooded section east of the lagoon, was an area that European explorers and settlers would avoid. But close inshore and paralleling the island's north coast for a distance of several miles is an invaluable resource. It is a great, protected anchorage, where deep-draft ocean-going vessels could lay-to and discharge or take aboard cargo or ride out a storm.

In the centuries before the dredging of the Gulfport Channel this was vital, because the low lying mainland coast between the entrance to Mobile Bay on the east and Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain to the west was fronted by shallow beaches extending far out into Mississippi Sound. Supplies and cargoes to and from the Mississippi Gulf Coast and New Orleans bound for overseas had to be transshipped to and from ocean-going ships to shallow-draft coasters. Until construction of the Eads jetties in the 1870s, it had been a constant and costly struggle to keep the Mississippi River passes open at all seasons to ocean-going vessels attempting to reach New Orleans by way of the great river.

Consequently, from the beginning of the eighteenth century until the early years of the twentieth century, the economic importance and significance of the great Ship Island anchorage was assured. From 1699 to the mid-1720s, it was the principal port of entry and departure from French Louisiana. Although great numbers of ships and coasters frequented the anchorage, few improvements intended to be permanent were erected on the island, and none before the 1850s. A hostile

environment mandated that these improvements, when built, would be erected by public funds and manned by governmental employees. The first structures falling into this category to be built by the United States were those belonging to the 1853 Ship Island Light Station. While these improvements have given way to and been replaced by others of different design and construction, the United States still maintains range lights, day beacons, and other aids to navigation on the western end of Ship Island and along the nearby Gulfport Channel.

Then, in 1880, the United States, because of increased use of the Ship Island anchorage by vessels engaged in loading timber from the booming Gulf Coast logging industry ports and the dread caused by the terrible yellow fever outbreak that had ravaged the lower Mississippi Valley in 1877, established the nation's first national quarantine station on Ship Island. This station, which opened for the 1880 season, remained on Ship Island through the 1888 season, when it was transferred to new facilities on Chandeleur Island. It returned to Ship Island following the October 1893 hurricane and continued to serve as the Gulf Quarantine until 1916. In the latter year, the Public Health Service moved the Gulf Quarantine to Gulfport. The Ship Island Station was placed in reserve status, a position it retained until the middle 1950s, except during the World War II years.

Coincidentally, Ship Island and its anchorage were a military key to the region. An amphibious campaign aimed at the lower Mississippi Valley and the Heartland of the United States, in the years before the Civil War and the mid-nineteenth century revolution in weaponry and warships, must first occupy Ship Island Anchorage, to establish a staging area to mount an attack against New Orleans or Mobile. In December 1814-January 1815, the British employed the anchorage as a base for their ill-fated attack on New Orleans and the foray against Fort Bowyer.

To guard the backdoor to New Orleans, to deny the anchorage to a hostile force, and to secure the intercoastal waterway between New Orleans and Mobile, the United States War Department included Ship Island in the Third System of coastal defense fortifications. The partially

completed fort was briefly occupied and armed by Confederate forces in 1861. Confronted by Union power afloat, the Rebels soon evacuated Ship Island. Federal forces then occupied the strategic anchorage and island, which became their key staging areas for the amphibious expedition that ascended the Mississippi River in the spring of 1862, capturing New Orleans and Baton Rouge and threatening Vicksburg.

Throughout the remaining months of the Civil War, the Union navy employed Ship Island and its anchorage as a base from which to enforce its blockade of Mississippi Sound and Grant's Pass. The naval repair shop established there helped keep steam machinery of vessels of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron functioning.

The Federal army, following capture and occupation of New Orleans, garrisoned the island with a small force. For much of this time, the troops charged with this mission were a battalion of blacks. This battalion, in April 1863, made a raid on East Pascagoula and thus became one of the first black units to engage the Confederates in armed combat.

Ship Island, because of its isolation, was used by the Federals as a prison for military convicts, Southern sympathizers, and Confederate soldiers judged guilty of violating their paroles. From early October 1864 until June 1865, a camp for Confederate prisoners of war was maintained on the island by Union authorities.

The island from the summer of 1865 until April 1870, was an important post for United States soldiers assigned to reconstruction duty in the deep south. For 24 months, a number of companies from one of the Army's four black infantry regiments were stationed on the island and from January 1868 to January 1869, it was the site of the headquarters, 39th U.S. Infantry. In April 1869, when the U.S. Army was slashed from 45 to 25 infantry regiments and the four black units consolidated into two, Ship Island was a post at which the 25th U.S. Infantry was organized. From 1869 until October 1950, when segregation was ended in the armed forces, the 25th Infantry was one of the Regular Army's two black infantry regiments.

During this period, Ship Island continued to be employed by the Army as a prison for military convicts. The stockade was abandoned and the inmates transferred coincident with the phasing out of the post.

Soldiers returned to Ship Island for a number of weeks in the autumn of 1870 to escape the New Orleans sickly season. This was the last organized command of combat troops to visit the barrier island, until a detachment of coast guard, assigned to beach patrol duty, occupied the Ship Island Quarantine Station in 1942.

Recommendations

National Register Forms--It is our recommendation that the subject nomination forms be extensively revised and resubmitted. Prepared years before the Historic Resource Study was programmed, personnel charged with compiling the forms were compelled to rely on data entered under certain elements ("Present and Original [if known] Physical Appearance" and "Statement of Significance") upon secondary sources. Unfortunately, several of these secondary sources contain numerous grievous errors in chronology, interpretation, and description of events. In their present condition, the forms perpetuate these errors.

In revising the National Register Forms, it is recommended that Fort Massachusetts/Ship Island Post and the Ship Island Light Station be included in a historic district. Such action would include within the district all extant historic structures (the fort, early 1880s groins and breakwaters, and ruins of the 1886-1972 light station), as well as the sites of the Civil War camps, 1862-1870 garrison buildings and stockade, at the western end of the island. Not included in the district will be the sites of the Confederate prisoner-of-war camp and the post and Confederate cemeteries. While their general location is known, it has been impossible to pinpoint on the ground the exact sites, and it is feared that these areas, like that occupied by the 1853-1886 light station, have been claimed by the sea. If, however, a future archeological investigation locates and identifies either or both of these sites, the boundary of the Fort Massachusetts/Ship Island Post--Ship Island Light Station Historic District can be extended eastward to include them.

The historic district's boundary should begin at a point 400 feet east of the ruins of the 1886-1971 lighthouse, on the north-south boundary of the former lighthouse reservation; then south 500 feet with the former reservation boundary; then west 3,500 feet; then north 1,400 feet; then east 3,500 feet; and then south to the point of beginning.

The boundary of the area embraced by the Ship Island Quarantine Station should be redefined to include also sites of station buildings and improvements and the cemetery east of The Lagoon.

Recommended National Register boundaries for the Fort Massachusetts/Ship Island Post-Light Station Reservation and the Ship Island Quarantine Station Historic Districts are shown on the attached copy of the Ship Island, Miss., Quadrangle, 7.5 Series.

Until such time as corroborating documentary evidence is found or additional archeological evidence further identifies and defines the "Early French Warehouse Site," it is recommended that this site not be included on the National Register. The site reconnoitered archeologically in 1973 is congruent with certain structures (the surgeon's quarters and lazaretto) belonging to the Ship Island Quarantine Station located east of The Lagoon.

Site of 1853-86 Light Station--During the 1973 archeological survey, the site of the 1853-86 tower was identified as being "65 feet north and slightly east" of the ruins of the 1886-1972 tower. This statement contradicts the documentary evidence which locates the 1886-1972 tower 320 feet south of the 1853-86 tower. Documentary evidence further states that the diameter of the latter tower, at its base, was to be 18 feet and its foundations to be of "double plank, crossed and well nailed together." This data contradicts the information found in the archeological survey report, which tells of a granite foundation, ten feet in diameter.

Onsite and Trailside Markers--Wherever possible these should be site-oriented. We question the positioning of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Memorial plaque in the sallyport of the fort. It is our

opinion that this handsome plaque should be provided with a more appropriate and harmonious location, near the proposed wharf and Ship Island visitor facility. Here, the memorial plaque would be much nearer the site of the prisoner-of-war camp, where the Southern soldiers suffered, and the cemetery site, where those who died were laid to rest. In addition, the memorial, besides being more accessible to visitors, would be near the site proposed by members of the United Daughter in the early 1930s for their memorial. Finally, relocation of the plaque will enable the National Park Service to comply with management policies prohibiting attachment of plaques, markers, etc. to historic structures.

II. THE FRENCH AND SHIP ISLAND

A. Island's Geographical Setting

Paralleling the Gulf of Mexico, between Mobile Bay on the east and Lake Borgne to the west, is a chain of low, sandy barrier islands. Of no military nor commercial consequence in this age of guided missiles and steamships these islands, from the early eighteenth century until the 1860s, were vital to the defense and economy of the great ports and mighty river system that drained America's heartland. The presence of a deep-water anchorage in the lee of Ship Island's north shore gave to that island a special importance in the days when ships were propelled by wind.

Ship Island, some 12 miles offshore, is about seven miles long by half a mile across at the widest point and measures about 1,350 acres. The island lies generally east to west, with the principal pass from the Gulf into Mississippi Sound off its western point, separating Ship Island from Cat Island by about six miles. To the east of Ship Island, across six-mile wide Dog Key Pass, is Horn Island. Ship Island is about twenty miles north of the Chandeleur Islands and ninety-five miles from Pass a l'Outre, the nearest mouth of the Mississippi, and is about midway between New Orleans and Mobile.[1]

B. Ill-fated La Salle Colony Elicits a Spanish Response

During the seventeenth century, the French explored and occupied the valley of the St. Lawrence and Acadia. "New France" encompassed much of what is now eastern Canada. The English took possession of and settled the Atlantic seaboard from the St. Croix River to the Savannah. To the south of the Carolina colonies the Spanish held Florida with posts at St. Augustine and Apalache, and far to the southwest the borders of "New Spain" reached toward the Rio Grande.

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1. "Medical History of Post," Vol. 304, NA, RG 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, and Military Reservation File.

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, it was apparent that the European powers, especially the English and French, had begun to think seriously about occupying the Mississippi valley. Already British traders, coming inland from Charleston, had entered the southern Appalachians and had established themselves among the Cherokees. To the north, the governor of New France, Louis de Buade, Count Frontenac, in 1673 had sent Father Marquette (a Jesuit priest) westward with Louis Jolliet to explore the Mississippi. These brave men descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas, but they feared to proceed any farther lest they fall into the hands of the Spaniards. Nine years later, in 1682, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, descended the Mississippi to its mouth, and claimed all the country drained by that mighty river and its tributaries for France. He named this vast region Louisiana in honor of his monarch, Louis XIV.

La Salle then ascended the river, and traveled to France to secure a charter to colonize the region. Louis XIV recognized the merit in La Salle's suggestion that Louisiana could be readily colonized, and its Indians employed to check a Spanish thrust beyond the Rio Grande, and perhaps roll back the frontier of New Spain.

La Salle soon sailed for the Western Hemisphere with 300 colonists. His navigator missed the mouth of the Mississippi, and La Salle and his people landed in Matagorda Bay in Texas. Here, Fort St. Louis was laid out in 1685. Disaster followed disaster. La Salle was assassinated by several disgruntled followers in 1687, and his settlement was soon destroyed by the Indians.

The Spanish had learned of Fort St. Louis by chance from a young Frenchman captured aboard a privateer. This news shocked the authorities. Although the Frenchman was closely questioned, he was unable to pinpoint the colony. When the Spanish examined their maps, they saw that there was only one river flowing south from New France into the Gulf. This, they postulated, must be the place. To make matters worse, the mouth of the great river was only 120 leagues east of Apalache and 190 from Veracruz. Not only did the fort constitute a

threat to the fleets of the Indies, but it was a dagger pointed at the heart of New Spain.

Consequently, between 1685 and 1690 eleven expeditions sought the interlopers. Finding them was not easy. In the first place, there was much confusion as to the whereabouts of Espíritu Santo Bay, into which it was said the great river discharged. Some believed it to be the place called Tampa; others deemed it to be Mobile Bay, or even Pensacola Bay. As for the Mississippi itself, even La Salle had failed to relocate it. The Spanish seemingly failed to realize that a muddy delta, choked with driftwood, marked the river of Hernan De Soto and La Salle. They called it Rio de la Palizada--River of the Palisade--and sailed on. This, however, made no difference, because La Salle's fort was not where the Spanish believed it to be.[2]

In November 1685 officials in New Spain named Juan Enriquez Barroto to take command of the first expedition charged with locating the intruders' colony. Accompanied by Antonio Romero, an experienced pilot, Barroto traveled from Veracruz to La Habana. They reached the Cuban city on December 3, where they chartered and outfitted Neustra Señora de los Concepción y San José, a privately owned vessel.

The expedition sailed on January 3, 1686, and the ship anchored in Apalache harbor on the 17th. There, they learned that British traders from Charleston had penetrated the region and that the Apalachicola Indians had risen against the Spanish missions. After securing the services of two Apalaches as guides, Barroto ordered the anchors weighed, and the ship made sail on the 30th. As she proceeded cautiously westward, the Spaniards carefully charted the coast. After making a detailed survey of Pensacola Bay, the voyage was continued. Brief layovers were made to reconnoiter Mobile Bay and the coastal areas to the west. It is probable that the vessel coasted Ship Island and the

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2. Albert Manucy, "The Founding of Pensacola--Reasons and Reality," The Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVII, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 226-27.

adjacent barrier islands before her pilot, the ship having encountered a storm, conned a course to Veracruz, where Barroto reported that he was unable to pinpoint La Salle's colony.[3]

Other expeditions ensued. One of these, a naval expedition from Veracruz, reconnoitered the coast from Tampico around to Pensacola Bay. The Spaniards sighted a stranded French ship in Matagorda Bay, but concluded that the area was too marshy for a colony. In 1688 Jean Géry, a suspected survivor was captured, and trophies of the settlement were found among the Texas Indians. Then, in 1689, the site was found and identified.

Meanwhile, Capt. Andres de Pez, who had led three of the eleven expeditions, had been impressed by what he saw at Pensacola Bay. In June 1689, Pez submitted a memorial to the viceroy, urging that St. Augustine be abandoned and a base developed on Pensacola Bay to defend the region against foreign powers. The viceroy thought enough of the proposal to send Pez to Spain to discuss it with the king's ministers. There his proposal encountered opposition, although it was conceded that Pensacola Bay should be occupied to counter the French. But, when the subject was reviewed by the War Council, the majority said no. Why they asked should France, England, or the Netherlands move into Pensacola Bay? These powers already had better bases in the Caribbean.

Carlos II, however, vetoed the council's decision and ordered Pez's plan to be implemented, except for the abandonment of St. Augustine. The council, still not convinced, secured a compromise. Carlos' cedula of June 26, 1692, called for a minute reconnaissance of Pensacola Bay, and gave the viceroy authority to fortify the area, if he deemed it expedient.

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3. Irving A. Leonard, Spanish Approaches to Pensacola, 1689-1693 (Albuquerque, 1939), pp. 9-12.

Expeditions were dispatched by both land and sea. From Veracruz, two vessels reached Pensacola Bay on April 7, 1693. Aboard was Pez and Dr. Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, chief cosmographer of New Spain and professor of mathematics at the Royal University of Mexico. After entering the bay, the ships hove to, a Te Deum Laudamus sung, and a landing party took possession of the area in name of Carlos II.

Pensacola Bay was surveyed and the adjacent country mapped. Upon their return to Veracruz, Sigüenza joined Pez in endorsing an early establishment of a settlement and its fortification. A report by the land expedition led from Apalache by Florida's Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala seconded the proposal. Accordingly, Carlos II issued his June 13, 1694, cedula instructing Viceroy Count de Galve to proceed with the occupation and defense of Pensacola Bay. No action followed. Funds to underwrite costs of the enterprise were tight; Galve died on 1696; and the War of the Palatinate engrossed the king and his ministers' attention.

This situation changed in the months following the Peace of Rijswijk (May-October 1697). Louis XIV of France was freed to pursue the Louisiana adventure that had been in limbo since La Salle's death. He was stirred into action by rumors that the English were planning to take possession of the mouth of the Mississippi. To forestall the English, an expedition was ordered to be outfitted at Brest.

Reports soon reached Madrid that four vessels were being out-fitted in Brittany to transport soldiers and colonists to the Gulf of Mexico, possibly to Pensacola Bay. The War Council responded with alacrity. On April 19, 1698, a royal cedula was issued assigning first priority to the occupation and fortification of Pensacola Bay.[4]

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4. Manucy, "The Founding of Pensacola," Florida Historical Quarterly, pp. 228-29; Leonard, Spanish Approach to Pensacola, pp. 44-92.

To implement this task, the viceroy of New Spain, the Count de Montezuma, was to dispatch a formidable force to take possession of the area. Martín de Arrangween Zavala, under orders to proceed from Cadiz to La Habana to report on several overdue galleons, was to continue on to Veracruz and reinforce the viceroy's expedition. Finally, Juan Jordán, then in Spain, was instructed to accompany Zavala as far as La Habana. Disembarking there, Jordán was to requisition men, supplies, war matériel, and transportation, and hasten to Pensacola Bay and hold it, pending arrival of the Veracruz squadron.

The cedula reached New Spain on July 14, 1698. To implement the plan, the viceroy contacted Sigüenza and Andrés des Arriola. The latter had served the crown for more than a quarter century and had visited Pensacola Bay, in 1695, while campaigning against buccaneers. Arriola called for a force of 200 men and three ships.

Nearly 90 days were required to outfit and man the ships and to recruit 200 soldiers. In addition to 120 sailors and 200 soldiers, the force included 9 gunners, 3 priests, 3 surgeons, 12 carpenters, 6 masons, 4 smiths, and a number of apprentices. Personnel who had served in the Windward Squadron were ordered to enlist, and beggars and convicts were impressed.

Meanwhile, Zavala and Jordán had landed in La Habana on October 13. The errant galleons were accounted for, enabling Zavala to continue on to Veracruz and a possible rendezvous with Arriola's command. Jordán coincidentally presented his orders to the Cuban authorities and enlisted two small vessels and 50 men.

On October 15, 1698, Arriola had departed from Veracruz, so Zavala was too late to reinforce him. Jordán sailed from La Habana, on November 6, and entered Pensacola Bay on the 17th. Foul weather had delayed Arriola, and his ships arrived in the bay four days after Jordán's. The Spaniards landed on the bay's western marge, and Jaime Franck, an engineer staked out a fort, while the men erected

palmetto-thatched huts. Within a week, several cannon had been emplaced.[5]

C. Iberville Employs the Ship Island Anchorage as a Base

On October 24, 1698, nine days after Arriola's flotilla departed Veracruz, the expedition the French had been outfitting at La Rochelle put to sea. Commanded by Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur D'Iberville,[6] the squadron included the 30-gun frigates Le Badine and Le Marin, and two supply vessels. Aboard the latter were nearly 200 colonists--laborers and Canadians--and a company of marines. Iberville's younger brother, Jean-Baptiste de Bienville, was an officer in the expedition's military force. To assist in locating the Mississippi River, Iberville brought along Father Anatasius Douay. The padre had accompanied La Salle and had a copy of that great explorer's journal of the descent of the Mississippi, which contained the latitude of the river's mouth but not its longitude.[7]

Reaching Santo Domingo, they rendezvoused with the 50-gun frigate Le Francois.[8] The squadron, on departing from Santo Domingo,

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5. Mauncy, "The Founding of Pensacola," Florida Historical Quarterly, pp. 229-30.

6. Better known as Iberville, Pierre Le Moyne was born at Montreal, New France, on July 20, 1661. At the age of 25, he was chosen by Governor De Denonville to take 90 Canadians and drive the English from Hudson Bay and establish French dominion there. With two bark canoes and 11 men he boarded and captured an English vessel armed with 12 guns. In 1691, he went to France, where he was appointed to command a frigate. During his absence the English recaptured the posts on Hudson Bay. Iberville was again sent against the English with two frigates and, in 1694, he recovered Fort Bourbon on Hudson Bay. In 1696, after cruising along the coasts of New England and bringing assistance to Acadia, he captured all the English settlements in Newfoundland, in the dead of winter.

7. George M. Wrong, The Rise and Fall of New France (New York, 1925), p. 470.

8. John F. H. Claiborne, Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State (Jackson, 1880), p. 19. Iberville commanded Le Badine, the Compte de Surgere Le Marin, and the Marquis de Chateaumorant Le Francois. Aboard the latter ship was Capt. Laurent de Graff, the celebrated former Dutch buccaneer, who had led a successful attack on Veracruz in 1683.

held a course parallel to and south of Cuba. Cabo de San Antonio was rounded on January 15 of the new year, and the Frenchmen entered the Gulf of Mexico. On the 23d, they made a landfall near the Spanish settlement known as Apalache. Iberville then turned the squadron westward to Pensacola Bay, where, on the 25th, he found two Spanish ships riding at anchor off Arriola's recently established settlement. Arriola refused to permit the Frenchmen to enter the bay.

On the 30th, Iberville, after much saber rattling, resumed his cruise, and, on the last day of January, his ships dropped anchor in Mobile Bay. During the next ten days, the barrier islands to the westward--Dauphin, Petit Bois, Horn, and Ship--were reconnoitered and the adjacent waters sounded by men in longboats. February 10, 1699, found the little fleet anchored in the sheltered roadstead formed by the lee shore of the western end of Ship Island. Iberville determined that here would be his base of operations.[9]

Ship Island, one of the men reported," afforded the ships a suitable harbor, and it contained two small ponds which provided the necessary fresh water."[10]

A number of men went ashore and "killed a prodigious quantity of wild geese," which were twice as large as those with which they were familiar. They also took "an abundance of fish and oysters in the shell." So many, indeed, that the crews of two of the vessels "became sick from over indulgence." On neither Ship nor Cat islands did they "see any sign that man had ever been there."[11]

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9. Ibid. Ship Island was called Surgere in honor of Le Marin's captain.

10. Marcel Giraud, A History of French Louisiana: The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715 (Baton Rouge, 1974), p. 33.

11. Richebourg G. McWilliams, Fleur de Lys & Calumet: Being the Pénicaut Narrative of French Adventures in Louisiana (Baton Rouge, 1953), p. 3.

On February 13, a small boat party led by Iberville crossed Mississippi Sound, and, landing on the mainland, established friendly relations with the Biloxi Indians. From the redmen, Iberville learned there was a large river--the Malabouchia--to the west. The second two weeks of February were spent exploring the Gulf coast and adjacent islands. No signs of the English found, Iberville ordered Le Francois to return to France by way of Santo Domingo. The captain was to inform the King's ministers that the Spanish had occupied and were fortifying Pensacola Bay.

Then, on the last day of February, from the Ship Island base two expeditions fared forth. One of them led by a trusted lieutenant ascended the Pascagoula River, while Iberville, his brother Bienville, Sauvolle de la Villantry, Father Douay, and 50 men in two longboats and several bark canoes set out for the Malabouchia. Iberville and his companions ran afoul of the Chandeleur Islands, and, after floundering about, they sighted the mainland to the south, southeast. Rough seas were encountered, and measures were taken to prevent their craft from swamping. They were on the verge of turning back, when they discovered they were in fresh water. Sailing on, they found the water becoming thick and muddy and soon entered North Pass. Father Douay insisted that they had found the Mississippi, because of the turbulence of the waters. Iberville was not as certain, so he determined to ascend the river as far as the village of the Boyougoulas, which he had been told was about eight days' travel in a canoe.

On Tuesday, the 3d, a mass was celebrated and a Te Deum sung in gratitude for God's help in the discovery. Iberville's party now ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of Red River. Upon descending the great river, the Frenchmen stopped briefly below the site of Baton Rouge. Here, the party divided--Iberville, accompanied by four men and a Boyougoula guide, in two canoes, navigated Bayou Manchac, and Sauvolle and the rest of the party continued down the Mississippi. On March 31, Iberville and his companions, having crossed Lake

Pontchartrain and navigated the Rigolets, reached the Ship Island anchorage. Soon thereafter, Sauvolle and his people arrived.[12]

D. Ship Island as a Port of Entry for the Biloxi Colony

Having failed to locate a suitable site for a colony on the banks of the Mississippi, Iberville determined to establish his first settlement on the eastern shore of Biloxi Bay, near today's Ocean Springs. A wooden four-bastioned work, designated Fort de Maurepas, was erected, and the area called Biloxi after the local Indians.

Iberville soon sailed for France to report what had been seen and accomplished and to arrange for reinforcements. Sauvolle remained in the New World as acting governor and Bienville as second in command of Louisiana, as the colony had been named.[13]

On January 6, 1700, Acting Governor Sauvolle wrote in his journal, "We heard the firing of cannon from Surgeres Island five leagues distant from our Fort, announcing the arrival of M. d'Iberville in command of the Renommee of fifty guns and M. de Surgeres of the Gironde of forty-six guns." Sauvolle, to welcome the ships, turned out the garrison and had a salute fired. Iberville's return was especially welcome, because he brought with him stores and provisions, as well as a number of Canadian immigrants, and an appointment for Sauvolle as governor. Iberville had also been entrusted with instructions from the

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12. Claiborne, Mississippi as a Province, pp. 19-20; Dunbar Rowland, History of Mississippi: Heart of the South, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1925), Vol. I, pp. 144-46; Walter G. Howell, "The French Period: 1699-1763," A History of Mississippi, edited by R. A. McLemore, 2 vols. (Hattiesburg, 1973), Vol. I, pp. 116-117.

13. Rowland, History of Mississippi, Vol. 1, pp. 146-49; Richard P. Weinart, "Neglected Key to the Gulf Coast," Journal of Mississippi History, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, p. 271. Confusion exists as to the name of this fort. Although many accounts refer to it as Fort de Maurepas, the Compte de Maurepas was not born until 1701, and neither La Harpe nor Penicaut used the name Fort de Maurepas in their accounts.

colonial office "to breed the buffalo at Biloxi, to seek for pearls, to examine the wild mulberry with a view to silk, timber for ship-building, and to seek for mines."[14]

Iberville, in late February and March, visited the Natchez Indians. On his return to Biloxi, on the 27th, he learned that Governor Arriola had arrived in the Ship Island roadstead with three ships and 400 men. His object was to expel the French. Arriola, however, found that he was outgunned by the French frigates Renommee and Gironde--currently laying to in the anchorage. After dispatching a formal protest relative to the French intrusion into a region claimed by His Catholic Majesty, Arriola departed. His flagship never made it back to Pensacola, running aground on one of the Chandeleur Islands.[15]

Iberville remained in the colony not quite five months, sailing for France in the fourth week of May. Some 15 months later, in August 1701, a hurricane roared across the Gulf of Mexico. Ship Island was "partially destroyed," and its two "lagoons, where ships got fresh water changed into a briny pond."[16]

In December 1701, Iberville was back at Biloxi with badly needed supplies, additional settlers, and orders to relocate the colony to Mobile Bay. War with England was threatening over the Spanish secession, and efforts by Louis XIV to secure Pensacola from Spain by diplomacy had been rebuffed. Failing to satisfy the Spanish of the wisdom for joint-defense against British seapower, the French resolved to move their settlement nearer to Pensacola.[17]

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14. Rowland, History of Mississippi, Vol. I, p. 172.

15. Jean-Baptiste Bernard de La Harpe, Historical Journal of the Settlement of the French in Louisiana, translated by Virginia Koenig and Joan Coin and edited by Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, La., 1971), p. 35.

16. Giraud, History of French Lousiana, p. 65.

17. Henry Folmer, Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America, 1524-1763 (Glendale, 1953), pp. 219-21.

E. Mobile Bay and Dauphin Island Eclipse Biloxi and Ship Island

Iberville, upon landing, learned that Sauvolle had died the previous July and that Bienville had been acting as the colony's governor. Bienville was sent to Mobile Bay to construct another fort. Twenty men remained at Fort de Maurepas. After satisfying himself that Fort Louis de la Mobile offered more opportunities for a successful colony than Biloxi, now that the French and Spanish were allies, Iberville gave priority to its development. He helped plat a town. Coincidentally, he superintended the completion of a magazine and barracks on both Dauphin and Surgeres Islands. It was at this time that Iberville renamed Surgeres, Ship Island, because its anchorage afforded the best shelter for French shipping, upon its arrival, in Louisiana.[18]

On April 22, 1702, Iberville again sailed for France, this time he would not return to his impoverished colony. His younger brother, Bienville, who had succeeded Sauvolle, was confirmed as governor of Louisiana. The colony struggled on for several years isolated from the mother country and wracked by internal bickering. In the spring of 1706, Iberville, after nearly four years, returned to the New World in command of a formidable squadron. Stricken by yellow fever he died on July 9, while his ship was lying off La Habana.

Discouraged by the failure of Louisiana to yield any profits, Louis XIV turned over the region to be exploited by Antoine Crozat, Marquis du Chatel. The charter granted to Crozat by the King, dated September 14, 1712, gave the noted financier the exclusive right to the internal and external trade of the province, as well as manufacturing. The King's troops in the colony were ordered to assist and aid Crozat's agents and directors in enforcing his monopoly, which was to continue for 15 years.

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18. Rowland, History of Mississippi, pp. 184-88; Howell, "French Period: 1699-1763," History of Mississippi, Vol. I, p. 118.

This change in Louisiana's financial administration had been preceded by appointment of a new governor Antoine de la Mothe-Cadillac. The 52-year-old Cadillac had been dismissed as commandant of Detroit in 1710. He proved a poor choice. To compound the error, Bienville was demoted to the insignificant position of lieutenant governor. In May 1713, Cadillac and his family arrived from France aboard a frigate and disembarked at Mobile. With him Cadillac brought the welcomed news that the treaty of Utrecht had ended the War of Spanish Secession.

Cadillac's mistakes and his clashes with Bienville resulted in his downfall in less than four years. In the autumn of 1716, he was recalled and returned to France in disgrace. Cadillac's successor was Jean-Michel de L'Epinay. Pending L'Epinay's arrival from France, Bienville, who had been active in establishing a fort and settlement among the Natchez, became acting governor. He held the position until March 9, 1717, when L'Epinay arrived at fort Louis de la Mobile. L'Epinay was accompanied by a new commissary-general for the colony, Hubert de St. Malo.

Needless to say, Bienville was disappointed by this turn of events. The new governor, however, had other honors for Bienville--the cross of St. Louis, a coveted decoration, and a royal patent granting him Horn Island, as a reward for his services to the House of Bourbon.[19]

Soon after reaching the colony, Governor L'Epinay put a number of his soldiers, reinforced by laborers, to work fortifying Dauphin Island. In late August, a hurricane hammered the Gulf coast and choked the Dauphin Island harbor with sand. Ship Island, for the first time since 1702, became the favored anchorage and place of deposit for the colony.[20]

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19. Ibid., pp. 188-97; Weinert, "The Neglected Key to the Gulf Coast," Journal of Mississippi History, pp. 272-73; Howell, "French Period: 1699-1763," History of Mississippi, Vol. I, pp. 122-25; La Harpe, Historical Journal, pp. 100-01. L'Epinay was accompanied by four companies of infantry.

20. Claiborne, Mississippi as a Province, p. 35.

At this time, the 30-gun frigate Paon anchored off Ship Island and found 21 feet of water in the channel. Two days later, she was "caught in such a way that the pass was completely blocked." To refloat the frigate, she had to be lightened and leave via a different channel. This caused considerable headshaking, because since 1699, when Iberville had reconnoitered the area, there had been no change in the anchorage.[21]

F. Seat of Government Returns to Biloxi

1. Hubert's 1717 Memorial

Commissary-General Hubert, after familiarizing himself with conditions in the colony, submitted a lengthy report to the Council on Commerce. After reviewing the situation on Dauphin Island, made worse by a heavy-handed commandant, Hubert expressed regret to see

> ships depart without one's being able to give definite opinions about the projects to be proposed. He [the commandant] could have visited Ship Island which is at present the only port on which one can count, instead of having had the engineer who is under him draw up the plan of this island [Dauphin] which no longer has any port, on which one ought no longer [to] build the fortifications planned. . . .
>
> Ship Island therefore appears to be the only resource so long as we do not have the port of Pensacola, St. Joseph's Bay or St. Bernard. It would then at present be at Ship Island that those that come from France could unload onto brigantines what they bring for the colony and they would take it to the storehouses intended to receive it.
>
> If I dared to express my sentiments on the present situation of the colony it would be to construct a stockade fort on Dauphin Island guarded by a garrison of one hundred soldiers to protect a battery of large cannons which place this island in a safe position while waiting for the assistance of the Indian nations in the vicinity; to establish the storehouses at Fort Louis at Mobile where they would be safe from being burnt in case of surprise, exposed on this island; to build a similar fort at Ship Island which would protect those [ships] from France, would prevent those [vessels] of the enemy from approaching and making themselves master of the said island which is of great importance for the colony. In this roadstead

21. La Harpe, Historical Journal, p. 101. The frigates Paon and Duclos had brought L'Epinay and his party to the colony.

> which we are assured is very good we could easily unload onto brigantines the goods, munitions and the supplies sent from France and these brigantines would carry them to the storehouses built at Fort Louis at Mobile and to those that would be built at Biloxi on the Mississippi where they would be of an advantageous use for trading people who navigate this river for it would save them from risking themselves at sea, and for the Indian nations that dwell along this river and the rivers that flow into it.[22]

Consequently, Hubert, even before the seat of government was relocated, had urged that Ship Island be fortified.

2. John Law and the Mississippi Company Assumes Economic Control

Before any action was taken on Hubert's memorial, a far-reaching change in the colony's management took place. Dismayed by his inability to maintain a monopoly of the Louisiana trade, or to make profits for himself and his associates in gold, silver, furs, and barter with the Indians, Crozat surrendered his Louisiana monopoly to the Crown in August 1717.

Crozat's efforts to develop the colony had failed. Louisiana consisted of the settlements at Mobile and Biloxi, Fort Rosalie on the Mississippi, and Fort Toulouse on the upper Alabama River. No mines yielding precious metals had been found. Trade with New Spain had proved to be a chimera. The only thing that seemed to flourish in the colony was "the spirit of discord."[23]

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22. Hubert de San Malo to Council, undated found in Dunbar Rowland and Albert G. Sanders, Mississippi Provincial Archives 1701-1729, French Dominion, 3 vols. (Jackson, 1929), Vol. II, pp. 227-29.

23. Charles E. Gayarré, Louisiana: Its Colonial History and Romance (Philadelphia, 1848), pp. 191-92.

The Crown promptly turned the colony over to John Law and his Mississippi Company. The Mississippi Company was a subsidary of the Company of the Indies, which was organized in September 1717 with the goal of exploiting Louisiana. Law's company received more expansive powers than Crozat had enjoyed. Through its charter the Company received exclusive trading privileges in Louisiana for 25 years, and a monopoly on the lucrative beaver trade with New France. The Company could appoint its own governor and officers in the colony, make land grants, raise troops, wage war, and negotiate treaties with the Indians in defense of its monopoly. The Company accepted responsibility for transporting 6,000 settlers and 3,000 slaves to the region before expiration of its charter.[24]

3. Ship Island and Its Anchorage Again Become Important to Louisiana's Economy and Commerce

On February 9, 1718, three ships of the Mississippi Company dropped anchor off Dauphin Island. Aboard were hundreds of colonists and an agent of the Crown. The agent, besides informing L'Epinay that he had been recalled, handed Bienville a commission naming him "Commandant General" of the colony. Bienville moved promptly to select a site on the north bank of the Mississippi, some 70-river miles upstream from Head of Passes, as a new settlement. He named the future city New Orleans, in honor of Philip of Orleans, regent of France. Bienville wished to transfer immediately the seat of government to this new outpost, but he was checkmated by Hubert and the Superior Council. Instead, the capital was moved from Mobile to the old Biloxi settlement.[25]

Consequently, in October 1719, Sieur de Valdeterre sailed from St. Louis de Mobile for Biloxi on Two Brothers. He was accompanied by some workmen and a company of German soldiers. The

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24. Ibid., pp. 208-10.

25. Rowland, History of Mississippi, Vol. I, pp. 199-206. The Duc de Orleans had been named regent of France, following the death of his brother, Louis XIV, on September 1, 1715. He held this position until October 1722, when Louis XV ascended the throne.

latter were the first installment of 12,000 Germans contracted for by the Mississippi Company from the Holy Roman Empire to colonize Louisiana. Loaded aboard the ship were provisions, tools, and utensils necessary to reestablish the settlement. Although it was only 38 leagues by sea from Dauphin Island to Ship Island, Two Brothers grounded and was close to foundering, when all hands turned to jettisoning the cannon.

She was refloated and reached the Ship Island Anchorage, where she lay-to a league and a half from shore. Small boats and canoes were lowered and employed to shuttle the soldiers and colonists and their gear across the shoals to the mainland. There, they were met by a Canadian, and, after several days, the men were hard at work reestablishing Old Biloxi.[26]

After evaluating conditions in and around Old Biloxi and Fort de Maurepas, the Council, in the autumn of 1720, agreed to erect a fort on the mainland peninsula separating Biloxi Bay from Mississippi Sound.[27]

Ship Island now replaced the silted-in harbor at Dauphin Island as the principal anchorage and place of deposit for the colony. One of the advantages of New Biloxi was that it was closer to the Ship Island anchorage and expedited transshipment of merchandise from vessels to the colony. Longboats could make two trips from the roadstead to New Biloxi in the time it took them to make one trip to Old Biloxi. It was still mandatory, however, to take any craft drawing more than eight feet to Old Biloxi to be repaired until adequate facilities were established at Ship Island.[28]

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26. Ibid., pp. 206, 219.

27. Minutes of the Council of Commerce (Superior Council), Nov. 25, 1720, found in Rowland and Sanders, Provincial Archives, Vol. II, pp. 298-302.

28. Rowland, History of Mississippi, Vol. I, pp. 212-17.

In the spring of 1720, the ship St. Louis arrived from La Habana with prisoners and anchored off Ship Island. She was found to be in no condition to attempt the long voyage back to France. More embarrassing, there were no means in the colony to properly caulk or outfit the vessel. Consequently, the Council of Commerce determined to retain St. Louis at Ship Island as a floating warehouse to expedite the loading and unloading of vessels laying-to in the anchorage.

Sieur Thopin, who had been keeper of the warehouse at Pensacola during the brief French occupation of that harbor, was placed in charge of St. Louis.[29]

4. French Capture but Yield Pensacola and Its Bay

In 1719, France and Spain, despite dynastic ties, again went to war. The previous year, Governor Bienville had informed the Navy Council that he had a force employed "on the establishment of New Orleans," while a second detachment had taken possession of St. Joseph's Bay, on the Gulf, 50 leagues east of Dauphin Island. A stockaded fort had been erected on the bay. Bienville, however, questioned whether France should retain this position, because of the inability of the fort's guns to command the bay's entrance, the open roadstead, and the sandy sterile soil.

The Ship Island Anchorage, he argued, was "incomparably better," besides being much closer to the Mobile settlements and the new post on the Mississippi.[30]

The St. Joseph's Bay post was employed by the French as a base to support operations against Pensacola. Bienville twice captured Pensacola in the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1719-21), only to see it

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29. Minutes of the Council of Commerce, Oct. 26, 1719, & April 11, 1720, found in Rowland and Sanders, Provincial Archives, Vol. III, pp. 264-65, 285-86.

30. Bienville to Navy Council, June 12, 1718, found in Rowland and Sanders, Provincial Archives, Vol. III, p. 228.

restored to Spanish control by the ensuing peace. The conflict brought no conquests for Louisiana and the French even yielded the St. Joseph's Bay fort, but it demonstrated that France was entrenched in Louisiana and could not be expelled by the Spanish.[31]

Officers of the French military assigned to the colony had a deserved reputation for being "abstemious and temperate," undoubtedly because wine was frequently in short supply in this distant outpost. But, in the summer of 1720, two infantry officers--Macarty and La Maisoneuve--new arrivals on Ship Island went on a binge and died as a consequence of their debauchery.[32]

5. Ship Island as a Port of Debarkation

If Louisiana were to expand and flourish, it was vital that the settlers and soldiers be provided with women with whom to establish families. Few of the adventurers, who founded the colony, had families and such a remote outpost offered few inducements to women. This was recognized by both the French government and the Mississippi Company. The earliest efforts to provide wives for the settlers consisted of sweeping the jails of France and sending their female inmates to the Western Hemisphere. Such a class of women had disadvantages, and the Catholic Church took measures to provide girls from its convents. The first company of 23, accompanied by nuns, landed at Fort Louis de Mobile, while it was the colonial capital. A second group reached Dauphin Island, in 1719, and was sent by Bienville to Old Biloxi when the seat of government was transferred. These girls were known as "filles a la cassette," because they were frequently provided by the church with a little casquettle (trunk) containing their clothing and other worldly belongings.

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31. Howell, "French Period, 1699-1763," History of Mississippi, Vol. I, p. 126.

32. Claiborne, Mississippi as a Province, p. 38; La Harpe, Historical Journal, p. 158. La Maisoneuve was slated for the post of adjutant at Biloxi.

On January 3, 1721, the ships Gironde and La Volage arrived from France and anchored off Ship Island. Aboard were about 300 persons bound for the concessions of Monsieur Le Blanc and Count de Belleville on the Yazoo River, and Madame Mézieres on Bay St. Louis and Madame Chaumont on Pascagoula Bay. Two days later, on the 5th, Baleine hove-to with a number of passengers, including 81 casket girls. The latter had been selected by the bishop from the Paris Salpêtrière, and had been raised and educated there. Prior to their departure for the New World, the girls had been placed under the charge of three nuns--Sisters Gertrude, St. Louis, and Marie. Each one was provided with a marriage outfit and enjoined not to marry without consent from Sister Gertrude. In a short time, good husbands were found for all, and the colonists were so pleased with the outcome that they requested the directors of the Mississippi Company to continue the practice.[33]

6. Plans are Formulated for Fortifying Ship Island

In the months following the return of the seat of government to Biloxi, Bienville focused his attention on the protection of the area. On December 15, 1721, he wrote the Navy Council:

> It would be advisable in my opinion to begin by fortifying the point at the entrance to Ship Island rather than Biloxi in order to support in time of war the vessels that might be in that roadstead in which the least privateer can carry them off without it being possible to bring assistance to them from Biloxi

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33. Rowland, History of Mississippi, Vol. 1, pp. 209-10; La Harpe, Historical Journal, pp. 158-63; Jay Higginbotham, Old Mobile--Fort Louis de La Louisiana, 1702-1711 (Mobile, 1977), pp. 132-42, 161-77. Among the vessels reaching Ship Island from France during the period, July 1720-February 1721, were: on July 20, the freighters Tilleul and Subtile; August 24, Saint-Andre with 260 people for the St. Catherine concession; September 16, Profond and Legere, the latter with 240 passengers for John Law's concession; September 22, Portegaix, Adventurier, and Alexandre; November 9, Marie and Loire, the latter with 60 persons for the Duc de Guiche concession; January 3, Gironde and La Volage; January 5, Baleine; January 7, Seine, with 60 people for the Marquis d'Ancenis' concession; and on February 3, the frigate Mutine.

since it is four leagues distant. There are always twenty to twenty-one feet of water in the pass.[34]

Bienville thus became the second person of whom we have written record to recognize and advocate construction of works upon the site where, during the years 1857-67, the United States constructed Fort Massachusetts.[35]

Some two months before, several engineers--Monsieur de la Tour and Monsieur de Boispenal--had commenced preparation of plans for defense of Ship and Cat islands. By mid-January 1722, they had finished the drawings for the Ship Island fort.[36]

G. New Orleans Eclipses Ship Island

1. New Orleans Becomes the Seat of Government

Before any ground was broken, masonry laid, or palisades driven, the proposal to fortify Ship Island became academic. In the late summer of 1722, Beinville finally won his campaign and the seat of government was transferred from Biloxi to New Orleans.

Geography had been a powerful ally in effecting this move, because it gave New Orleans a decisive advantage over Biloxi and Mobile. New Orleans, unlike the other two settlements, was on the river route to the Illinois Country, and it was near enough to the sea to participate in the commercial activity of the Gulf of Mexico.[37]

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34. Bienville to Navy Council, Dec. 15, 1721, found in Rowland and Sanders, Provincial Archives, Vol. III, p. 316.

35. Weinert, "The Neglected Key to the Gulf Coast," Journal of Mississippi History, p. 277.

36. La Harpe, Historical Journal, pp. 184, 189. Boispenal's plan for the Ship Island fort is found in AC., C13a 6:342.

37. Howell, "The French Period: 1699-1763," History of Mississippi, Vol. I, p. 127.

2. Keepers of the Ship Island Warehouse

Meanwhile, on April 21, 1722, the Superior Council had confirmed the appointment of Sieur Villette as keeper of the Ship Island warehouse at a salary of 1,200 livres per year, to begin March 1. His assistant, Sieur Gouint, was to receive 600 livres per annum.[38]

3. Ship Island as a Haven of Refuge

The security afforded by the Ship Island Anchorage was underscored by a tropical storm in the early 1720s. On September 11, 1722, a wild hurricane roared in from the Gulf and sank a number of vessels along the Louisiana and west Florida coasts. Two ships--Loire and Deux Freres--bound for New Orleans, however, put into the Ship Island roadstead, where they found a third vessel anchored in lee of the island. For these ships, the harbor proved to be a secure refuge.

Ashore there was heavy damage. At New Orleans the winds and tides "overthrew the hospital, church and thirty buildings"; at Biloxi a warehouse; and along the Pearl and Alabama rivers "swept away the crops," causing great distress.[39]

4. Ship Island Loses its Importance as a Port of Entry

Even before the hurricane, Ship Island's days as the principal port of entry for the Louisiana colony were numbered, because of the decision to make New Orleans the administrative center. A major deterrent to that move were the shoals and bars choking the passes giving access to the mighty Mississippi. Bienville, in urging successfully that one of the passes be dredged, documented for the Navy Council the disadvantages of the Ship Island port of entry:

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38. Minutes of the Superior Council, April 21, 1722, found in Rowland and Sanders, Provincial Archives, Vol, II, p. 269.

39. Claiborne, Mississippi as a Province, pp. 39-40; La Harpe, Historical Journal, pp. 214-15.

> [The shallowness of the mouth of the Mississippi] will delay the establishment of this colony and is making us incur great expense because of the distance from Ship Island which is five leagues from the mainland where we are established, and to unload them we are obligated to send small vessels there which on their return can approach to within only three quarters of a league of the land. We then send ship's boats to unload these small vessels and these same ship's boats run aground about a musket shot off shore.[40]

During the months following Bienville's move to New Orleans and the dredging of one of the passes, Ship Island continued to be referred to as a port and warehouse until December 1724, but its importance as a port of entry for the Louisiana colony was diminished.[41] But, as local historian Jim Stevens has pointed out, the "Mississippi River was a man-killer to ascend, bucking currents and floods, expensive in taking time, etc." Consequently, the Ship Island anchorage continued to be a principal port of call for New Orleans-bound vessels until the 1820s, when steam propulsion began to overpower the Mississippi currents.[42]

Luther Maples, in Camp Fires of Ship Island (Gulfport, 1947), pp. 9-10, tells us that Ship Island was the site of the garrison commanded by the sadistic Duroux, which mutined, and was then bloodily suppressed by Governor Kerlerec. Better documented sources, i.e., Claiborne, Mississippi as a Province, and Rowland, History of Mississippi, locate these dark deeds on Cat Island.

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40. Bienville to Navy Council, April 25, 1722, found in Rowland and Sanders, Provincial Archives, Vol. III, p. 321.

41. Minutes of the Superior Council of Louisiana, for Dec. 18, 1724, found in Rowland and Sanders, Provincial Archives, Vol. III, p. 461.

42. Ltr., Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

III. SHIP ISLAND ANCHORAGE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND THE WAR OF 1812

A. Ship Island in the Revolutionary War

France relinquished sovereignty over Ship Island and the adjacent mainland at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, when the region east of the Mississippi, with the exception of the Isle de Orleans, was ceded to Great Britain. By royal proclamation by His Majesty, George II, on October 7, 1763, the area including Ship Island was designated West Florida.

Ship Island Anchorage, situated as it was on the south side of Mississippi Sound, guarded the inland waterway linking Mobile and Pensacola with British settlements at Baton Rouge, Natchez, and on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain. Consequently, it was destined to have a part in a little known theater of the Revolutionary War, which in the spring of 1778 became a global conflict when France entered the struggle as an ally of the American Patriots.

In the winter of 1778, Capt. James Willing, holding a commission from the Continental Congress, descended the Ohio and Mississippi in the armed vessel Rattlesnake. Landing at Natchez, Willing and his men overran and plundered British plantations as far south as Manchac. Willing, given aid and comfort by the Spanish authorities in New Orleans, attacked British shipping on Lake Pontchartrain and in Mississippi Sound. On March 20, 1778, an Englishman visiting New Orleans heard stories that the "rebels planned to carry out depredations along the lakes and on to Mobile and Pensacola." Then, in May, an American raider sortied into Mobile Bay and captured a merchantman, the brig Chance, laden with staves and carried her off to Ship Island. To cope with this situation, the governor of West Florida called on the military to permit the armed sloop Christianna to patrol Mississippi Sound from the Rigolets to Ship Island. She was to keep open the vital waterway linking the Natchez District with Mobile.

Willing, having stirred up a hornet's nest and becoming an embarrassment to the Spanish authorities, curbed his activities. In August, his men returned to the Illinois Country by way of the Spanish

settlements on the Mississippi, while Willing sailed from New Orleans aboard a packet on November 15, 1778.[1]

Before leaving New Orleans, Willing sold the ship Rebecca, one of his prizes, to Oliver Pollack, the Continental Congress' commercial agent in the Crescent City. Renamed Morris, the vessel was placed in charge of Capt. William Pickles. A crew was recruited and the craft armed and readied for sea. But before she could sail Morris was wrecked by the August 18, 1779, hurricane, while she lay at anchor in Lake Pontchartrain.

Meanwhile, on May 8, 1779, Spain had declared war on Great Britain, and Governor Bernardo de Gálvez, long a silent Patriot ally, made available to Pollack an armed schooner. She was christened Morris II. Commanded by Captain Pickles, Morris II, on September 10, as she beat her way across Lake Pontchartrain, encountered the five-gun British sloop West Florida. In the ensuing engagement, the Americans boarded and captured the Britisher.

Continuing across Lake Pontchartrain, Captain Pickles, on September 21, landed parties and received an oath of allegiance from the settlers inhabiting the shore from Bayou La Combe on the east to the Tangipahoa on the west, "to be natives as well as true and faithful subjects to the United Independent States of North America."[2]

In the early winter of 1779-80, Governor Gálvez outfitted an expedition to capture Mobile. To cooperate with the Spanish, Commissioner Pollock, on January 20, directed Captain Pickles to prepare

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1. J. Barton Starr, Tories, Dons, and Rebels: the American Revolution in British West Florida (Gainsville, Fla; 1976), pp. 114-117; John R. Alden, The South in the Revolution: 1767-1783 (Baton Rouge, 1957), pp. 276-77.

2. John W. Caughey, Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana, 1779-1783 (New Orleans, 1972), pp. 159-60; James A. James, Oliver Pollock--The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot (New York, 1937), pp. 260-61; Gardner W. Allen, A Naval History of the American Revolution, 2 vols. (Boston, 1913), Vol. 2, pp. 393-94; Dictionary of American Fighting Ships, 8 vols. (Washington, 1959-1981), Vol. IV, p. 737.

West Florida for sea. He was to proceed through the Rigolets and on to Ship Island. There, he was to rendezvous with Gálvez's squadron and join the Spanish in the attack on Mobile.

Governor Gálvez sailed from New Orleans on February 5. Storms battered his vessels, but he persevered. Reinforced by ships and soldiers from La Habana, Gálvez landed and invested Fort Charlotte, Mobile's guardian, in early March, and on the 14th the British surrendered.[3]

As part of the global settlement that ended the Revolutionary War, the region, including Ship Island, was formally transferred to Spain by the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Claiming West Florida as part of the Louisiana Purchase, the United States occupied that portion of West Florida between the Pearl and Perdido Rivers in the years from 1810 to 1813, and Ship Island came under control of the United States, becoming a part of the Mississippi Territory.

B. Ship Island in the War of 1812

1. Fleet Sails

Ship Island was little noticed during the early years of the nineteenth century, except by fishermen and vessels plying Mississippi Sound, until the late autumn of 1814. By then the War of 1812 was drawing to a close. Although peace negotiations were underway, the British, following their repulse at Baltimore, focused attention on the Gulf Coast and the Mississippi Valley. Stories had reached Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cockrane that New Orleans might be captured by a British force, supported by the Spanish and their Creek and Seminole allies.

On September 18, 1814, a 4,400-man expedition under Maj. Gen. John Keane had sailed from Plymouth, England. It was reinforced at Negril Bay, Jamaica, in November, by the 3,100 men who had burned Washington but had failed to take Baltimore. The combined force, mustering nearly 7,500 soldiers, sailed for the Gulf Coast on the 25th.

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3. Alden, The South in the Revolution, p. 277; Horace E. Hayden, "Pollock Genealogy: A Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock, Esq.", New Orleans Genesis, Jan. 1976, No. 4, p. 4.

The mighty invasion armada stood out to sea and shaped a course to the west and then northwest. As it did, Admiral Cockrane mentally checked off his warships. There was Tonnant of 80 guns, the flagship, Captain Kerr commanding; Royal Oak, a 74, Rear Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm aboard and Captain Wrott on the quarterdeck; Norge, a 74, Captain Dashford; Bedford, a 74, Captain Walteer; Ramillies, a 74, Sir Thomas Hardy, master; Asia, a 74, Captain Skeens; Dictator, 56 guns, Captain Crofton; Diomede, 50 guns, Captain Klippen; Gorgon, a 44-gun frigate, Capt. R. B. Bowden; Armide, a 33-gun frigate, Sir Thomas Trowbridge; Seahorse, a 35-gun frigate, Capt. James A. Gordon; Belle Poule, a 38-gun frigate, Captain Baker; Traave, a 38-gun frigate, Captain Money; Wever, a 38-gun frigate, Captain Sullivan; Alceste, a 38-gun frigate, Captain Lawrence; Hydra, a 38-gun frigate, Captain Dezey; Fox, a 36-gun frigate, Captain Willock; Cadmus a 36-gun frigate, Captain Langford; Thames, a 32-gun frigate, Capt. C. L. Irby; Dover, a 32-gun frigate, Captain Rogers; Bucephalus, a 32-gun frigate, Captain D'Aith; Calliope, of 16 guns, Captain Codd; Sophia of 18 guns, Capt. Nicholas Lockyer; Anaconda of 16 guns, Captain Westphall; Borer of 14 guns, Captain Rawlins; Manley of 14 guns, Captain Montresser; the bombers Meteor (Captain Roberts), Volcano (Captain Price), and Aetna (Captain Gardner); Pigan, a 6-gun schooner, Captain Jackson; and the cutter Jane, Captain Speedwell.

Convoyed by the warships were the transports Norfolk, Golden Fleece, Thames, Diana, Woodman, Active, Cyrus, Elizabeth, Kahr, Daniel Woodruffe, Pigmy, and George. Sir Alexander had more than 1,000 guns on a mighty fleet of 50 ships.[4]

The winds that drove the vessels were good and the days fair. Several of the army officers commented on the speed of the voyage and talked of New Orleans--reportedly a prosperous city, "rich and exciting, but oppressively hot."

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4. Alexander Walker, Jackson and New Orleans: An Authentic Account of the Memorable Achievements of the American Army Under Andrew Jackson Before New Orleans . . . (New York, 1856), pp. 90-91; Charles B. Brooke, The Siege of New Orleans (Seattle, 1961), p. 82.

They passed near the Cayman Islands, where several of the ships laid over to trade salt pork for turtles. From there the ships conned a course toward Cuba. Upon making the Cuban landfall, they coasted along within a few miles of the beaches, until they rounded Cabo San Antonio and entered the Gulf of Mexico. As the ships bore northeastward to take advantage of the Gulf Stream, the weather became cooler. Though most of the British troops welcomed the change, the two regiments of West Indians, accustomed to a tropical lifestyle complained and shivered.

As Tonnant beat along before a gentle breeze, Admiral Cockrane described to General Keane the geography of the lower Mississippi. He told of the lengthy coastline, extending southeast into the Gulf from the Rigolets to the passes at the mouth of the great river and westward to the Atchafalaya. The coastal wetlands, slightly above sea level, were intersected by a maze of bays, bayous, inlets, rivers, and swamps. These wetlands were too marshy for the disembarkation of the soldiers, while the bays and inlets were obstructed by shoals and bars. The Mississippi could be entered through several passes, but these were difficult to pinpoint and treacherous to navigate. The route from Barataria was via a tortuous labyrinth of lakes and bayous through all but impenetrable swamps. Any route to the great river, below New Orleans, would subject the fleet to a heavy fire as it moved ahead. The route via Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain was shorter, but the Rigolets was guarded by Fort Petites Coquilles, and Fort St. John protected the entrance from Lake Pontchartrain into Bayou St. John. Another possibility was to land on the marge of Lake Borgne and follow some meandering bayou that would bring the army out on the Mississippi near the city. Admiral Cockrane apparently favored the latter route.[5]

The fleet arrived off Pensacola in the first week of December. There, Admiral Cockrane learned from the authorities that Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson and his troops, who had invaded West Florida

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5. Brooke, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 79-80.

and had captured Pensacola, had evacuated the area on November 9 and had returned to Mobile.[6] While awaiting arrival of vessels that had straggled on the voyage up from Jamaica, Cockrane sent Captain Gordon with the frigates Seahorse and Armade and the sloop Sophia westward to reconnoiter and to occupy the Ship Island Anchorage.[7]

2. Lieutenant Jones' Gunboats Enter Mississippi Sound

An American spy was in Pensacola at this time, and, on December 5, he sent a message to Commo. Daniel T. Patterson, commanding United States naval forces on the Gulf. He informed Patterson that "a very large force of the enemy is off this port, and it is generally understood New Orleans is the object of attack." The spy had been unable to "learn, how, when, or where the attack will be made." Admiral Cockrane was identified as commander of the expedition, and his flagship was laying-to just outside the bar.[8]

Upon receipt of this information, Commodore Patterson, then at New Orleans, called for Lt. Thomas Ap. Catesby Jones and directed him to proceed into Mississippi Sound. There, Jones would watch for and report the foe's approach. Should the enemy succeed in entering Lake Borgne, Jones was to endeavor to cut off their invasion barges and prevent the landing of troops. If pressed by superior forces, he was to retire upon Fort Petites Coquilles, at the Rigolets, taking cover under its guns.[9]

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6. For an account of Jackson's invasion of West Florida, see E.C. Bearss, Combined Historic Structure Report and Historic Resource Study: Fort Barrancas, Gulf Islands National Seashore (Denver, 1983).

7. Cockrane to Admiralty, Dec. 16, 1814, found in A. LaCarriere Latour, Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15, With an Atlas (Philadelphia, 1816), p. CXXXVIII.

8. N. to Patterson, Dec. 5, 1814, found in ibid., p. XXXIII.

9. Latour, War in West Florida, p. 58; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, p. 67.

3. British Occupy Ship Island Anchorage

By this time, Jones and his five gunboats, one tender, and a dispatch boat had reached Mississippi Sound, and Captain Gordon and his two frigates and one sloop had occupied Ship Island Anchorage. While reconnoitering, Armide was fired on by two of Jones' gunboats, which took advantage of their shallow-draft to harass the Britisher and then withdraw into Lake Borgne. From their mastheads, His Majesty's sailors saw that the two gunboats had rendezvoused with three other sloop-rigged vessels.[10]

On December 9, Lieutenant Jones, having sent word to Commodore Patterson of the British arrival, ordered Gunboat No. 23 (Lt. Isaac McKeever), and Gunboat No. 163 (Sailing-Master George Ulrick to Dauphin Island. While anchored within the island, the lookouts spied two men-of-war out to sea, bearing westward, on a course several miles off the barrier islands. Crowding on a full set of sail, Gunboats No. 23 and No. 163 shadowed the ships, keeping in lee of Petit Bois and Horn islands. At dark, when the ships seemingly anchored, the gunboats proceeded to Biloxi Bay, where they rendezvoused with Gunboats Nos. 5, 156, and 162. Whereupon, Lieutenant Jones, fearful that the British would send a smallboat expedition to surprise and board his flotilla, got underway.

At daybreak, the Americans were shocked and dismayed to see that the deepwater anchorage between Ship and Cat islands was crowded with shipping. Admiral Cockrane's deep-draft flagship Tonnant having anchored off the Chandeleurs, the frigate Seahorse was the nearest big ship. Jones' flotilla quickly put about and made for Pass of Christian, where it anchored, and took aboard provisions sent out from the Bay St. Louis magazine.

In "compact and regular order," the great fleet navigated the passage between Cat and Ship islands. Soon soundings warned the British that they were getting into shoals, and the ships anchored.

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10. Cockrane to Admiralty, Dec. 16, 1814, found in Latour, War in West Florida, p. CXXXVIII.

Relaying this news to Commodore Patterson, Jones proposed to maintain a position between the foe and the lakes until it became too dangerous. He would then cross the bar into Lake Borgne and dispute possession of the lakes. He knew that the deeper draft British vessels could not navigate the Rigolets and Chief Menteur, enabling his gunboats to harass the foe, whenever the British tried to land Keane's army.

On the 11th, Jones' flotilla lay at anchor in Pass of Christian, while the crews made the vessels battle ready. The next morning, the gunboats made sail toward the eastern point of Cat Island, and discovered that the enemy fleet had been reinforced by the arrival of Admiral Malcolm's squadron, on the previous afternoon. Realizing that it would be foolhardy to continue to hold an exposed position, Jones wheeled his vessels about and took station near Bay St. Louis. Here, he would be in better position to counter a further enemy advance toward the lakes, and incidentally afford a better opportunity of retreating to Petites Coquilles, if necessary.[11]

4. Cockrane Organizes a Small Boat Armada

Meanwhile, Admiral Cockrane was organizing a fleet of barges to engage and destroy Jones' flotilla, and thus secure control of Mississippi Sound and Lake Borgne, an operation prerequisite to a successful landing of Keane's soldiers. To do so, he assembled all the fleet's barges, launches, and pinnaces, and manned them with officers, marines, and seamen detailed from the various ships. The attacking force, as organized, included 40 barges, each mounting one carronade of 12-, 18-, or 24-calibers; two launches, one with a long brass 12-pounder and the other a long brass 9-pounder; and three pinnaces. The 45-boat

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11. Latour, War in West Florida, pp. 58-59; Brooke, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 83, 90; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 87-88; Jones to Patterson, March 12, 1815; found in Niles' Weekly Register, April 22, 1815, p. 126. The present town of Pass Christian did not exist in 1814. Pass of Christian was a channel leading from the vicinity of Cat Island toward the narrow entrance from Mississippi Sound into Lake Borgne and the Rigolets into Lake Ponchartrain. Ltr., Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

armada was manned by more than 1,200 sailors and marines. Commanding the expedition was Capt. Nicholas Lockyer of Sophia, who was assumed to be better acquainted with the Gulf Coast than the other senior officers, having commanded Sophia during the September 12-15, 1814, attack on Fort Bowyer and having been involved in negotiations with Jean Lafitte. He was assisted by Captain Montressor of Manley and Captain Roberts of Meteor.

On the night of the 12th-13th, the flotilla departed the frigate anchorage, and shaped a course toward Pass of Christian. It sailed in three divisions, each commanded by one of the captains. As brawny sailors pulled at the oars, the vessels, covered by darkness, crossed the Sound and approached the Mississippi coast.

Coincidentally, the frigates, transports, and smaller ships of the fleet "moved into the inmost anchorage, each vessel proceeding on until she took the ground." The navy, Admiral Cockrane assured General Keane, would sweep the American gunboats from the lakes, opening a route for the army for a rapid advance on New Orleans.[12]

5. The Lake Borgne Battle

At 10 a.m., on December 13, Lieutenant Jones sighted the small boat armada, making its way toward Pass of Christian. Until 2 p.m., when the barges came about and headed westward, holding a course parallel to the coast, Jones was satisfied that the British planned to put troops ashore. He now realized that their mission was the destruction of his gunboats, and he signaled his vessels to withdraw under the protection of the fort at Petites Coquilles. But, with a strong wind out of the west, the water was unusually shoal. Gunboats Nos. 156, 162, and 163, although in the channel, needed another 12 to 18 inches of water, if they were to get underway. To lighten ship, the crews threw overboard all disposable articles.

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12. Cockrane to Admiralty, Dec. 16, 1814, and Lockyer to Cockrane, Dec. 17, 1814, found in Latour, War in West Florida, pp. CXXXVIII-LXI; Brooke, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 90-91; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 98-99.

At 3:36, the flood tide commenced to run, and the boats began to move. Soon thereafter, the British sighted the schooner Seahorse (Sailing-Master Johnson) coming out from Bay St. Louis. Jones had sent Johnson into the bay that morning to assist in the removal of public stores.

Captain Lockyer dispatched several barges to intercept and capture Seahorse. The rest of the flotilla continued its relentless pursuit of Jones' gunboats.

A few discharges of grape from Seahorse compelled the trio of barges to recoil out of range. Reinforced by four more craft, they again closed on the schooner. Seahorse then retired under cover of two 6-pounders emplaced on the western shore. A sharp 30-minute engagement ensued, before the British again withdrew out of range.

Sailing-Master Johnson, satisfied that the uneven fight could have only one result, took advantage of the respite to land his crew, blow up the schooner, and set fire to the public storehouse. At 7:30 p.m., a dull boom announced to Lieutenant Jones and Captain Lockyer what had occurred.

Lockyer's armada rowed steadily westward, while Jones' gunboats struggled to beat their way into the Rigolets against a strong current. At 1 a.m., on the 14th, the breeze died and the vessels became "unmanageable." They anchored at the west end of Malheureux Island to await the dawn.[13]

When day broke, there was still a perfect calm, with a powerful ebb tide setting through from the lakes. The enemy armada, Jones estimated, had closed to within nine miles. It was then

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13. Jones to Patterson, March 12, 1815, found in Niles' Weekly Register, April 22, 1815, p. 126; Latour, War in West Florida, pp. 59-60; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 99-100; Brooke, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 91-92.

anchored, but soon got underway and began to close rapidly. Jones called aboard his vessel, Gunboat No. 156, his four captains. He addressed them bluntly and gave them their instructions. They were to form their boats in close line abreast the channel, anchor by the stern, with springs on the cables, trice up the boarding nets, and prepare to hold the line. At his signal, the captains were to open on the foe with their long guns, and when the barges closed upon them, the Marines were to blast away with small-arms.

The squadron included: Gunboat No. 5, 5 guns and 36 men, Sailing-Master John D. Ferris; Gunboat No. 23, 8 guns and 39 men, Lt. Isaac McKeever; Gunboat No. 156, 5 guns and 41 men, Lt. Thomas Ap. Catesby Jones; Gunboat No. 162, 5 guns and 35 men, Lt. Robert Spedden; and Gunboat No. 163, 3 guns and 31 men, Sailing-Master George Ulrick.[14]

Captain Lockyer watched as the American boats maneuvered into line of battle. The sailors now laid on their oars, and the barges held water for about 15 minutes, before they resumed their advance. The faces of the tars were grimy, wet with sweat, and grim. They had been rowing 36 hours and there was another nine miles of hard pulling. Lockyer glanced at the tidal stream with mixed emotions. While the current made for backbreaking work, it blocked the gunboats' retreat.[15]

The morning was bright, cool, and bracing. Lieutenant Jones, from the deck of No. 156, studied his flotilla. Ulrick's No. 163 was nearest to him; then the others, Nos. 5, 162, and 23. The boats strained at their moorings, as the current sought to sweep them away. As he looked eastward, he saw that the British were relentlessly closing the distance.

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14. Jones to Patterson, March 12, 1815, found in Niles' Weekly Register, April 22, 1815, pp. 126-27; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 100-01; Brooke, Siege of New Orleans, p. 92.

15. Lockyer to Cockrane, Dec. 17, 1814, found in Latour, War in West Florida, p. CXI; Brooke. Siege of New Orleans, p. 92.

Lieutenant McKeever aboard No. 23 tried to reach the oncoming barges with his long 32-pounder, but the ball fell well short, the range was still too great. At 9:30, Master's Mate George Parkes called Lieutenant Jones' attention to the tender Alligator, commanded by Sailing-Master Richard S. Sheppard. She had hove into sight about two miles to the southeast and was endeavoring to rejoin the flotilla.

Captain Lockyer also saw the sloop, and signaled Captain Roberts to take several barges and captured the newcomer. Sailors aboard the other craft slackened their cadence to await the outcome. Vigorous pulling put Roberts' barges in position to intercept the sloop, whose 4-pounder popgun fired several ineffectual rounds. Whereupon, Sailing-Master Sheppard hauled down the colors and surrendered Alligator and her 8-man crew.[16]

Captain Lockyer, his spirits roused by this success, ordered his armada "to come to a grapnel," while the officers and men breakfasted and Roberts' people secured their prize and rejoined the main force. He tested the current and found it running at three miles an hour.

After wolfing down their rations, the tars and marines spliced the main brace with an extra allowance of firey Jamacian rum.

Lieutenant Jones was watching when the British again took their places in the barges, and at 10:30 the oars began to dip. As they bore down on the five gunboats, the British formed a line abreast in open order, extending from near the mainland almost to Malheureux Island.

The surging tidal stream seemed to favor His Majesty. Jones' boat and Ulrick's No. 163 were swept ahead of the other three, so

16. Lockyer to Cockrane, Dec. 17, 1814, found in Latour, War in West Florida, p. CXI; Jones to Patterson, March 17, 1815, found in Niles' Weekly Register, April 22, 1815, pp. 126-27; Brooke, Siege of New Orleans, p. 93; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 101-02.

that Nos. 156 and 163 were about 100 yards in advance of Nos. 5, 162, and 23.[17]

On came the small boat armada. Jones called for his captains to "Fire!" Boat No. 23's long 32-pounder boomed, carrying a shower of grape toward the oncoming foe. The other four gunboats took the cue. Projectiles kicked up scattered spouts, some ahead and some behind the barges, but some on target. The British, undaunted, steadily closed the range, as grape shot hit the water and ricocheted and shells exploded about them.

Lockyer's division made for Jones' boat, No. 156. Montressor's and Roberts' divisions singled out Ulrick's gunboat, which likewise had been swept forward by the tide. The barges now opened fire with their carronades. According to Jones' watch, the time was 10:50. Cannon roared on both sides, shells and grape filled the air, and wood was sundered and splintered whenever there was a hit. Grayish smoke rose and lingered, because there was no breeze.

A melee ensued, as each officer concentrated on his vessel. Captain Lockyer saw the nearby barges under Midshipman White of Seahorse and Lieutenant Tatnall's from Tonnant close on Gunboat No. 156, and then concentrated on his own commanded by Lt. George Pratt of Seahorse.

Jones' people aboard No. 156 sweat and swore, as they feverishly served their five guns. The gunboats were larger marks than the barges, and there was scrambling and shouts as projectiles struck the decks or thudded into the beams. Ulrick's three guns roared defiance as barges closed on No. 163. Nos. 5, 162, and 23, though not under attack, maintained a steady fire.

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17. Jones to Patterson, March 12, 1815, found in Niles' Weekly Register, April 22, 1815, pp. 126-27; Lockyer to Cockrane, Dec. 17, 1814, found in Latour, War in West Florida, p. CXI; Brooke, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 93-94; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 102-03.

At 11:49, three barges approached No. 156, and gunners pointed their guns at them. Planks splintered as hits were scored. Two of these barges began shipping water rapidly and capsized. To save themselves from drowning, the crews abandoned the craft and clung to their sides. The third barge hastily backed water.

Lieutenant Tatnall commanded one of the sunken craft. Unwilling to abandon the fight, he swam to another barge and climbed aboard.[18]

Four more barges now closed on No. 156--one was Captain Lockyer's craft. Lockyer's barge was struck by a stand of grape, and the captain wounded. The barges now came alongside and sailors and marines, armed to the teeth, led by Lieutenants Pratt and Tatnall and Midshipman White, scrambled aboard. Pratt, who had set fire to several of the public buildings during the raid on Washington, fell seriously wounded.

Lieutenant Jones was shot in the left shoulder, and, as he was carried below, shouted to Master's Mate Parker, "Keep up the fight!" Parker barely replied "Aye! aye!" before he was cut down. By this time, the British, in overwhelming numbers, were aboard No. 156. Seeing that further resistance was hopeless, the gunboat surrendered at 12:10. Strange to say, the stars and stripes continued to fly from her masthead, where they remained until the fighting was over on the other boats.

Captain Montressor's division now approached Ulrick's boat. It was held at bay for a few moments, but, reinforced by Captain Roberts' division, soon overpowered No. 163. The British now turned

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18. Jones to Patterson, March 12, 1815, found in Niles' Weekly Register, April 22, 1815, p. 126; Lockyer to Cockrane, Dec. 17, 1814, found in Latour, War in West Florida, p. CXI; Brooke, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 95-96; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 103-04. Tatnall had once escaped a French prison attired as a monk.

the cannon of Nos. 156 and 163 upon the remaining three gunboats, while a dozen barges advanced on No. 162. Lieutenant Spedden's left arm at the elbow was shattered by a grape-shot. He, however, fought on. A marine found Spedden a conspicuous mark and shot him in the right shoulder. As Spedden was carried below, the British rushed upon the deck and took possession of his boat. The British next turned upon Boat No. 5. A well-armed shot dismounted her most effective weapon, a 24-pounder, and the foe encountered little difficulty in boarding and capturing Sailing-Master Ferris' vessel.

Lieutenant McKeever's gunboat found her decks swept by the fire of the four captured gunboats. Seeing that further resistance was suicidal, McKeever surrendered No. 23. The time was 12:40. The American fleet on the lakes, the eyes for Jackson army had been annihilated. Admiral Cockrane thus made good his boast to sweep the waters between Keane's army and New Orleans clean of enemy gunboats.

The three-hour battle had been fought by both belligerents with courage and audacity. The British, though greatly outnumbering the Americans, were in small boats, and for some time had been exposed to a heavy fire from the gunboats' long-range 32-and 24-pounders without the ability to return it. When he tallied his losses, Captain Lockyer found that his dead numbered: three midshipmen, thirteen sailors, and one marine. Wounded were one captain (Lockyer), four lieutenants, one lieutenant of marines, three master's mates, seven midshipmen, fifty seamen, and eleven marines. The dead and wounded totaled 94. Jones' losses were also heavy, numbering about one-third of those engaged. Among the wounded were three of the five gunboat captains--Jones, Spedden, and McKeever.[19]

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19. Jones to Patterson, March 23, 1815, found in Niles' Weekly Register, April 22, 1815, p. 126; Brooke, Siege of New Orleans, p. 96; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 106-07; Lockyer to Cockrane, Dec. 17, 1814, found in Latour, War in West Florida, pp. CXL-CXlii. Many of the British dead were buried in Indian mounds on the Mississippi side of the Pearl River. Ltr., Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

6. British Follow-up Their Victory

After a brief rest, the British, bringing along their six prizes, began the arduous return voyage up the sound to the Ship Island Anchorage. Admiral Cockrane was understandably delighted and moved promptly to capitalize on his success.

On December 16, Col. W. Thornton and Capt. Sir James Gordon of Seahorse embarked a force in small boats, departed the anchorage, and by nightfall had occupied Isle au Poix, a swampy islet at the mouth of Pearl River. Situated 38 miles from the anchorage and 30 miles from the mouth of Bayou Bienvieu, up which it was intended to push on toward New Orleans, the island served as an intermediate staging area.

By dark on the 21st, all the soldiers slated to participate in the expedition had been massed at Isle au Poix. This had been a backbreaking operation for the sailors manning the oars. The next morning, at 10 a.m., General Keane, having embarked 2,400 soldiers in gunboats, barges, and other craft, crossed Lake Borgne, and by dark the advance guard had reached the mainland. By noon on the 23d, General Keane and 1,600 men were on the Mississippi's right bank, eight miles below New Orleans.[20]

7. British Depart the Gulf Coast

The fate of the expedition is too well known to be detailed in this report and has little bearing on the Ship Island Anchorage. Following their crushing defeat by General Jackson's army at Chalmette on January 8, 1815, the British remained camped for ten days near the battleground. On the 19th, the army withdrew from the Mississippi and returned to Lake Borgne. The troops camped on the lakeshore until January 27, when they were reembarked in the small boat armada, and rendezvoused with the fleet off Ship Island two days later. The British

20. Alfred T. Mahan, Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812, 2 vols. (Boston, 1905), pp. 390-91; John Henry Cooke, A Narrative of Events in the South of France and of the Attack on New Orleans in 1814 and 1815 (London, 1835), pp. 182-83. The cold, wet December weather caused particular suffering among the black British units clad as they were in light tropical uniforms. Ltr., Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

then proceeded against Fort Bowyer, on Mobile Point, the guardian of Mobile Bay. After a five-day siege, the fort was surrendered on February 23. Mobile was at the mercy of the British, when word arrived, in mid-March, that a peace treaty had been signed at Ghent, on Christmas Eve. The mighty fleet then departed the Gulf Coast, and Ship Island again faded into obscurity.

IV. SHIP ISLAND AS A CONFEDERATE BASTION

A. Confederate Squabbles Delay the Reoccupation and Fortification of Ship Island

In the years immediately after the War of 1812, the United States War Department began construction of a system of masonry fortifications to guard important harbors and ports on its Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Work on a Ship Island fort was commenced in 1858. The death of the first project engineer, delays by the Mississippi legislature in ceding jurisdiction over the island to the United States, and a series of tropical storms first delayed and then slowed construction.

By January 9, 1861, when Mississippi, following the lead of South Carolina, seceded from the Union, the fort's scarp had been laid-up to a height of nine feet at a number of points and several of the embrasures formed. The fort, which commanded the pass into Mississippi Sound between Ship and Cat islands, mounted no guns, and was in no condition for defense.

On January 13, a party of armed Mississippians arrived on Ship Island. They told the construction overseer that they had come to take possession of the fort and the Corps of Engineers' property. They caused no difficulty and soon returned to the mainland. That afternoon a second armed party landed on the island. These men were more energetic. They hoisted a secessionist flag and left ten men behind who occupied a vacant Engineer building. This detachment did not interfere with the workforce and the construction of the fort continued.

On the morning of January 20, a third party of armed men came ashore. Whereupon, 1st Lt. Frederick E. Prime, the superintending engineer, closed down the project. After settling the outstanding liabilities against the works under his charge, Prime left for Washington. (Detailed information on the construction history of the Ship Island Fort, Lieutenant Prime's problems, and the January 1861 occupation of Ship Island by the Southerners is found in Edwin C. Bearss, Historic Structure Report: Ship Island Fort (Denver, 1983), chapters II-IV.)

In the weeks following the shutting down of the Ship Island fortification project and withdrawal of the Mississippi State Militia, the secessionists' energies were directed elsewhere. All eyes were focused on Montgomery, Alabama, where a Confederate government was organized in February 1861, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was inaugurated as Provisional President; and Charleston and Pensacola Harbors, where United States troops held Forts Sumter and Pickens. The bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumter, followed by President Abraham Lincoln's April 15 call for 75,000 volunteers aroused passions and fears in the North and South.

On April 17, the Handsborough postmaster wrote Mississippi Governor John J. Pettus, calling attention to the defenseless condition of the State's Gulf Coast. There were, he pointed out, neither men nor guns with which to oppose landing parties sent ashore from Union warships. Besides gathering forage such forces could march on Mobile or thrust northward into the Piney Woods.[1]

To underscore local fears, President Abraham Lincoln, unbeknown to the Handsborough postmaster, on the 19th, had declared a blockade of the southern coasts from the Rio Grande to the North and South Carolina line. Upon being apprised of this, A. E. Lewis of West Pascagoula wrote Governor Pettus, warning that, unless measures were taken to organize and arm units for defense of the Gulf Coast, the blockading squadron could easily land small boat expeditions and "commit depredations."[2]

Governor Pettus, along with Governor Thomas O. Moore of Louisiana, accordingly began pressuring the Confederate government to take steps to occupy and garrison Ship Island. Their words brought action.

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1. W. McCallen to Pettus, April 17, 1861, MDAH, RG 27, Series E, Governor's Records.

2. Lewis to Pettus, April 29, 1861, MDAH, RG 27, Series E, Governor's Records.

On Saturday, May 11, Secretary of War Leroy P. Walker telegraphed Brig. Gen. James Tradeau, an officer in the Louisiana Militia. Tradeau was to occupy Ship Island with one regiment and two batteries. To accomplish this mission, he was urged to complete promptly the organization of his troops.[3]

Responding with alacrity, General Tradeau telegraphed the War Department that there were 2,000 soldiers at New Orleans' Camp Walker. But Governor Moore refused to permit Tradeau's men to leave Louisiana unless they turned in the arms and accoutrements belonging to the State. Acknowledging the strategic importance of the barrier island, Tradeau promised to act vigorously, as soon as he procured the prerequisite war materiel.[4]

Upon receipt of Tradeau's communication, Secretary Walker contacted Governor Moore. Because it was vital for the military to secure immediately possession of Ship Island, Walker asked Moore for an explanation of his stance.[5]

The governor replied that Tradeau had no command beyond that as a brigadier general of militia, and none of the men subject to Tradeau's orders had volunteered for Confederate service. As yet, Tradeau had not called for small-arms and accoutrements. But, if he had, Moore would have refused to supply them, because as a militia general Tradeau had no need for them.

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3. The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (73 vols. 128 parts; Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. LIII, pp. 681, 688-89; cited hereinafter as Official Records. Tradeau's command consisted of the Orleans Rifle Regiment, two companies of infantry (Capts. H. A. Rauhman's and Leon J. Fremaux's), and a battery of 6-pounders under Maj. P. E. Theard.

4. Ibid., p. 681.

5. Ibid., p. 683.

If Tradeau had a commission from the Confederate government, Moore would like to be informed.

Moore concurred with the War Department on the need to occupy Ship Island, and promised to aid the undertaking.[6]

Secretary Walker, to pacify Governor Moore, explained that General Tradeau had been offered command of the Ship Island expedition by President Davis on the assurance that he had a legion ready for service in the field. If Tradeau were not sent, Walker pondered, "What is your proposition?"[7]

Meanwhile, the New Orleans evening papers, on May 15, carried advertisements placed by General Tradeau, calling for volunteers for a 12-month regiment.[8] Relaying this news to Secretary Walker, Governor Moore poured cold water on Tradeau's efforts. The governor did not believe the militia general could raise a regiment in a month, if ever.

As for his thoughts on providing for the security of Ship Island, Moore had none. He, however, was satisfied that he could furnish the number of 12-month men needed. Moreover, he was in agreement that the island ought to be garrisoned immediately, and that the leader of this force must be a skillful officer.[9]

Upon glancing at Governor Moore's telegram, Secretary of War Walker fired off two messages. To normalize relations with Moore, General Tradeau was notified that his appointment to command the Ship

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6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., pp. 683-84.

8. Ibid., p. 684.

9. Ibid.

Island expedition was revoked. Since Tradeau had failed, the Department inquired into the possibility of sending the 4th Louisiana, if it were acclimated, to the barrier inland. This would involve mustering the regiment into Confederate service for one year.[10]

On Friday, the 17th, after meeting with Col. Paul O. Hebert, Governor Moore wired the War Department that the 4th Louisiana Infantry was prepared to embark for Ship Island today or tomorrow. Also available for the expedition was the Donaldsonville Artillery, armed with two 6-pounders.

Moore also broached the subject of providing the garrison with a battery of big guns, without which the troops would be subject to blockade and capture.[11]

Secretary Walker was delighted with the governor's response, and called for dispatch of the 4th Louisiana to the island, as soon as the troops were mustered in. He, however, saw no need to send the light artillerists. The War Department would provide a 10-inch columbiad, two 68-pounders, and a number of 32-pounders for the island's defense against Yankee seapower.[12] This was a mistake. If Walker had left the governor alone, Walker might have promptly secured a garrison.

The 4th Louisiana's commander--Col. Robert J. Barrow--was likewise cognizant of this danger, and he telegraphed President Davis,

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10. Ibid., pp. 684-85. General Tradeau, on receipt of the Secretary's communication, requested that the War Department assign his legion "in a body to any duty in any capacity under the Confederate States for the duration of the war." Ibid., p. 689.

11. Ibid., p. 685. Colonel Hébert commanded the Military District of Louisiana.

12. Ibid., p. 686.

"If you order me I am willing to storm the 'gates of hell,' but I do not wish to sacrifice my men." Will we "have the means of protection?"[13]

On May 24, to add to Secretary Walker's problems, he learned that his commander at Mobile, Col. William J. Hardee, had had the Engineer buildings on the western end of Ship Island burned in a misguided burst of enthusiasm.

This was done by a landing party from the revenue cutter Morgan, formerly the U.S. Revenue Cutter Lewis Cass, commanded by Capt. J. J. Morrison. Commenting on the affair, the editor of the New Orleans Delta noted, "only the few small houses built to shelter the workmen were burned." Even so, the editor mused, "Why the Confederate States should destroy the buildings . . . greatly puzzles and perplexes us."[14]

B. General Twiggs Takes Command

This news compelled President Davis, then in the throes of transferring the capital of the Confederacy from Montgomery to Richmond, to take action to provide a unified command for protection of the South's soft underbelly. On May 25, Davis wrote 71-year-old David E. Twiggs, who had been dismissed from his brigadier generalcy in the United States Army, informing him that he was to be commissioned a major general in the Provisional Confederate Army, and charged with defense of New Orleans and its approaches. Davis called Twiggs' attention "to the Mississippi Sound, the channels of communication between New Orleans and Mobile, for which we have attempted to make provision by the occupation of Ship Island."

Two days later, General Twiggs, having agreed to serve, Secretary of War Walker issued Special Order No. 61, placing Twiggs in

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13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.; Washington Evening Star, June 1, 1861; Ralph W. Donnelly to Bearss, May 27, 1980.

command of Department No. 1, to include Louisiana and southern Mississippi and Alabama. His headquarters were to be in New Orleans.[15]

Meanwhile, on May 23, the War Department had alerted Maj. Martin L. Smith of the Corps of Engineers that the 4th Louisiana Infantry had been ordered to Ship Island. Smith was to cooperate with Colonel Barrow "in all measures deemed necessary for defense of the passes near that island leading into Mississippi Sound."[16]

It was the last day of the month before Twiggs reached New Orleans from Pascagoula and formally assumed command of Department No. 1. Writing the War Department, on June 1, Twiggs cautioned that the Gulf Coast, between New Orleans and Fort Morgan, is much exposed to attacks by Union sailors and marines landing from small boats. Despite Governor Moore's optimism no troops had yet reached Ship Island. Even if they had, Twiggs noted, they would be of no use beyond defending that point. Indeed, without some big guns, the Yankee fleet could gobble up a Confederate force posted on the island whenever it wished.

Twiggs proposed that, when the 4th Louisiana reached the Mississippi Gulf Frontier, to post two companies at each of these places--Pass Christian, Biloxi, Mississippi City, East Pascagoula, and Ship Island. This should provide all the security needed during the forthcoming summer.[17]

The 4th Louisiana had been mustered into Confederate service for 12 months at Camp Moore on May 25, six days before General Twiggs' arrived in New Orleans. In mid-June, the regiment returned to the Crescent City, where it had been organized on the last day of April. On

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15. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 690; Ezra J. Warner, Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders (Baton Rouge, 1959), p. 312.

16. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 689.

17. Ibid., p. 692.

the 20th, Colonel Barrow led his troops on a march through the city and out to Milneburg, where they boarded the steamer Grey Cloud, which landed them on the Mississippi coast. Relaying this information to Secretary Walker, Twiggs lamented that, although four companies were camped at Mississippi City, they had been unable to occupy Ship Island for want of heavy guns. In the course of the next seven days, he hoped to get some 32-pounders. When they became available, measures would be taken to garrison and erect batteries on Ship Island.

Efforts to secure the loan of some big cannon from the Navy had been unsuccessful, Twiggs complained, though they would be more valuable positioned on Ship Island than lying on the New Orleans wharves. He, however, did not foresee an invasion of the Gulf Frontier before autumn.[18]

C. Union Blockader Raids Mississippi Sound

The footdragging brought predictable results. On June 23, the Federal screw steamer Massachusetts (Comdr. Melancton Smith) boldly entered Mississippi Sound. Employing her small boats, she captured the schooners Brilliante (flying Mexican colors), Trois Freres, Olive Branch, Fanny, and Basilde. These vessels were engaged in the heretofore lucrative Mobile-New Orleans trade. Prize crews were placed aboard, and the schooners sent to Key West for adjudication before Judge William Marvin's admiralty court. Before withdrawing from the sound, on the

18. Ibid., p. 699; Compiled Service Records, Louisiana Confederate Soldiers, NA, RG 94; John S. Kendall, "Recollections of a Confederate Officer," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 1048-51. Camp Moore was on the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad, about ten miles south of the Mississippi-Louisiana state line. The 4th Louisiana was deployed: 2 companies each at Shieldsborough, Pass Christian and East Pascagoula, and 4 at Mississippi City. Capt. John B. Deason and his Gainesville Volunteers were also on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. They had gone into camp at Bay St. Louis, on June 8, where they were in position to counter the threat of a Yankee landing. Deason to Pettus, June 28, 1861, NA, MDAH, RG 27, Series E, Governor's Papers.

24th, Massachusetts intercepted and turned back the mail steamer Oregon, bound from New Orleans to Mobile.[19]

On the day that Massachusetts withdrew from the sound, General Twiggs frantically telegraphed Secretary Walker, there is "a large frigate off Ship Island. A steamer between Ship Island and the mainland. An armed schooner near Deer Island. Row-boats in the sound."[20]

The next day, he provided the Department with additional details of the raid and of his response. Twiggs had ordered the navigational lights on Ship and Cat islands doused and the bouys removed. He countermanded this order, when informed that these aids to navigation were "of service to our . . . vessels attempting to run the blockade."

Twiggs promised Richmond to mount some guns on Ship Island, as soon as he could secure cannon carriages. It had been a terrible blunder on Colonel Hardee's part, he reminded Walker, to burn the $100,000 worth of buildings and Engineer property.[21]

Meanwhile, a prominent resident of West Pascagoula, Alfred E. Lewis, was writing Governor Pettus, urging that steps be taken to

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19. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (31 vols; Washington, 1895-1929), Series I, Vol. 16, pp. 560-61; cited hereinafter as Official Records -- Navies. Brillante's cargo consisted of 600 barrels of flour; Trois Freres', salt and oats; Olive Branch's, turpentine; Fanny's, 602 bars of railroad iron; and Basilde's, 30,000 bricks. Four of these vessels were recaptured by the Confederates within the week. The capture of Brilliante led to a case heard by the U.S. Supreme Court in February 1863, regarding a challenge of President Lincoln's war powers. William M. Robinson, The Confederate Privateers (New Haven, 1928), pp. 194-95. The Boston-built iron steamer Massachusetts had been purchased by the Navy on May 3, 1861, and commissioned at the Charlestown Navy Yard three weeks later. She was armed with one 32-pounder and four VIII-inch Dahlgrens. Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, 8 vols. (Washington, 1959-1981), Vol. IV, pp. 263-64.

20. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 703.

21. Ibid., p. 703.

prevent further forays by Union gunboat into the sound. When they returned, the Yankees could be expected to send landing parties ashore. Upon sighting Massachusetts prowling the sound, Lewis had telegraphed General Twiggs, calling attention to the failure to picket the 25 miles of coast between Ocean Springs and West Pascagoula, and offering to raise a company for this purpose.

Twiggs had replied, "You must offer your company to Secretary of War. What you say about defence is true but cannot be helped at present."

This disturbed Lewis, because as he informed Governor Pettus:

> In justice to genl. Twiggs' promptness in giving us protection, I tell you (and I speak from personal knowledge) that his [Twiggs'] princely mansion, at East Pascagoula, was & is now within the pickets of two companies of the C.S.A., 215 men, besides an organized home guard company.[22]

Governor Pettus and his staff, concerned about the raid, Lewis' letter, and General Twigg's response, met in Jackson on July 2. Out of this meeting came a decision to rush Maj. Gen. Reuben Davis of the State Army to New Orleans to ascertain from Twiggs what measures he had taken for defense of the coast between New Orleans and Mobile. Davis was authorized to pledge the "cooperation" of the Mississippi authorities "in any efficient & practicable plans of defense."[23]

D. Confederates Occupy and Prepare to Defend Ship Island

The Davis visit galvanized General Twiggs into action. On Saturday, July 6, Capt. Edward Higgins former lieutenant in the U.S. Navy and now an aide-decamp to Twiggs was placed in command of two small vessels--C.S.S. Oregon and C.S.S. Swain--that had been outfitted

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22. Lewis to Pettus, June 30, 1861, MDAH, RG 27, Series E, Governor's Records.

23. Minutes Mississippi Military Board, July 2, 1861, Meeting, MDHA, RG 19.

on Lake Pontchartrain. The former was armed with an 8-inch columbiad and a 12-pounder howitzer and the latter with a 32-pounder and a 12-pounder howitzer. Higgins' mission was to engage the Yankee vessels that had been harassing Confederate shipping in Mississippi Sound. After putting in at Bay St. Louis to secure cotton bales to protect their boilers, the little flotilla again headed out into the Sound, looking for the troublemakers.

Higgins did not find the foe. But, satisfied as to the strategic significance of Ship Island, he determined on his own initiative to occupy it. On the afternoon of the 6th, he landed four guns and 140 men led by Lt. Alexander F. Warley, C.S.N. While Higgins returned to Lake Pontchartrain with his flotilla, Warley put his heterogeneous force--55 Confederate Marines led by Capt. R. T. Thom, a sergeant and 30 privates of the 4th Louisiana, and 53 sailors from the gunboat McRae to work. By 8 p.m., they had dragged the 8-inch columbiad, a 32-pounder, and two 12-pounder howitzers through the sand; laid platforms; filled and positioned sandbag breastworks; and had placed the guns in battery.

On Monday afternoon, July 8, a company of soldiers under a Captain Roland was landed and increased the garrison by 75. The newcomers arrived none too soon. That evening a sail was sighted standing in from the southwest. She anchored westward of Chandeleur Light.[24]

Massachusetts had sailed from Santa Rosa Island, on the 3d, and took station off Chandeleur Island at noon the next day. Finding no activity, she proceeded to Pass a l'Outre, on the 6th, and to Southwest

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24. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, pp. 706, 708-09, 711; Ralph W. Donnelly, The History of the Confederate States Marine Corps (Washington, D.C., 1976), p. 15. The 8-inch columbiad was borrowed from the Navy. Oregon and Swain were manned by sailors from McRae.

Pass, on the 7th. After delivering dispatches to the blockaders, she returned to her Chandeleur anchorage the next evening.

Captain Smith saw that the Ship Island light had been extinguished and deduced that the Rebels had put ashore a force during his two-day absence. At daybreak, on July 9, he saw, with the aid of his glass, three Confederate flags, 39 tents, and four sand batteries. The latter were under construction. Smith called all hands to general quarters. As soon as the five guns were cast loose and the anchors weighed, Massachusetts closed on the island.

The Confederates had remained under arms throughout the night. As Massachusetts approached, Lieutenant Warley shouted for Midshipman Charles W. "Savez" Read to open fire with the 8-inch columbiad, and Midshipman John H. Comstock immediately joined in with the 32-pounder. Both shots fell short. Captain Smith ordered the "stars and stripes" hoisted, and his ship approached the western point of the island. The bluejackets opened fire with first round shot from the bow 32-pounder pivot gun and then, as the ship came about, with shells fused to explode in 15-seconds from the deck VIII-inch Dahlgrens.

Smith saw that his projectiles lacked necessary range, while the Rebels' shells screamed overhead several feet above the forecastle and engine house. He therefore broke off the engagement, hauled off to a safe distance, and hove to until the Confederates ceased fire.[25]

Oregon and Grey Cloud now hove into view. Capt. L. A. Myers of Oregon, after transferring the ammunition being forwarded to the garrison from the slower Grey Cloud, sped toward the island at forced draft. While the Rebel steamers were anchored off the island unloading munitions and supplies, Massuchusetts edged closer.

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25. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 581; Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, pp. 708-10; New Orleans Delta, July 17, 1861. During the engagement, Massachusetts fired all her 15-second shells (15 in all).

Lieutenant Warley, fearful that she would shell the working party, had his gunners fire four rounds at her. After firing one shot, Massachusetts dropped down to Chandeleur Island and anchored. Smith contented himself with dismantling the Chandeleur Light to keep it from falling into the Rebels' hands and sailed for Santa Rosa Island on the following morning's tide.[26]

Lieutenant Warley was relieved of command at Ship Island, late on the afternoon of July 9, by Lt. Col. Henry Watkins Allen of the 4th Louisiana. The sailors and marines then boarded Oregon and Grey Cloud and returned to New Orleans.[27]

On the morning of the 13th, Massachusetts returned to the area, anchoring three miles off Ship Island light. Oregon and Arrow were in the anchorage and after building up a head of steam headed toward the intruder. Captain Smith had his boatswain pipe all hands to their battle stations. Guns were loaded and Massachusetts slowly got underway. Her first shot caused both Rebel vessels to open fire. Massachusetts continued to throw an occasional round, but Captain Smith saw through the Confederates' game--they were seeking to decoy his steamer into the area commanded by Rebel shore batteries. Smith refused to be victimized and both sides pulled back without suffering any damage.[28]

E. Rebel Army and Navy Wrangle over a Few Big Guns

General Twiggs continued to experience difficulty securing heavy guns. On July 6, the day the Confederates occupied Ship Island,

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26. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 709; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 583. Grey Cloud was a Confederate transport.

27. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 583.

28. Ibid., pp. 602-03; Dictionary of American Fighting Ships, IV, 263. A merchant steamer, Arrow had been seized by the Louisiana authorities and turned over to the Confederate army. She was armed with one 32-pounder. Dictionary of American Fighting Ships, Vol. II, p. 501.

Twiggs reiterated his request to the War Department to be allowed to employ idle naval guns.[29] The reply was terse and to the point, "Use any guns within reach."[30] Naval Capt. Lawrence Rousseau, senior naval officer at New Orleans, however, refused to release any guns until directed to do so. On the 10th, he got the word from Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory to turn over to the army the subject cannon.[31]

This decision enabled the Confederates to rush additional cannon to Ship Island. On July 13, General Twiggs wrote the War Department that there were now emplaced on the island two 8-inch columbiads and four 32-pounders. Three companies of the 4th Louisiana constituted the garrison.[32]

But, on the 15th, there was more inter-service rivalry about the guns. There were now two 8-inch columbiads and eight 32-pounders on the island, and Captain Rousseau wanted the Navy's columbiads returned. If this were done, Twiggs protested, sand batteries must be dismantled. After reviewing the subject with Secretary of the Navy Mallory, Walker telegraphed Twiggs "to not give up any of the guns." Moreover, four other pieces were on their way by rail from Corinth to New Orleans.[33]

On the last day of July, Secretary Walker wrote General Twiggs, directing him to return to Captain Rousseau the 8-inch columbiads and 32-pounders on loan to the Army from the Navy. To

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29. Official Records--Navies, p. 706.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., p. 708.

32. Other companies of the regiment were posted: East Pascagoula, 2 companies; Biloxi, 2 companies; Mississippi City, 1 company; and Pass Christian, 2 companies.

33. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, pp. 712-13.

replace them and to arm other batteries being laid out for defense of New Orleans, Secretary of the Navy Mallory had directed the commandant of the Norfolk Navy Yard to ship to Louisiana 125 32-pounders.[34]

Meeting with Capt. George N. Hollins, who had been named to command the New Orleans naval station, Twiggs arranged to retain the navy's guns at Ship Island. In their stead, Hollins agreed to accept transfer from the Army of similar caliber pieces. Thus, the garrison escaped the drudgery of mounting and dismounting a number of guns to no advantage.[35]

General Twiggs was not confident about the long-range outlook. On July 19, he notified Richmond that the five companies of troops and guns on the island could probably repulse an attack at the moment, but he was worried about what autumn might bring. Union warships, he fretted, could navigate Dog Key Pass between Ship and Horn islands, cut communications between the garrison and the mainland, and compell the Confederates to surrender without firing a shot. The only certain way to hold the island against such an undertaking, Twiggs warned, was for the Navy to outfit and man a flotilla of light-draft gunboats, strong enough to control Mississippi Sound.[36]

F. Secretary Welles Finds a Scapegoat

Use of shallow-draft vessels to patrol Mississippi Sound was also being discussed by officers of the Gulf Blockading Squadron. On July 10, Flag-Officer William Mervine, commanding the Gulf Blockading Squadron, had written President Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, Gideon

34. Ibid., p. 718. More than a thousand guns, from XI-inch Dahlgrens to 32-pounders, had been seized by the Confederates at the Norfolk Navy Yard.

35. Ibid., p. 729.

36. Ibid., pp. 714, 720.

Welles, that the Rebels were fortifying Ship Island, but their communications could be severed by light-draft gunboats prowling the sound. To afford a secure foul weather anchorage for vessels blockading Mobile Bay, Mervine debated throwing up a battery on the north point of Chandeleur Island.[37]

A period of watchful waiting set in, and this troubled the Lincoln administration. On August 23, Secretary of the Navy Welles wrote Mervine:

> At this distance it is difficult to understand the reasons for the apparent inactivity and indifference that have governed in this matter. . . . You have large ships, heavy batteries, and young and willing officers, with men sufficient to dispossess the insurgents from Ship Island. They might have been prevented entirely from intrenching themselves upon it.[38]

Flag-Officer Mervine was shocked by this reprimand. Writing the Department, on September 9, he noted, "I am deeply grieved at the rebuke, which, for the first time in the course of nearly fifty-three years' service has been administered to me for neglect of duty." If the people at the Department would examine the Corps of Engineers' records, he observed, they would learn that the Ship Island fortifications predated secession.

It had been his understanding that his primary task was to make the Gulf Coast blockade effective, and he did not feel justified in removing vessels from their stations to employ on amphibious expeditions. While it was true that he had a number of formidable ships in his squadron, they were of questionable value in such an operation, because he could not get a vessel drawing more than 20 feet within two miles of Ship Island. In regard to substituting light-draft vessels as blockaders, to relieve his big ships for an attack on the island, he asked the

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37. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 580.

38. Ibid., p. 644.

Department for a list of the small vessels under his command at the time of the reprimand.

In closing, Mervine wrote:

> I beg leave to say, sir, that I am an old man, and I suppose am consequently a fit object for the application of the term "old fogy." However, that may be, when the time comes for action and the encountering of danger, I hope to be found as ready and willing as the youngest and bravest of our officers.[39]

Mervine might have saved his ink and time, because, three days before, Secretary Welles had sacked the old salt. His successor, as commander of the Gulf Blockading Squadron, was Capt. William M. McKean, currently master of the steam frigate Niagara, on blockade duty off the mouth of the Mississippi. Among the missions to which Secretary Welles wished McKean to give priority was the destruction and capture of the Ship Island fortifications.[40]

G. Senior Rebel Officers Question Their Ability to Make a Successful Defense of Ship Island

1. Ship Island Garrison Spends a Busy Six Weeks

The Ship Island garrison spent a busy summer. From a letter, dated July 30, readers of the Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate learned that Colonel Allen and his men were on Ship Island and "here we intend to stay and keep 'watch and ward' over this 'Isle of tranquil delight' in spite of mosquitoes, hot suns, bilge water, live Yankees and big ships."

Allen put the men to work strengthening the defenses, whereupon one of the attached companies mutined. Allen called out the battalion of the 4th Louisiana with loaded rifle-muskets, and "marched the

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39. Ibid., pp. 662-64.

40. Ibid., pp. 660-61. On September 22, Mervine formally struck his flag and command of the squadron was formally transferred to McKean. Ibid., p. 689.

whole force" upon the mutineers, "and quelled the mutiny without shedding a drop of blood." Besides placing the fort in a defensive condition, Allen devoted his attention to discipline and drill. His creed was strict: whiskey, rum, and related drink were not allowed on the island and infractions of rules were harshly punished.[41]

By early September 1861, the Ship Island garrison had been reinforced and included four companies of the 4th Louisiana Infantry under Colonel Allen; Companies B and D of the Confederate Regular Army, recruited from the Infantry School of Practice at Baton Rouge, 2d Lt. Oliver J. Semmes commanding; the independent Washington Light Infantry, led by Lt. John T. Plattsmier; and Lt. P. N. Judice's five-man detail from the Confederate Company of Sappers and Bombardiers. Colonel Barrow of the 4th Louisiana had recently arrived on the island and had assumed command of these diverse units.[42]

2. Colonel Duncan Describes Fort Twiggs and Its Armament

On September 3, General Twiggs, learning that Colonel Barrow had returned to the mainland, ordered Col. Johnson K. Duncan of the 1st Louisiana Artillery to proceed to Ship Island and take temporary command. Duncan was accompanied by four officers of his regiment who were to take charge of training the men detailed as heavy artillerists.

Colonel Duncan, as his first item of business, made a thorough reconnaissance of the island and the defenses. He saw that Fort Twiggs, as the Confederates had named the partially completed masonry work, was horseshoe-shaped, closed at the gorge, and had half-bastion fronts for land defense. The brickwork of the two-tiered fort had been carried up to the embrasure soles. Confederate fatigue parties had endeavored to make the fort defensible by raising up the

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41. Vincent H. Cassidy and Amos E. Simpson, Henry Watkins Allen of Louisiana (Baton Rouge, 1964), pp. 72-73.

42. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 741; Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 734.

piers between the embrasures by brickwork in offsets from the exterior to be shielded by sandbags. To complete the overhead covering for the guns, brick piers were being laid-up inside the work, and heavy timbers positioned and covered by 3-inch planking and sandbags.

Duncan feared these crude casemates would provide little protection, because shot and shell, sweeping the parade, were certain to strike these interior piers, bringing them down, together with the overhead timbers and sandbags. The gunners would be buried under a pile of rubble.

The only way the fort could be of value would be to finish it according to the Board of Engineers' plans. In its present condition, Duncan feared, a few heavy men-of-war could flatten it in short time. If Ship Island were to be held, Duncan recommended that Fort Twiggs be abandoned and reliance placed on sand batteries. The enbrasures of the latter could be revetted with sandbags and the parapets carried to a height sufficient to protect the tallest men. Bombproofs built next to the parapets would afford ample protection to the reliefs and supernumeries not employed at the guns.[43]

The armament, Colonel Duncan found, included two 24-pounder howitzers and one 8-inch columbiad in position on the flanking front, and eight 32-pounders within the circular work. The sandbag revetting in front of five of the 32-pounders had been raised to the top of the scarp, with proper embrasures. Duncan directed that the planking above the guns be "parapeted around with sand bags," and the interior space filled with loose sand.

Colonel Allen's working parties had erected a sandbag traverse in rear of the "five 32-pounders looking westward."

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43. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 731.

A ninth 32-pounder and a IX-inch Dahlgren were emplaced outside the fort behind a sand parapet. The fire of these two pieces was partially masked by the fort's masonry.

The 32-pounders, Duncan saw, were mounted on barbette carriages on casemate chassis. Consequently, the barbette wheels struck against the scarp walls, interferring with pointing the guns, and limiting their elevation.

The most disturbing circumstance, however, was knowledge that a projectile from the IX-inch Dahlgren, the island's most efficient gun, fell short of Cat Island by a mile and one-half. The channel beyond that range had a depth of 18 feet. Accordingly, even if the fortifications were impregnable and mounted the most formidable armament, they could not prevent a steam sloop-of-war from navigating Ship Island Pass. To make the situation more embarrassing, there were two nearby passes--the one between Ship and Horn Islands and between Horn and Petit Bois Islands--also giving access to Mississippi Sound, and neither was commanded by Confederate guns.[44]

3. Duncan Recommends the Fort and Island be Evacuated

Colonel Duncan argued that occupation and defense of Ship Island, even by the most formidable fortifications, capable of resisting an all-out amphibious assault, could not guarantee the security of Mobile and New Orleans. Neither could they protect Mississippi Sound, because light-draft gunboats could pass between the island and the mainland with impunity.

Nothing would be easier for an alert foe than the capture of small steamers and other craft plying the sound. Such a blockade of Ship Island could have but one result--the surrender of the garrison without firing a shot. "Its present condition," Duncan warned, "certainly

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44. Ibid., pp. 731-32, 734.

makes it a temptation to a bold and active enemy where the prize is thirteen guns, seven companies, and the glory and éclat of the achievement."

He, therefore, recommended to General Twiggs the "immediate abandonment of the island." The soldiers, cannon, and war material ought to be evacuated under cover of darkness. The smaller guns should then be emplaced in sand batteries, near the mouths of the Dog and Pascagoula Rivers, to guard the back door approach to Mobile, and the heavier ones employed to strengthen Fort Pike, guardian of the Rigolets.

Colonel Duncan agreed with his contemporaries that the best defense of the Gulf Coast, from the Rigolets to Fort Gaines, would be a fleet of shallow-draft gunboats.[45]

4. Major Smith Disagrees with Colonel Duncan

Before taking action on Duncan's report, General Twiggs referred it to Major Smith, his chief engineer. Smith did not agree with Duncan's recommendations. He saw no reason to abandon Fort Twiggs and throw up sandbagged parapets for protection of the armament. The timbered casemates, he informed General Twiggs, rested

> upon low piers built upon the scarp wall, protected on the outside by sand bags, and upon piers run up from the ground in rear of the gun carriages. It but remains to inclose the rear of these timber casemates . . . by piling up sand bags to the height of the brick piers, and we have not only a perfect bomb-proof, but a comfortable place for soldiers, inasmuch as the roof above has designedly been made watertight.[46]

Major Smith, because of a heavy workload, had not been on the island since mid-July. Consequently, considerable energy had

45. Ibid., pp. 732-34.

46. Ibid., pp. 734-35.

been expended that had no bearing on the fort's proper defense. As for the two guns (the IX-inch Dahlgren and 32-pounder) mounted outside the fort, they were the ones that had been "pushed ashore under fire and mounted on our first arrival on the island, and bear so handsomely upon the entrance and sound that it has not been thought desirable "to position them inside the work until higher priority matters had been resolved."[47]

Smith reminded General Twiggs that a strategic necessity had existed when President Davis had ordered Ship Island garrisoned, and that it still prevailed. Consequently, he felt that the abandonment must be sanctioned by the President.[48]

5. General Twiggs Holds that the Island is Indefensible

General Twiggs forwarded copies of Duncan's and Smith's reports to Richmond. In a covering letter, he noted that he had not been on Ship Island, "but every intelligent person he had met who was familiar was the area felt it could not be defended."[49]

6. General Dahlgren's Brigade Reaches the Gulf Coast

In August, a number of companies that were to constitute the Third Brigade, Army of Mississippi, arrived on the Gulf Coast and established Camp Clark, near Pass Christian. On Sunday, September 1, the troops were reviewed by Governor Moore of Louisiana. A spectator reported that if Col. Billy Wilson's 6th New York Zouaves ever meet the men of this brigade and hear their shouts, as "they rush around and see the flashing of the uplifted butcher-like cleavers," with which many

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., pp. 735-36.

49. Ibid., p. 730. Former Louisiana Governor Alfred B. Roman wrote President Davis, on the 15th, "in spite of his good intentions the infirmities of General Twiggs which confine him to his armchair, disqualify him completely from the situation he holds." Official Records, Series I, Vol. LII:, p. 739.

of them are armed, they "might imagine they had fallen in with a tribe of Comanches."[50]

Brig. Gen. Charles Dahlgren commanded the brigade. His troops, along with the 4th Louisiana besides guarding the invasion beaches between Biloxi and the Pearl River, were in position to defend New Orleans from a flank attack by way of the Rigolets.

Dahlgren's views on the futility of the defense of Ship Island coincided with General Twiggs' and Colonel Duncan's. Satisfied that the Confederate position on the island was intenable, he repeatedly urged Governor Pettus to convey this information to President Davis. If the island were evacuated, Dahlgren recommended that the troops and guns be "transferred to some suitable point or points upon the coast where they would be secure, whereby remaining on the island they are exposed to attack and certain capture."[51]

H. Confederates Evacuate Ship Island

It is not surprising then that the Confederate War Department, on September 13, directed General Twiggs to "take immediate measures to evacuate Ship Island."[52] Twiggs placed Colonel Duncan in charge of the

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50. P. Dismal to Pic., Sept. 4, 1861, found in the Daily Picayune, Sept. 7, 1861. These units currently constituted the Mississippi Coast Brigade: Bogue Chitto Guards, Pike County; Goode Rifles, Lawrence County; Franklin Beauregards, Franklin County; Downing Rifles, Hinds County; Jeff Davis Sharpshooters, Marion County; Franklin Rifles, Franklin County; Brookhaven Artillery, Lawrence County; Gainesville Rifles, Hancock County; Pass Christian Guards, Harrison County; and Shieldsborough Rifles, Hancock County. The 6th New York, reputedly composed of city toughs, were one of the Union regiments stationed on Santa Rosa Island.

51. Dahlgren to Pettus, Sept. 16, 1861, MDAH, RG 27, Series E, Governor's Records. Brig. Gen. John W. O'Farrell's brigade covered the Mississippi coast between the Pascagoula and Mobile.

52. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 738.

enterprise. That very afternoon Duncan boarded Oregon and, accompanied by Grey Cloud and the requisitioned civilian steamers--A. G. Brown and Creole--travelled to Ship Island, arriving there after midnight on September 14.[53]

Assisted by a detachment from the 1st Louisiana Heavy Artillery and the post garrison, Duncan began transferring guns, carriages, supplies, equipment, etc., to the vessels. Working round-the-clock, the loading was completed by sunset on the 16th. By that hour, all public and private property, except the lumber, had been saved. After the troops had embarked, Duncan sent a detail to set fire to the huts and lumber, while a detachment removed and boxed the lighthouse's Fresnal lense and burned the tower stairs. As soon as these men were recalled, the ships, now numbering five, got underway.

Creole and A. G. Brown ran the four companies of the 4th Louisiana across the sound to Mississippi City; Grey Cloud, with the guns and carriages, headed for Lakeport by way of Fort Pike, where the columbiad and Dahlgren were put ashore; Oregon made for New Orleans with the ammunition, ordnance equipment, and Lieutenant Semmes and his two companies of Regulars; and Arrow brought off the Washington Light Infantry and Lieutenant Judice and his sappers.[54]

Flames from the burning buildings and lumber were seen by lookouts aboard the blockader Massachusetts. Captain Smith determined to investigate. Accompanied by the sailing sloops Preble and Marion, Massachusetts sped ahead and fired a shot from her 32-pounder pivot gun at the Confederate ships chugging across the sound. Landing upon the island, Smith found a saucy note nailed to the fort's bulletin board. It read:

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53. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 740. Capt. Richard C. Bond seized Creole on her arrival at Ocean Spring, Mississippi, while Lt. Richard C. Commack took possession of the A. G. Brown. Seizure of Creole complicated General Dahlgren's task in supplying his brigade because he was short of wagons and teams.

54. Ibid., pp. 740-41.

Fort Twiggs
Ship Island, September 17, 1861

By order of my government I have this day evacuated Ship Island. This my brave soldiers under my command do with much reluctance and regret. For three long months your good ship has been our constant companion.

We have not exactly "lived and loved together," but we have been intimately acquainted, having exchanged cards on the 9th day of July last.

In leaving you to-day we beg you accept our best wishes for your health and happiness while sojourning on this pleasant, hospitable shore.

That we may have another exchange of courtesies before the war closes, and that we may meet face to face in closer quarters, is the urgent prayer of your obedient servant.

H. W. Allen
Lieutenant-Colonel
Commanding Ship Island

The Commander of the Massachusetts, U.S. ship of war now lying off Ship Island.

D. C. Jenkins
Lieutenant and Post Adjutant.[55]

Inspecting the island the next morning, Captain Smith unknowingly agreed with Confederate Engineer Martin L. Smith on the character of the improvements made by the Rebels to the masonry fort. He declared that the work could be made bomb-proof "by a different disposition of some of the thousands of sand bags" the Rebels had left scattered about. Eight casemates had been completed and could be armed.

The bluejackets by prompt action saved 13 shanties and buildings from the flames, along with a large quantity of lumber. Also salvaged was some iron. Thirty-six head of cattle were rounded up.

55. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, pp. 678-79. In the second week of September, sailors from Massachusetts and Preble had established a battery on Chandeleur Island and relit the light.

At 10 P.M., on the 18th, lookouts in the tops reported five steamers in sight. General quarters sounded and, weighing anchors, Massachusetts, Preble, and Marion got underway. They took position in Ship Island Pass, where they were in position to intercept and engage the intruders. The five steamers soon disappeared.

During the night, a small boat party from Preble cut the submarine telegraph cable between Shieldsborough and Pass Christian.[56]

The key to the Mississippi Gulf Coast was consequently lost without a fight, and in the months ahead would be developed into a base from where the Federals engineered the capture of New Orleans, the South's most important metropolitan center and gateway to America's heartland.

56. Ibid., pp. 677-78.

V. SHIP ISLAND AS A UNION STAGING AREA

A. Flag-Officer McKean Seeks Guidance

The problem of what to do with Ship Island and how to exploit it to discomfort the Confederates now confronted the Union leaders. On September 28, 1861, Flag-Officer McKean inquired of the Navy Department, Shall we hold this position or will we destroy the fort? If he were to retain possession, where was he to secure necessary guns and manpower? Col. Harvey Brown, commanding the Department of Florida, headquartered at Fort Pickens, had already vetoed a request for the latter. McKean estimated that 200 men were the minimum needed to hold the island, and he could not spare that number from the ships' crews without compromising their efficiency.

He was of the opinion that if the fort were not to be occupied and completed, it should be destroyed. He favored strengthening the Chandeleur Island sand battery as more practicable, because there was sufficient depth of water at that point to float the squadron's largest ships.[1]

Communications between the Gulf Blockading Squadron and Washington were roundabout and slow. It was November 2, more than five weeks later, before Secretary of the Navy Welles sanctioned McKean's proposal to hold Ship Island, and, if practicable, he was to bring up some IX-inch guns from the Dry Tortugas. Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler was getting ready to sail for Ship Island with 2,500 soldiers. Upon Butler's arrival, he would relieve the naval personnel of their shore duties.[2]

B. Confederates Regroup

Meanwhile, on September 19, two days after the Yankees had taken possession of Ship Island, General Dahlgren's Mississippi brigade,

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1. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 692.

2. Ibid., p. 753.

fearing an attack on the mainland, evacuated its Pass Christian encampment and took position at Shieldsborough. This led to "a general tearing out of the summer residents of the Pass." Persons remaining in the area complained of Dahlgren's "great timidity" and his "ignorance of the geography of the country."[3]

At Shieldsborough, on September 25, the infantry companies constituting Dahlgren's brigade were organized into the 3d and 7th Mississippi Infantry Regiments and mustered into Confederate Service for 12 months. John B. Deason was elected colonel of the 3d Mississippi and Enos J. Goode colonel of the 7th. By October 1, Colonel Deason's regiment was encamped at Bay St. Louis and Colonel Goode's had reoccupied the Pass Christian encampment. An outbreak of measles in the camp of the 3d Mississippi felled a number of men.[4]

The 4th Louisiana, in the days following the organization of the two Mississippi regiments and recall of Colonel Allen's battalion from Ship Island, departed the area and proceeded, via New Orleans and Brashear City, to Berwick City, on the Atchafalaya.[5]

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3. Dismal to Pic., Sept. 25, 1861, found in the Daily Picuyune, Oct. 1, 1861.

4. The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi--1908, edited and compiled by Dunbar Rowland (Nashville, 1908), pp. 533-35, 567-69; J. N. M. Harris to Pettus, Oct. 9, 1861, MDAH, RG 27; Series E, Governor's Records; Compiled Service Records, Mississippi Confederate Soldiers, NA. Constituting the 3d Mississippi were: the Live Oak Rifles, Sunflower Dispersers, Downing Rifles, Chunkey Heroes, Biloxi Rifles, Gainesville Volunteers, Shieldsborough Rifles, Yazoo Rebels, McWillie Blues, and Dahlgren Guards. Mustered into the 7th Mississippi were: the Franklin Rifles, Bougue Chitto Guards, Amite Rifles, Jeff Davis Sharpshooters, Franklin Beauregards, Marion's Men, Goode Rifles, Dahlgren Rifles, Covington Rifles, and Quitman Rifles.

5. Cassidy and Simpson, Henry Watkins Allen, p. 73; Compiled Services Records, Louisiana Confederate Soldiers, NA.

C. October 19, 1861, Engagement Between "Massachusetts" and "Florida"

During the second week of October, the belligerents had clashed on Santa Rosa Island to the east of Ship Island and at Head of Passes to the southwest. On the Florida island, a Confederate column, after making a landing and surprising the camp of Billy Wilson's 6th New York, had been turned back. The fiasco at Head of Passes, besides embarrassing the Union Navy, compelled its warships to maintain the blockade off each of the Mississippi mouths.

The next place that powder would be burned on the Gulf Frontier was on Mississippi Sound. On October 15, the 1822-frigate Potomac (Capt. L. M. Powell) arrived and hove to off Ship Island, where she rendezvoused with Massachusetts and Preble. Four days later, on the morning of the 19th, lookouts in the tops of the Union warships sighted a two-masted steamer some 8 miles distant. Because his ship (Massachusetts) drew less water than the others, Captain Smith stood in toward the coast to investigate.

The newcomer was the Confederate gunboat Florida. Commanded by Lt. Charles W. Hays, she had sailed from her Lake Ponchartrain anchorage on Monday, the 14th. So far it had not been a happy cruise. Florida fouled the principal telegraph cable connecting New Orleans and Mobile, on the 15th, and, after convoying a steamer, had grounded. It was the morning of the 19th before the Rebel tars refloated their vessel.

To exercise his crew, Hays conned a course as far east as Horn Island Pass. After satisfying himself that there were no blockaders off Horn Island and that the enemy was not fortifying that place, he sailed westward toward Ship Island. As they approached the island, the Confederates made out four ships riding at anchor.

Florida, by 11:30, had closed to within range of the anchorage and, casting loose her rifled pivot gun, opened fire. By the time they got off their third round, Lieutenant Hays saw that an enemy steamer was getting underway.

At the first shot, Captain Smith had called for and received permission from Captain Powell to engage the Confederates. Having already built-up a head of steam, Massachusetts boldly headed for Florida.

Both belligerents had problems with their gunnery. The range soon closed to less than 3,000 yards. Although Smith fired his guns at their maximum elevation, the shells either fell short or exploded prematurely. The projectiles from Florida, after her rifled 68-pounder malfunctioned at the four round, burst well before they reached the foe. Massachusetts finally managed to secure a favorable position off Florida's port quarter and hammered away with shot and shell, but with no effect. By 1 o'clock Florida, as she drew less water, crossed a shoal on the approaches to Pass Christian, and the Yankees had to abandon the chase and return to Ship Island.

Massachusetts had flirted with disaster. At 12:30, a 68-pounder shell from Florida's pivot gun had crashed through the Yankee's starboard beam abaft the engine room and five feet above the waterline. It cut through 18 deck planks, carried away the wardroom sofas and tables, eight sections of iron steam pipe, and exploded in the port stateroom, stripping the bulkheads of four cabins and setting the ship afire. The blaze was promptly extinguished by alert damage control people.[6]

This engagement confirmed Captain Powell's fears. Writing Flag-Officer McKean, he noted that this was an illustration of what the Rebels could accomplish with their light-draft gunboats, armed with

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6. Official Records--Navies, pp. 742-45; Massachusetts' Log, Oct. 15-20, 1861, NA, RG 24. During the engagement, Massachusetts expended 76 projectiles and 455 pounds of pound. Neither side suffered any casualties. Florida, a former coastwise packet, had been purchased by the Confederate Navy, and cut down and strengthened by hog frames and armed as a gunboat. Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, Vol. II, pp. 565-66.

long-range rifled cannon. Wind-propelled warships, blockading the entrances to Mississippi Sound, were no match for fast steam gunboats, making skillful use of their speed and draft.

Massachusetts, he warned, could not afford to repeat her performance. In view of the damage inflicted by one shot in three from the big rifled gun, "three shots in nine would suffice to destroy her," he warned.

Powell argued that Ship Island was the most important place on the Gulf Coast, and recommended that it be garrisoned by a formidable force. He believed that the presence of sailing vessels at the island anchorage served as a goad to the Rebels, and suggested that the situation would be less frought with danger if Potomac were withdrawn.[7]

D. Union Navy Occupies the Island and Anchorage

1. Ship Island Becomes a Strategic Necessity

Upon receipt of Powell's communication and the reports of the October 19 engagement, Flag-Officer McKean had a change of heart regarding Ship Island. He now agreed that it was a strategic necessity. Orders were issued for Captain Powell to put ashore a sufficient number of Marines and sailors to hold the island until he was apprised of the Department's wishes.

Occupation of the fort, he wrote Secretary of the Navy Welles, would not alleviate the necessity of keeping a flotilla of steam gunboats in the area, because without them the Rebels, as they had recently done at Santa Rosa Island, could land a force on the east end of the island and assail the fort from the rear.

Because Potomac had been no assistance in the fight on the 19th, she was ordered to blockade Mobile Bay, while R.R. Cuyler

7. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, pp. 740-41.

joined Massachusetts at Ship Island. McKean, impressed with Melancton Smith's grit and zeal, recommended that he be given "command of a more efficient ship."[8]

2. Marines and Sailors Occupy the Ship Island Fort

Meanwhile, in accordance with Flag-Officer McKean's instructions, Captain Powell sent working parties ashore to place the Ship Island fort in a defensible condition. On October 27, a flagstaff was positioned, and the "stars and stripes" hoisted above the fort. Four days later, bluejackets boarded the schooner John N. Genin and began the backbreaking task of getting four IX-inch Dahlgrens ashore and into battery. Before sailing for her blockade station off Mobile Bay, on the first day of November, Potomac landed 19 sailors and 7 Marines to garrison the fort. Five days later, they were joined by 20 men from Rhode Island. The naval personnel took with them their hammocks and provisions to last for six weeks.[9]

3. Fort and Its Garrison in Mid-November

On November 15, Flag-Officer McKean reached Ship Island from the mouth of the Mississippi aboard the steam frigate Niagara. He was delighted to see that the fort had been "placed in such a state of defence that there can be little doubt of our ability to retain it until the arrival of the troops." Seven casemates had been completed and nine were partially finished. The four IX-inch Dahlgrens (one on a pivot) had been mounted, and the fort's gorge protected by two 12-pounder howitzers on field carriages. More Dahlgrens were reportedly en route from the Tortugas.

A serious problem had developed because the fort's first tier was designed for Army casemate carriages. To emplace the

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8. Ibid., pp. 739-40. R.R. Cuyler was a brig-rigged, steam gunboat, drawing 16'2" of water.

9. Massachusetts' Log, October 20-November 10, 1861, NA, RG 24. The guns aboard John N. Genin had been intended for the battery at Head of Passes.

Dahlgrens on their truck carriages, it was necessary to build elevated platforms, involving much additional work. After the force ashore was reinforced by 69 sailors and 14 Marines from Niagara, it numbered a lieutenant and 30 Marines, and a lieutenant, master midshipman, and 140 seamen.

McKean commended to the Department Commander Smith for the energetic manner in which the project had been implemented.[10]

McKean, however, continued to be concerned about the island's security. Before he sailed on the 16th, he sighted four "large" Rebel steamers and several schooners, well out of range of the Yankees' guns and cruising over shoals with only 6 or 7 feet of water.[11]

4. Tightening the Mississippi Sound Blockade

By the end of the third week of November, the shallow-draft steam gunboat New London reached Ship Island. She and R.R. Cuyler were given the task of blockading Mississippi Sound. On the evening of the 21st, they encountered and captured the schooner Olive bound from Pascagoula to New Orleans with a load of lumber. Shortly after midnight, small boat parties from the gunboats boarded and captured the steamboat Anna out of Pascagoula and en route to New Orleans with a cargo of turpentine and rosin.

The prizes were sent to Ship Island, where Commander Smith had the lumber unloaded from the schooner to be employed in building gun platforms. After the crews had been released upon taking the oath of allegiance, the two vessels were sent to New York City for adjudication.[12]

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10. Ibid.; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, pp. 771-72.

11. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 772.

12. Ibid., pp. 773-75.

One week later, during the daylight hours of the 28th, New London, while cruising off Round Island, fell in with and captured first the steamer Henry Lewis and then the schooner A.J. View. The former was heading from Mobile to New Orleans with 50 hogsheads of sugar and 1,270 barrels of molasses and the latter from Biloxi to Belize with a cargo of turpentine and tar. These vessels were also taken to Ship Island, their cargoes landed, and crews released upon taking the oath.[13]

E. Army Becomes Involved

1. General Butler Gets a New Assignment

The Army units slated to relieve the Navy of its Ship Island responsibilities belonged to the command of the politician turned major general, Benjamin F. Butler. On September 10, while the Confederates still held the distant island, United States Secretary of War Simon Cameron granted General Butler authority to raise, organize, arm, uniform, and equip a volunteer force from New England, not to exceed six regiments. To expedite his efforts, Butler was authorized to call on the Quartermaster, Ordnance, and other army staff departments for equipment, supplies, and assistance.[14]

Within 48 hours, the Secretary expanded Butler's authority. Butler was to fit out and prepare such troops in New England, as he judged necessary for an expedition. Cameron then spelled out Butler's goal. He was to thrust down the Eastern Shore of Virginia, via the railroad connecting Wilmington, Delaware, and Salisbury, Maryland, and on to Cape Charles.[15]

Butler wrangled with Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts over raising troops in that state, while his military exploits

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13. Ibid., pp. 792-94.

14. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 677.

15. Ibid.

to date had not inspired the officers of the "Old Army" with much confidence in his ability. In addition, his high rank created problems among professional soldiers who were his subordinates, and Butler's imperious nature plagued President Lincoln and his cabinet.

Then, in mid-November, General-in-Chief George B. McClellan discussed with the President, Secretary of the Navy Welles, and others, the Navy's proposal to capture New Orleans by ascending the Mississippi River and fighting its way by Fort Jackson and St. Philip. After listening to the Navy's plan, McClellan gave it his endorsement and agreed to contribute 10,000 soldiers to garrison the forts and occupy New Orleans after it had been captured.

Someone now came up with the idea that the New England force General Butler was recruiting and organizing could be better employed on the Gulf Frontier, which was a long way from Washington, rather than on the Eastern Shore. Years later, Secretary Welles recalled, "all would be relieved were this restless officer sent to Ship Island or the far Southwest, where his energy, activity and impulsive force might be employed in desultory aquatic and shore duty in concert with the Navy."[16]

2. General Phelps' Brigade Reaches Ship Island

Consequently, on November 25, Secretary Welles was able to write Flag-Officer McKean that the steamer Constitution had sailed from Boston with the soldiers slated to garrison Ship Island. Upon the troops' arrival, McKean was to transfer to their commanding officer possession of all government property ashore not required for establishment of a naval depot. McKean was to cooperate with the Army to prevent an amphibious attack on the island.[17]

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16. Charles L. Dufour, The Night the War Was Lost (New York, 1960), pp. 136-39, 158.

17. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 790.

On Thursday, the 21st, the giant 3,315-ton ships, having embarked the 9th Connecticut and 26th Massachusetts Infantry Regiments and the 4th Battery, Massachusetts Artillery, pulled away from a Boston wharf and stood down the harbor and out to sea. In addition to the 1,900 soldiers, she carried rations to subsist 300 men for 30 days.

Constitution, one of the officers noted, was large, well finished, and swift. She had been built in New York City at a cost of $460,000 and was under charter to the United States for $2,500 per day. This, in addition to the transportation, feeding the officers and providing the enlisted men with coffee, mornings and evenings, and cooking their rations. Her crew numbered 150.

Debouching from the harbor, she pointed her bow northeastward. She anchored in Portland harbor on the 22d, where she was to take aboard the 12th Maine Infantry. Although the number of officers and men, along with their gear, fell within the ship's capacity, the master became apprehensive and entered a protest against embarking any additional troops.

On Saturday, Constitution again put to sea. She entered Chesapeake Bay on the 26th, dropping anchor off Fort Monroe. There, she took aboard Brig. Gen. John W. Phelps. In compliance with instructions from General Butler, Phelps relieved Col. Edward F. Jones (former mayor of Boston) of the 26th Massachusetts and assumed command of the expedition.[18] A Vermonter, the 48-year-old Phelps had graduated from the U.S. Military Academy as No. 24 in the class of 1836. He had participated in the Second Seminole War as a 2d lieutenant in the 4th U.S. Infantry; was on duty on the Canadian frontier during the "Aroostook War"; and had served at a number of military posts. Phelps

18. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, pp. 463-65, 682-83. One company of the 9th Connecticut remained in Lowell, at Camp Chase, to recruit additional men for the regiment. The 4th Battery was armed with four 12-pounder howitzers and two rifled 6-pounders.

participated in the Mexican War, being present at most of the major battles from Monterrey through Molino del Rey. He declined a brevet commission as captain for his services, perhaps the only man to do so. After another decade in the Army, he, on November 2, 1859, resigned his commission as captain, and devoted the next two years to a campaign against slavery and the Masonic order--both of which he castigated with the ardor of a zelot.

On May 9, 1861, four weeks after the surrender of Fort Sumter, he was commissioned colonel of the 1st Vermont Infantry, and, on August 9, he was named a brigadier general, to rank from May 17.

General Phelps, one of the soldiers observed, was a tall, powerfully-built man. His hair and beard were iron gray, while his manner of speech was pleasing.[19]

At 5 P.M., the anchor was hoisted and Constitution headed back out to sea. Cape Henry was passed at 5:45, and a course shaped to the south and then, after passing Cape Hatteras, to the southwest. The Florida coast was sighted on the last day of November, and at 9:30 P.M., on Sunday December 1, the great ship passed Loggerhead Key and entering the Gulf of Mexico, pointed her bow to the northwest. On Tuesday morning, the 3d, the soldiers saw the Alabama coast. Constitution for the next several hours held a steady course, as she steamed westward, paralleling the offshore islands. At 4:30 P.M., she anchored in Mississippi Sound, one-half mile northwest of the Ship Island fort.

Laying-to nearby were the warships Massachusetts and R.R. Cuyler and several prizes. Before nightfall, the gunboat New

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19. Thomas H. Murray, History of the Ninth Regiment, Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, "The Irish Regiment," in the War of the Rebellion (New York, 1903), p. 58; Ezra J. Warner, Generals in Blue: Lives of Union Commanders (Baton Rouge, 1964), p. 368.

London and an armed schooner returned from patrol. That evening General Phelps entrusted the dispatches he was carrying to the captain of R.R. Cuyler, who agreed to see that they were promptly delivered to Flag-Officer McKean.[20]

3. General Phelps Reconnoiters the Island

Early on the morning of the 4th, General Phelps went ashore accompanied by Maj. Frederick Frye of the 9th Connecticut. Hastening to the lighthouse, the major raised over the bricktower the United States colors presented to the regiment, shortly before its departure from New Haven.[21]

a. He Describes the Condition of the Ship Island Fort

Reconnoitering the west end of the island, General Phelps saw that the "partially-finished fort" was garrisoned by some 170 Marines and sailors commanded by Lt. Thomas McK. Buchanan, U.S.N. The walls of the fort had been carried up to a sufficient height to "form nearly a tier of casemates, and partly carried over with some considerable mason work." By utilizing materials on hand, all of which were present except lime, the fort might be quickly readied to receive 20 guns on casemate carriages. Of these, one-half should be 24-pounder rifled guns and the remainder 8- or 10-inch columbiads. To accomplish this project, he must be supplied with traverse circles, pintle blocks, and pintles. A magazine must be built, for which additional brick was required. He also needed a large number of sandbags.

While the brick walls might answer for the present, Phelps recommended that, to keep pace with the technological revolution in weaponry, they be replaced by a granite work of solid foundation and three tiers. In any event, the construction must be superintended by a military engineer.

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20. Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 58-59; Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, pp. 465-66.

21. Murray, 9th Connecticut, p. 59.

It might be a good idea, Phelps wrote General Butler, to emplace three rifled 24-pounder Sawyers on centre-pintle platforms east of the fort. This battery could be protected by a sandbagged parapet.

Priority must be given to construction of a wharf for landing heavy guns, coal, and supplies. In conjuction with the wharf, some 440 to 880 yards of railroad iron were needed.[22]

b. He Visits the East End of the Island

The west end of the island, General Phelps found, consisted of sand hummocks, interspersed with "sedgy spots of water." Scattered about were tree trunks, driven ashore during storms and lodged on the higher hummocks.

On the 6th, Phelps visited the eastern extremity of the island, beyond Grand Lagoon, and saw there was sufficient space to camp 5,000 soldiers. But the ground was so interspersed with wetlands that its value as a cantonment was debateable. In addition, the water along the north shore, in this area, was so shoal that their rowboats grounded. The beach here was bounded by a ridge of sand hummocks, some as much as ten feet in height. Beyond these, the terrain was flat and covered with pines, scrub oak, and palmettoes, and patches of marsh grass. Mosquitoes would be a problem at all seasons, and in rainy weather much of the ground must be inundated.

Fauna encountered included snakes, toads, birds, raccoons, and pigs. Phelps was told that there were also alligators.

From the naval officers, Phelps learned that the area west of Grand Lagoon was better situated for a campsite than that beyond, being higher and dryer. This offshore water, however, was so

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22. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, pp. 466-67.

shallow that an excessively long wharf would have to be built to enable ships to land or embark men and supplies.[23]

4. Troops Disembark and Go Into Camp

Flag-Officer McKean had hoped to be at Ship Island at the time the troops arrived, but urgent business at Santa Rosa Island interferred. Commander Smith of Massachusetts was accordingly instructed to give General Phelps all possible assistance in landing his soldiers and their gear. McKean meanwhile had dispatched the supply ship National Guard to the Tortugas to take aboard and transport to Ship Island 13 more IX-inch Dahlgrens for the fort.[24]

Meeting with Commander Smith, General Phelps learned that sufficient water could be obtained on the island to supply all warships and other vessels calling at the station, although procuring it would be tedious. Smith told Phelps that Flag-Officer McKean had ordered transfer of additional big Dahlgrens from the Tortugas to Ship Island. He also suggested that a coaling depot be established, and a steam mail packet engaged to ply between Fort Monroe and the island.[25]

To expedite unloading Constitution, General Phelps determined to establish a camp between the fort and lighthouse, though the land was unsuitable for this purpose. Accordingly, at 9 o'clock on the morning of December 4, 1861, the prize steamer Henry Lewis came alongside. She took the 26th Massachusetts aboard, and disembarked the troops on the temporary wharf. At 10 A.M., she returned for the 9th Connecticut Infantry and 4th Massachusetts Battery. An hour later, working parties began lightering ashore camp equipage and supplies.

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23. Ibid., pp. 466-68.

24. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 815.

25. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 467.

By 4 P.M., sufficient gear had been landed to enable the soldiers to lay out their camps and pitch tents. The Connecticut regiment occupied ground near the lighthouse, with the 26th Massachusetts nearby. The Massachusetts artillerists bivouacked near the fort's gorge, about 300 yards from the wharf. General Phelps' headquarters were in the brick quarters formerly occupied by the lighthouse keepers.

Unloading supplies and equipment continued until 2 P.M., on the 7th. In transferring baggage and impedimenta from the ship to a lighter, one of the 10-pounder Sawyers belonging to the Massachusetts battery went overboard in 24 feet of water. It was bouyed and plans made for its early recovery. As soon as the last box and barrel were ashore, the giant ship weighed anchor. As she steamed out into the Gulf, many a soldier gathered on the beach and gave her a rousing send off.[26]

A number of the soldiers had spent an uncomfortable night on the 5th. A wind-driven flood tide surged across much of the island between the fort and lighthouse. Upon questioning persons familiar with the area, General Phelps was distressed to learn that this was not unusual. Relaying this information to General Butler, Phelps complained, "The narrow strip of sand, about a quarter or a third of a mile in width, which forms the western extremity of the island, is but ill-suited for a camp."[27]

5. General Phelps--Abolishionist

On one element Commander Smith refused his cooperation. An ardent abolishionist, General Phelps had prepared a lengthy proclamation, addressed to the "loyal citizens of the Southwest." He announced that he and his troops

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26. Ibid., pp. 465-67; Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 59-62; Harper's Weekly, Vol. VI, No. 262, p. 2.

27. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 467.

believe that every State that has been admitted as a slave State into the Union since the adoption of the Constitution has been so admitted in direct violation of that Constitution.

We believe that the slave States which existed as such at the adoption of our Constitution are, by becoming parties to that compact, under the highest obligations of honor and morality to abolish slavery.

The watchwords for Phelps and his troops' would be "Free Labor and Workingmen's Rights."[28]

When asked by one of Phelps' aides, New York Times correspondent Elias Smith, to provide a boat to land him on the Mississippi shore to desseminate the proclamation, Commander Smith declined to be involved. Flag-Officer McKean agreed, informing the Navy Department that he would "not allow this or any similar document to be circulated by any person under my command."[29]

Although denied the Navy's assistance, correspondent Smith succeeded in accomplishing his mission. When a copy of Phelps' proclamation came into his hands, the editor of the New Orleans Crescent thundered that the general should be immediately promoted, because "He is evidently as big a fool as Lincoln and as great a scoundrel as [William H.] Seward."[30]

F. Warfare on the Sound Flares

On December 4, the day after Constitution hove to in Ship Island Anchorage, there was trouble in Horn Island Pass. At 8 A.M., lookouts aboard the steam gunboat Montgomery, blockading the bar, sighted two steamers, one painted black the other white, standing down Mississippi Sound. Comdr. T. D. Shaw called for the black gang to fire

28. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 17, pp. 18-20.

29. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

30. Dufour, Night the War Was Lost, p. 122.

the boilers. Before his ship got underway, the black newcomer was recognized: she was the gunboat Florida (Captain Welles). Her consort was Pamlico. As his vessel closed on the Yankee, Captain Welles signaled Pamlico to turn back.

By the time Montgomery had weighed anchor and was underway, both Rebel vessels opened fire. Standing out into deeper water, the Federal returned the Rebels' fire with her X-inch pivot gun. After getting off 8 rounds and seeing enemy shells throw up geysers ahead and astern, Commander Shaw broke off the engagement and headed out to sea. Florida briefly followed, but turned back when Montgomery made sail and ran for cover.[31]

Guns again roared on Mississippi Sound, on December 7. The morning was hazy, and Oregon was laying at Harrison's wharf, off Mississippi City. About noon, the gunboat Pamlico (Lt. William G. Dozier) ran close in to shore and warned Captain Myers that the enemy was approaching. Recalling some of the crew sent ashore to get water, Oregon was soon underway. The Confederates stood out into the sound. Through the gloom, at a range of two miles, the Rebel tars soon made out New London and De Soto, the latter a side-wheel gunboat. De Soto because of her deeper draft, held back, while New London engaged Oregon and Pamlico in a long-ranged but inconclusive duel. After several hours, the Confederates returned to Mississippi City and the Federals to the Ship Island Anchorage.[32]

Despite these rebuffs, Union gunboats continued to harass Confederate Shipping on the sound. The sloop Advocate was boarded and captured on the sound by New London, and, on the 9th, New London

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31. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, pp. 808-09. During the engagement, Florida expended some 60 projectiles.

32. Ibid., pp. 810-12. Covered by the foray of Oregon and Pamlico, the Confederates shipped the machinery from the local powder manufacturing facility from Mississippi City to New Orleans. Ltr., Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

seized the schooner Delight and the sloops Express and Osecola off Cat Island Pass.[33]

G. December Soldiering on Ship Island

Soon after arrival at Ship Island, the soldiers of the 9th Connecticut were issued their firearms--Enfield rifle-muskets. To familiarize the troops with their weapons, a tight training schedule was implemented. The daily routine prescribed:

Reveille at daybreak, police call immediately after roll call, surgeon's call at sunrise, breakfast at 7:30, company drill from 8:30 to 10:30, guard mount at 9, officers attendance at target practice at 10:30, recall from fatigue at 12 noon, dinner at 12:30, police call at 1, company drill from 2 to 3, recall from police at 3, battalion drill from 3 to 4, dress parade at 5, supper after dress parade, tattoo at 9, and taps ten minutes after tattoo.

On Sundays there was an 8 A.M. inspection: Saturday afternoons were devoted to "a thorough cleaning of quarters, tents, knapsacks, arms, accoutrements, etc., and the washing of clothing, preparatory to the Sunday inspection."[34]

The greenness of the troops was documented, when, within four weeks, three were wounded through carelessness with their firearms.[35]

The Connecticut soldiers were "wretchedly clad, and it was mid-winter. Nearly half of them were without shoes and as many more without shirts; several had no coats or blankets. Some drilled in primitive attire of blouse and cotton drawers." Tents had a limited

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33. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 817. These four craft were of little value beyond obstructing channels or as piers for the temporary wharf being constructed by the Army at Ship Island.

34. Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 62-63.

35. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 675.

capacity, and there was no straw to sleep on. Being without transportation, fatigue parties had to bring wood for fires from the east end of the island. The wood was formed into rafts and floated down to camp by men frequently standing waist-deep in water.

The Massachusetts infantrymen and artillerists, being equipped with warm blankets, ample tentage, and two uniforms per man, were in marked contrast.

For solace, the Irish Catholics of the 9th Connecticut had their religion. On Sunday, December 9, Father Daniel Mullen held mass in front of one of the tents, and before a rudely constructed altar knelt about 1,000 soldiers. After Mass, Father Mullen preached a touching sermon. Mass on Sunday, the 16th, was even better attended. In addition to the soldiers of the 9th, Catholics from the Massachusetts units and Marines and sailors from the fort and gunboats attended.[36]

H. Navy Transfers Responsibility for Defense of Ship Island to the Army

1. Flag-Officer McKean's Visit

On December 19, Commander Smith notified Flag-Officer McKean that, during the past week, no Confederate merchantmen, whether steamers or sailing vessels, had ventured onto the waters of Mississippi Sound. The last contact with Rebel gunboats had occurred on the 11th, when Oregon and Pamlico from the west and Florida and Grey Cloud from the east had sought to rendezvous, but had been intercepted and turned back by Massachusetts and New London. Several shots had been fired before the Confederates showed the Yankees their wakes.[37]

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36. Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 63-4.

37. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 17, pp. 27-8.

It was Christmas Eve before Flag-Officer McKean wrapped up his business at Santa Rosa Island and proceeded to Ship Island aboard Niagara. Before leaving the Fort Pickens station, he prevailed on Colonel Brown to order the steamer Rainey to Mississippi Sound.

Upon Niagara's arrival in the anchorage, General Phelps came aboard and it was agreed that formal transfer of responsibility for the island would take place on December 26. At 3 P.M., on the designated date, Lieutenant Buchanan and his Marines and sailors embarked on Potomac, and the fort, ordnance, ordnance stores, and all other property not needed for establishment of a naval depot on Ship Island transferred to the Army.[38]

Thus, the suggestion made by a board of naval officers chaired by Capt. Samuel F. DuPont, in August, had been finally implemented. The DuPont Board had recommended that "complete military possession" should

> be taken of Ship Island as the depot, harbor of resort, and point d'appui of the blockading vessels, which will control the access to New Orleans through the lakes and along the east coast of the Delta. Ship Island is also the key to the blockade and possession of the coasts of Mississippi and Alabama.[39]

2. The Christmas Eve Review and Inspection

Meanwhile, on Christmas Eve, Flag-Officer McKean had landed at the Ship Island wharf, to be received by a salute fired by the 4th Massachusetts Battery. From there, he proceeded to the parade ground to review the troops. It was 2 P.M. and Colonel Jones had formed the units--the 26th Massachusetts on the right, the 9th

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38. Ibid., pp. 1, 23-4. Two days later, on the 28th, New London pursued and captured the schooner Gipsey. The chase began near Horn Island Pass and ended near Pascagoula, when the crew abandoned Gipsey. Ibid; pp. 21-2.

39. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 628.

Connecticut on the left, and the Massachusetts battery in the centre. Flag-Officer McKean, General Phelps and his staff, and other visitors took position on a hummock about 100 yards in front of the artillery.

Colonel Jones put the column in motion at 2:30, and the pass in review began. "The soft, yielding sand made the march very fatiguing." Half an hour later, the soldiers halted in their original positions and squared themselves away for inspection. "This duty," one of the men recalled,

> was rigidly performed by the General himself, the smallest article carried by the men not escaping his keen eyes; while the naval officers who accompanied him appeared to be much interested in the manner of the army doing this business.

After the inspection was over and the men had been dismissed, McKean returned to Niagara.[40]

For Christmas, Lt. John G. Healy of Company C, 9th Connecticut, and his comrades decorated their tent, inside and out, with a few bushes. Some of the enlisted men prepared a dinner of potatoes, cabbage, and "preserved turkey" put up in a can. After they set a table they invited their officers to the tent for dinner.[41]

1. The Biloxi Raid

On the last day of the year, Flag-Officer McKean ordered a raid on Biloxi. This was triggered by a report that a Rebel steamer was anchored nearby. Commander Smith was to be in charge of an expedition to include Water Witch, New London, and Henry Lewis. To bolster the landing party, Smith was accompanied by the Marine detachments from Massachusetts and Niagara and a gun crew of sailors.

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40. Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 65-6. Marching, parading, and drilling troops in heavy marching order across the Ship Island sands caused a rash of hernias. Ltr., Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

41. Murray, 9th Connecticut, p. 66.

Crossing Mississippi Sound from Ship Island, the vessels anchored outside the bar, and Commander Smith went ashore in one of Henry Lewis' small boats. The town was almost deserted by males of military age but crowded with women and children.

Meeting with Mayor J. Fewell, Smith demanded the surrender of Biloxi and free navigation of adjacent waters. If his demands were refused, he warned, the town would be bombarded. Mayor Fewell acceded to his ultimatum, and Smith returned to Henry Lewis.

That vessel then got underway, crossed the bar, and anchored in six feet of water. Close by was the lighthouse and a small sand battery. Lieutenant Buchanan sent two boats ashore to bring off the two guns (a 9- and a 6-pounder) emplaced in the earthworks.

Simultaneously, a third boat manned by 12 sailors, armed to the teeth, went in pursuit of a schooner seen beating her way up behind Deer Island. After a gruelling 90-minute pull, they overtook and boarded the craft, which proved to be Captain Spedden out of New Orleans, with 25,500 feet of lumber. The cargo was much needed by the Army for construction of warehouses. A prize crew took charge of the schooner, and the expedition returned to ship Island.[42]

Unknown to the Federals, the Confederates were said to have panicked and burned a second and more valuable vessel, a steamer which had taken refuge in Back Bay.[43]

Commander Smith, while ashore, had learned that the Mississippi Gulf Coast was much exposed to attack. Upon being apprised of this, General Phelps wrote General Butler, suggesting the possibility

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42. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 17, p. 34.

43. T.C. Monet, to Pettus, Jan. 2, 1862, MDAH, RG 27, Series E, Governor's Records. Monet's story of the burning of the steamer is contradicted by Roderick Seal in a letter to Governor Pettus, dated Jan. 4, 1862. Seal to Pettus, Jan. 4, 1862, MDAH, RG 27, Series E, Governor's Records.

of transferring his camp to the mainland, "especially if the rebellion should continue through the summer." All that he had seen, since his arrival on the island, had convinced him that the heat and glare would be intolerable during hot weather months. Because of the coastal shoals, the depot must remain on Ship Island whatever direction his force might take.[44]

J. Raid Causes the Mississippians to Howl

Commander Smith had correctly assessed the mainland situation. Reporting the raid to Governor Pettus, Mayor T. C. Monet of Shieldsborough warned that the Yankees had several regiments encamped on Ship Island. Worse, he believed that to secure an adequate supply of potable water, these troops would soon transfer their camps to the mainland. If so, the Confederates would be hardpressed to stop them because there were, at present, on the Gulf Coast only a few trained units--seven companies of the 7th Mississippi Infantry near Shieldsborough; three companies from the same unit at Pass Christian; the Brookhaven and Seven Stars Artillery (six guns between the two batteries) at Shieldsborough; and a cavalry company at Mississippi City.[45]

In late November, the other infantry regiment (Colonel Deason's 3d), organized for defense of the Mississippi Gulf Coast, had been recalled and rushed to Columbus, Kentucky. There, it had joined the army Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk was massing to oppose an amphibious thrust by the Federals down the Mississippi. Until mid-December, there had been talk of further denuding the area's defenses. On the 13th, Sgt. S. E. Rankin of Company D wrote his fiancee that the orders for the 7th Mississippi to follow the 3d to Kentucky had been countermanded. Rankin attributed this to increased activity by Union gunboats on Mississippi Sound.[46]

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44. Official Records, Series I, Vol, VI, p. 676.

45. Monet to Pettus, Jan. 2, 1862, MDAH, RG 27, Series E, Governor's Records.

46. Rankin to Miss M. A. Ford, Dec. 13, 1861, Miss. Dept. of Archives & History, Civil War Papers, Misc. Z371.

To cope with the invasion threat, underscored by the Biloxi raid, Mayor Monet urged that 20 or 30 big guns be rushed to the coast and emplaced at key points. He also questioned the recent transfer of the 4th Louisiana Infantry to Berwick City and the 3d Mississippi Infantry to Kentucky.

In closing, the mayor complained that the gunboats had been a disappointment. At this critical period, Oregon was laid-up for repairs, Pamlico leaking badly, Florida blockaded in Mobile Bay, and Arrow aground at Lake Port.[47]

Governor Pettus responded by vigorously protesting to President Davis the decision to send the 3d Mississippi, "a regiment peculiarly adapted to, and indeed, raised mainly for the defense of the intricate coast of Mississippi Sound" to Kentucky. Pettus hoped to see three infantry regiments, including the 3d and 7th, deployed for defense of his state's three Gulf Coast counties. The Mississippi legislature, Pettus informed Davis, had made an appropriation of $250,000 for building gunboats on the coast, and soldiers will be required to protect the points where they are to be constructed.

The governor's effort were partially successful, and the 3d Mississippi returned to the Gulf Coast in January, going into camp at Pass Christian and Handsborough.[48]

In addition, a company of cavalry had been organized. Designated the Mississippi Coast Horse Guards, the officers and men came from Copiah, Hinds, Simpson, Lawrence, Covington, Jones, Perry, and Hancock Counties, and was commended by Capt. James Norman. Local residents were glad to have a mobile force in their midst to cope with Union landing parties.

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47. Monet to Pettus, Jan. 2, 1862, MDAH, RG 27, Series E, Governor's Records.

48. Rowland, Mississippi Statistical Register of 1908, p. 535.

On January 19, 1862, Maj. Gen. Mansfield Lovell, who had replaced General Twiggs as commander of Department No. 1, on October 17, boarded the gunboat Oregon and reconnoitered the Ship Island Anchorage, where he counted 24 vessels. When the Rebel came too near, two of the Union steamers got underway and chased General Lovell back to Pass Christian. Disembarking, Lovell inspected and accepted the Horse Guards for 12 months service. The company he saw was made up of "stalwart men" armed with sabres, pistols, and double-barrel shotguns.

While General Lovell and his aides were ashore, there was a brief engagement in the sound between Pamlico and the blockader New London. After five or six shots both vessels ceased fire and retired.

On his return to New Orleans, Lovell informed the War Department, "Biloxi is not and never has been occupied by the enemy." He also found that reports of "outrages" and fifth column activities were "grossly exaggerated."

The return of the 3d Mississippi, in conjunction with a few launches, would enable him, General Lovell informed the War Department, to accomplish all we propose, i.e., prevent marauding parties from landing, blacks from escaping, or any communication with the foe.[49]

K. Garrison's First Five Weeks of the New Year

Coincidentally with the Biloxi raid, the chartered transports George Green and Bullion reached Ship Island. From the former were landed 138 horses, six of which were owned by various officers. Twelve horses had died on the voyage out from Boston.[50]

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49. Ibid., pp. 535-36; Official Records, Series I, Vol, VI, p. 813; Dismal to Pic, Jan. 20, 1862 found in the Daily Picayune, Jan. 29, 1862.

50. Official Records, Series I, Vol, VI, p. 675.

On January 14, 1862, officers of the 9th Connecticut and 26th Massachusetts, along with many of the men, assembled near General Phelps headquarters to watch gunners of the 4th Massachusetts Battery fire their pieces. The target was the wreck of the British ship Elizabeth Bibby laying about a mile offshore. Seventeen rounds of spherical case were fired, seven striking the hulk.[51] The vessel had been run aground several months before and abandoned by her crew, when pursued by Union gunboats. She had sought to run the blockade with a cargo of coal consigned to a New Orleans merchant.

There was a flurry of activity on Thursday, the 23d, resulting from the appearance of the Confederate gunboat Crescent flying a flag of truce. She hove to about four miles from the fort, while Water Witch came alongside. The two vessels then approached the flagship Niagara. Meanwhile, the beach was lined with soldiers, who watched every movement of the Rebel craft. About 2 P.M., she departed, heading westward toward the Rigolets.[52] She had carried, it was learned, a request from Confederate authorities for release of a merchantman captured several days before. Flag-Officer McKean had rejected the plea.

General Phelps took advantage of the departure of George Green to address a letter to the War Department. The weather, he reported, had moderated since the first of the year and measures must be taken to take advantage of this situation. He called attention to his men's quartermaster's stores. Because of the damp climate, tents mildewed rapidly and fears were voiced that rot would soon set in. The 9th Connecticut continued to be in difficulty, because of "want of clothing of all kinds." Instead of coats, he urged that they be supplied with blouses.

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51. Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 66-7.

52. Ibid., p. 67.

George Green sailed for Boston on February 1. She carried as passengers a number of men discharged by the surgeons by reason of physical disabilities and three officers who had resigned their commissions.[53]

By the end of January, the first of several bakehouses had been completed, and the troops rejoiced to have fresh bread daily. Several temporary storehouses were also erected.

General Phelps' efforts to "place the island in a state of defense" were plagued by lack of means. Needed was a better class of armament--big columbiads and rifled Sawyers--rather than the IX-inch Dahlgrens and their naval carriages. Phelps likewise called for bricks and mortars, pintles, traverse-circles, and materials for an iron magazine.

Currently employed lightering in supplies from vessels anchored offshore were 24 fugative slaves. Phelps found them to be intelligent, "and far more dignified than many of their masters, whom they look upon with mingled feelings of pity and contempt as well as dread." A number of these blacks had fled from the mainland, crossing Mississippi Sound in ancient skiffs. These slaves were "ripe for manumission," Phelps informed the War Department, and "any measure to avert it may put off, but cannot long prevent a revolution."[54]

On Sunday, February 2, Lt. Henry Davidson and 51 noncommissioned officers and men of the 4th Massachusetts Battery mounted the unit's horses, preparatory to riding to the east end of the island to gather wood. Most of the redlegs were inexperienced riders at best. As they passed the camp of the 9th Connecticut, the footsoldiers

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53. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 679; Murray, 9th Connecticut, p. 67.

54. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 680.

were drilling with blank cartridges. The firing frightened the horses, and there was a stampede. Many of the horsemen were thrown into the sand and compelled to walk back to camp.[55]

L. Federals Prepare to Exploit the Situation

1. General Butler Perfects Arrangements for Transfer of the Remainder of His Army to the Gulf Frontier

Back in November, following refusal of the captain of Constitution to embark the 12th Maine Infantry, General Butler had ordered that regiment to proceed by rail from Portland to Camp Chase, Massachusetts. There, the Mainemen remained, while Butler made further arrangements for transfer of his command from New England to Ship Island.

On November 26, the bark Kingfisher sailed from Boston for the Gulf Frontier. She carried extra clothing for the men aboard Constitution, along with other quartermaster stores, including parts of a floating bridge and lumber for building a wharf, gun carriages for the 4th Massachusetts Battery, sutler's stores, and 130 horses.

By the first week of December, General Butler had chartered three more sailing vessels--George Green, Idaho, and Black Prince. The first took aboard lumber, rations, and horses, and sailed on the 10th. The 12th Maine was to be embarked on Idaho and Black Prince. Butler also contracted for use of the tug Anglo-Saxon. Besides convoying the sailing ships, the tug would take aboard the 6th Battery, Massachusetts Light Artillery.[56]

On February 6, 1862, General Butler notified the War Department that of the troops assigned to his expedition: two infantry

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55. Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 67-8.

56. Official Records, Series I. Vol. VI, p. 464.

regiments--the 9th Connecticut and 26th Massachusetts--and the 4th Massachusetts Battery, aggregating about 2,000 officers and men were on Ship Island. En route to reinforce Phelps' brigade were the 12th Maine and 30th Massachusetts Infantry Regiments and three companies of cavalry, some 2,300 strong. They were being transported by Constitution. Her prompt return from the Gulf had enabled Butler to change plans and continue to employ the giant steamer.

Currently aboard ship in Boston Harbor and ready to sail were 1,500 soldiers of the 14th Maine Infantry, the 2d Vermont Battery (six 6-pounder Sawyers), the 1st Maine Battery (six 12-pounder rifled guns), and the 6th Battery, Massachusetts Light Artillery (two 6-pounder rifles and four 12-pounder smoothbores).

There remained in Massachusetts, at Pittsfield, the 31st Massachusetts Infantry, ready to proceed momentarily to a port of embarkation, and the 8th New Hampshire Infantry at Fort Independence. The 12th Connecticut Infantry was at Hartford, waiting for the paymaster; in Vermont the 7th Vermont Infantry was at Brattlesborough, ready to be mustered in; and the 8th Vermont Infantry was prepared to take the field as soon as transportation became available.

There were in Maine, in "various conditions of readiness," the 13th and 15th Maine Infantry Regiments, and the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th Maine Batteries.[57]

2. Two Infantry Regiments and a Cavalry Battalion Reach Ship Island

Constitution reached Ship Island on her second trip out from Boston, on February 12. Her eagerly awaited appearance caused wild enthusiasm. Soldiers from Connecticut vied with those from Massachusetts as to whom would be the first to reach the shore to

57. Ibid., pp. 681-83.

welcome the newcomers. When within several miles of the island, Constitution hove to and fired a gun "which found an echo in the throat of every man on the beach."

The troops and their gear came ashore during the afternoon and went into camp.[58]

General Phelps, reporting the arrival of the 12th Maine and 30th Massachusetts and the cavalry battalion, informed Washington that recent heavy rains had so flooded "part of the island that two regiments cannot well be maneuvered upon it in line without marching through water."

The newcomers, Phelps saw, suffered from their long stay aboard ship. Although they had been ashore only 24 hours, two had already died and been buried, while a third was said to be near death.[59]

Despite these difficulties, Phelps promised to exert himself to improve the drill of his command.[60]

A norther blew in on the 15th, delaying the coaling of Constitution, and she was compelled to lay over. Heavy rains and a dense fog then kept her in the anchorage until the morning of the 18th.[61]

3. General Phelps Cautions Against Overcrowding

The steamer Saxon loaded with rations reached Ship Island on the 21st. Unlike most of the other cargo vessels reaching the

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58. Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 68-9. Among the soldiers coming ashore was T.P. Van Benthuysen, a nephew of Confederate President Jefferson Davis. New York Herald, Feb. 25, 1862.

59. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 689.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., p. 691.

advance base, she was quickly unloaded and departed the next day for the North.

Relaying this news to the War Department, General Phelps again cautioned that recent rains had so flooded the area that it would be difficult to find camp sites for additional troops. If more units arrived in the near future, steps must be taken to secure a beachhead on the Mississippi mainland for a fortified camp.[62]

4. Celebrating Washington's Birthday

To celebrate George Washington's Birthday, there was a 34-gun national salute, followed by a parade, the bands playing "the Star Spangled Banner" and other patriotic airs. The troops' morale surged when they read stories in the New Orleans newspapers reporting the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson by an amphibious expedition commanded by a little-known officer named Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.[63]

M. War Department Constitutes the Department of the Gulf

The next day, in Washington, the War Department constituted the Department of the Gulf to include that part of the Gulf Coast, west of Pensacola Bay, and so much of the Gulf States as may be occupied by General Butler's soldiers.

Butler, as commander of the Department of the Gulf, was to employ his army to cooperate with the Navy in an attack upon New Orleans. His force was to consist of 13 New England infantry regiments (the 9th, 12th and 13th Connecticut; 26th, 30th and 31st Massachusetts; 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th Maine; 8th New Hampshire; and 7th and 8th

62. Ibid., p. 693.

63. Ibid., p. 694; Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 68-9.

Vermont), and the 21st Indiana, 6th Michigan, and 4th Wisconsin Infantry Regiments currently at Fort Monroe. The three companies of cavalry presently at Ship Island, along with two batteries of artillery, were deemed sufficient.

This, according to General McClellan, would give Butler an army of more than 15,000, to include 14,400 infantry, 275 cavalry, and 580 cannoneers. To increase his force to 18,000, Butler was authorized to call on Brig. Gen. J. M. Brannan at Key West for two infantry regiments and Colonel Brown at Santa Rosa Island for a third.[64]

N. Union Forces Reconnoiter Mississippi City

During the early days of March, Union forces, in view of General Phelps concerns regarding use of Ship Island as a staging area for a large army, reconnoitered the mainland. On the 1st, a naval landing party from New London went ashore at Biloxi. Briefly occupying the town, Marines and sailors ransacked the post office, seizing newspapers describing the Fort Donelson disaster and the evacuation of Nashville. After scouting the area and ascertaining that it was undesirable as a base, they reboarded the gunboat and returned to the Ship Island Anchorage.[65]

Seven days later, on the 8th, General Phelps sent Colonel Jones and 100 men of the 26th Massachusetts aboard the gunboat Calhoun. Crossing Mississippi Sound, they went ashore at Mississippi City, landing at the head of the 3,000-foot wharf. The bluecoats penetrated a short distance inland, before being fired on by a Rebel cannon. They then returned to the gunboat, on the double, bringing with them a man injured by a shellburst. As the gunboat got underway, the sailors cast loose her 30-pounder Parrott and returned the Confederates' fire.[66]

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64. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, pp. 694-96.

65. Ibid., p. 696; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 47, 716.

66. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 696; Murrary 9th Connecticut, p. 71. To delay the Federals, the Confederates had ripped up some of the wharf's stringers and planking.

O. Steamer "Fulton" Brings Down Another 1,600 Troops

Earlier that day, the 8th, the steamers Fulton and North American dropped anchor off Ship Island. Aboard the former were the 12th Connecticut and six companies of the 12th Maine and the latter the 14th Maine. Capt. John W. DeForest of the Connecticut regiment recorded:

> The water is smooth, the sky grey and lowering, the air damp but not cold. Around us are three or four navy steamers and several sailing vessels. . . . The island is a low stretch of sand, almost as white as snow, with no discernable vegetation except something which looks like pine underwood. A few board shanties are visiable, two or three encampments of white tents, and a ghostly lighthouse.[67]

The landing was tedious and poorly organized--the troops and their gear being sent ashore in either a steam tug, lifeboats, or lighters. Captain DeForest's company, which was among the first to land, was detailed to lay out the 12th Connecticut's camp. The site selected, DeForest found, was "a distracted rubble of sand hills on the southern side of the island. Here and there sprouted giant grasses, twisted and writhed like vines. No other herbage was visible except the dank bulrushes of two marshy ponds, one on either flank." The men, employing shovels and wheelbarrows, began leveling the area. When the tents arrived, there were no pegs. They had been left in Boston.

Lt. Col. Ledyard Colburn accordingly went to General Phelps with a requisition for tent pins. "Make them," the general growled.

"Give me the material," suggested Colburn.

"Find it," Phelps snapped.

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67. DeForest to Wife, March 6, 1862, found in John W. DeForest, A Volunteer's Adventure: A Union Captain's Record of the Civil War, edited by James H. Croushore (New Haven, 1946), pp. 2-3.

At dusk, on 9th, DeForest and his men, "having done near upon nothing," straggled back aboard Fulton. The situation improved on the 10th, and, by 4 P.M., the newcomers were all ashore and in tents.[68]

The arrival of these 1,600 officers and men boosted the number of soldiers on the island to more than 6,600. Taking note of this, General Phelps cautioned the War Department, "it is rather late in the season to assemble such a large body of raw troops on such a spot as this, and it appears to me desirable that suitable transporation for its transference to some other point should be furnished as soon as possible." The British troops, in 1814, he added, had left Ship Island for their attack on New Orleans much earlier in the year.[69]

The overcrowding and congestion would get worse. On March 9, the sailing ship Idaho arrived from Boston with four batteries--the 1st and 2d Vermont, 1st Maine, and 6th Massachusetts--about 550 redlegs. As she approached the island, she ran aground. It took three days to refloat her.

Meanwhile, the artillerists were sent ashore in lighters. Upon inspecting them, General Phelps was disappointed to see that the cannoneers had left a number of their guns, caissons, and limbers behind, and had brought no harness and hardly enough horses for one six-gun battery.[70]

P. General Williams and Three Midwestern Regiments Arrive

On Wednesday afternoon, March 12, Constitution again hove to off Ship Island. She had sailed from Fort Monroe six days before, after embarking the 21st Indiana, 6th Michigan, and 4th Wisconsin. The officer

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68. DeForest to Wife, March 10, 1862, found in ibid., pp. 3-5.

69. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 696.

70. Ibid., pp. 696-98. To refloat Idaho, it was necessary to jettison some of the cargo. The grounding of Idaho, the jettisoning of cargo, and the failure to embark necessary equipment must have distressed General Phelps, who was known to be a "spit and polish" soldier. Ltr., Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

in command of these troops, Brig. Gen. Thomas S. Williams, pronounced them

> of better quality physically than any I have yet seen, and the officers highly respectable. Thus far, in this calamitous war, our western regiments are the only ones which have shown any proper spirit in the fight, and with the right spirit they, no doubt, excel the eastern regiments in knowledge of arms and aptitude for war.[71]

High winds and waves had buffeted the big steamer off the Carolina and Georgia coasts, carrying away a portion of her lower guards. This made for an uncomfortable voyage, and there was much seasickness on the overcrowded vessel. The seas moderated and the weather became summer-like, as the great ship navigated the Straits of Florida and pointed her bow nothwestward.

On March 11, Lt. James C. Biddle of General Williams' staff wrote his fiancée:

> I will be very glad when the voyage is ended. 3,000 men are too many to put on board this vessel, it is the largest number any vessel thus far has carried. It is impossible to control them, they all want to be on the upper decks to get the fresh air, & there is one continual grumbling. They are moving about from one side of the ship to the other & consequently put it constantly out of its balance.
>
> One of the officers has just made his appearance with a pair of white trousers--quite a difference between the temperature of Philada. & here.[72]

On the last day at sea, some of the sturdy midwesterners broke into the steward's locker and stole a quantity of his stores. Learning that the enlisted men had been assisted by an officer, General Williams

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71. Williams to Wife, March 12, 1862, found in "Letters of General Thomas Williams," American Historical Review, Vol. XIV, No. 2, Jan. 1909, p. 307.

72. Biddle to Gertrude, March 11, 1862, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; cited hereinafter as HSP.

declared that if the officer could be identified, he would have his "shoulder straps."

The conduct of the infantry officers shocked Lieutenant Biddle, a well educated member of Philadelphia society. He described some of them as "very common, in fact a gentleman so far is an exception. It is funny to watch them at meals, as soon as the gong sounds they make a rush to the table & swallow down their meal in one mouthful."[73]

At the time of Constitution's arrival, four prizes were laying to in the anchorage. One was a Mississippi River steamer, outfitted for transporting cotton and tying up at plantation landings. A second vessel had been overhauled and captured by a blockader, while en route from La Habana to Mobile with a cargo of powder.[74]

Strong, gusting wind, setting in at noon, on the 14th, slowed the debarkation of General Williams' troops, and it was dusk on the 15th before the last of the men and their equipment was ashore.

Williams reported to General Phelps and established his command post in a tent, on the north beach of the island. Williams quickly found that the weather was "changeable, ranging from 70 to 50, and Buffalo robes as comfortable and necessary as in Newburgh, in tents without floor boards."[75]

On March 16, Lieutenant Biddle walked to the east end of the island and back. Writing his fiancée, he reported:

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73. Biddle to Gertrude, March 13, 1862, HSP.

74. Ibid.

75. Williams to Wife, March 14-24, 1862, found in American Historical Review, Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 307-08.

> The island is very different from anything I have ever seen. At the Eastern end it is woody--pine trees, scrub Palmettos & any quantity of Cactusses. It is a barren sand bank for 5 miles & the last mile is woody. You can see Biloxi & Mississippi City, very plainly. It was very clear the day before yesterday & I could see the houses in both places.
>
> There is one very great drawback to this place, & that is the mosquito, they are very numerous, & bite tremendously.[76]

Q. General Butler's Hectic Four Weeks

General Butler did not reach Ship Island until March 20, although he had sailed from Hampton Roads four weeks before. Accompanied by his wife and staff, he had boarded the steamship Mississippi, on the evening of February 24. The ship also carried some 1,400 officers and men of the 31st Massachusetts and four companies from the 13th Maine. Col. Neal Dow, the famed prohibitionist, commanded the latter unit.[77]

The 2,000-ton vessel got underway. After clearing the capes, Capt. A. H. Fulton conned a course parallel to the Virginia coast. Plans called for the ship to stop at Hatteras Inlet to take aboard General Williams.

Dawn broke beautiful, on the 26th, with a smooth sea. As Mississippi neared Cape Hatteras, the wind began to blow and the sky took on a lowering cast. When within eight miles of Hatteras Inlet, the seas became so boisterous that Captain Fulton decided to bear away from

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76. Biddle to Gertrude, March 17, 1862, HSP.

77. Official Records, Series I, Vol. 6, p. 699; James Parton, General Butler in New Orleans: History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862. . . (New York, 1864), pp. 194-95. Members of Butler's staff were: Maj. George C. Strong, 1st Lt. Godfrey Weitzel, Maj. Joseph M. Bell, Capt. George A. Kensel, Capt. Jonas H. French, Capt. Peter Haggerty, 1st Lt. W. H. Wiegel, 1st Lt. J. W. Cushing, 1st. Lt. J. E. Easterbrook, 1st Lt. C. N. Turnbull, Surg. Thomas H. Bache, 1st Lt. J. B. Kinsman, and 2d Lt. H. C. Clarke.

the outer banks and ride out the storm. During the night, the gale increased in violence, the wind blowing from the southwest, and then shifting to the northeast. The bow was turned into the wind. and Mississippi shipped water through broken skylights. To reinforce the hard-pressed crew, Colonel Dow turned out a number of former sailors in his command.

At 10 A.M., on the 27th, the storm began to abate, and, by 11 o'clock, Captain Fulton again turned his ship's bow southward. By noon, the sun was out and Fulton determined that his ship was about 50 miles east of Cape Hatteras. Throughout the afternoon and night, the ship "bowled along merrily, the sea and wind subsiding," until she ceased rolling.

On the morning of the 28th, although Cape Fear lighthouse was in view, the ship grounded on Frying Pan Shoal. Efforts to work her off the bar failed.

About 11 A.M., the Union gunboat Mount Vernon arrived. Taking charge General Butler ordered the ship lightened. Transfer of troops to the newcomer began, small boats being employed. Before this was completed, the tide began to flood. Captain Fulton ordered full power and the propeller began to churn, while the troops scrambled rapidly from stem to stern, and back again. Mississippi inched ahead, and soon she was off the shoals. Mount Vernon guided her into an anchorage, below Fort Caswell, because she was taking water rapidly.

Teams of soldiers spent the night standing in water up to their waists bailing the lower- and foreholds. A survey revealed that Mississippi had a large hole in her hull, below the waterline, caused by running afoul her anchor while working herself off the bar. It was decided to proceed under escort to Port Royal, South Carolina, the nearest base where repairs could be effected. Before casting off, a quilted sail was placed under the bow, and the soldiers organized into reliefs for bailing and pumping.

At 6 P.M., on March 1, Mississippi again got underway. She was "much down" at the stem, the leak remained as heretofore, watertight bulkheads preventing the seas from coming aft the forecastle.

Mississippi and her consort reached Port Royal the next afternoon. On March 3, she proceeded to Seabrook's Landing, on Skull Creek, where the soldiers were sent ashore. A naval damage repair party spent the next week sealing the hole.

On Monday, the 10th, the vessel was reloaded, and the 31st Massachusetts reembarked. Colonel Dow's battalion had boarded the steamer Matanzas, which had dropped down to Hilton Head.

At 2:30 P.M., Mississippi cast off her lines and began to back water to get away from the wharf. She rammed the opposite shore with her rudder, breaking the tiller cable. Since she was now impossible to steer, she grounded about one-half mile below Seabrook's Landing. Efforts to refloat the ship were frustrated until early on the 12th. She then preceded downstream to Hilton Head, where she anchored 90 minutes later.[78]

General Butler concluded that if they were to get "to Ship Island by water, we must have a new captain." A board of inquiry was convened, which reported Captain Fulton incompetent. Whereupon, Butler deposed him and placed him under arrest. "I am grieved," Butler wrote, "to be obliged to take this action, for our personal relations have been of the kindest character, and I know yourself will believe that only the sternest sense of duty would compel me to it."[79]

Acting-Master H. L. Sturgis of Mount Vernon filled the vacated billet. On the morning of March 13, Mississippi, accompanied by

78. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, pp. 700-04.

79. Ibid., pp. 703-04; Parton, General Butler, p. 208.

Matanzas, again went to sea. They reached Ship Island without further adventure. A gale was blowing as they entered the anchorage, "and huge waves were seen rolling up, apparently among the tents, and no man could tell which was water and which was land." The winds and surf kept the troops aboard ship until the 24th, when they came ashore.

There being no quarters on the island, "a shanty of charred boards, eighteen feet square, was erected" for the Butlers. Its furniture was procured from one of the prizes brought in by a blockader. "A vast old-fashioned French bedstead half filled" the cabin.[80]

R. Butler Prepares to Mark Time

Upon conferring with General Phelps, Butler was disappointed to learn that Phelps had released the transports Constitution and Fulton. The departure of these vessels left the Army with only one transport, besides Mississippi. Although she was a large ship, there was no way at present to embark all the troops and equipment needed for an amphibious attack on New Orleans.[81]

The weather now turned hot, and, on March 26, the thermometer registered 80 degrees in the tents, but gentle sea breezes made the night pleasantly cool. Writing his fiancée, Staff Officer Biddle noted:

> I do not see any signs of our leaving here, there are no transports, & I do not see how we can get away for some days. I know something of the difficulties in embarking troops. I have seen no flat Boats, & the artillery we certainly can not land till we get to the wharf at New Orleans.[82]

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80. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 708; Parton, General Butler, pp. 308-09; Biddle to Gertrude March 20, 1862, HSP. The Butlers' shanty was northwest of the fort.

81. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 709; Biddle to Gertrude, March 21, 1862, HSP.

82. Biddle to Gertrude, March 26, 1862, HSP.

VI. SHIP ISLAND PLAYS A KEY ROLE IN THE CAPTURE OF NEW ORLEANS

A. Establishment of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron

1. Navy Department Selects Captain Farragut for a Vital Mission

In mid-November 1861, the United States government committed itself to a naval expedition aimed at capturing New Orleans, a major step in its campaign to regain control of the Mississippi River from Columbus, Kentucky, to the Gulf. Recognizing the magnitude and difficulty of this task, Secretary of the Navy Welles began a diligent search for an officer equal to the mission. Among the officers considered was David G. Farragut.

At the time of Virginia's secession, Farragut was living in Norfolk, awaiting orders. He was outspoken in his opposition to secession which earned for him a warning that people who felt that way "could not live in Norfolk." He replied, "Well, then, I can live somewhere else." That evening he left for the North with his family, settling at Hastings-on-Hudson.

In September, Farragut was appointed a member of a naval board for the retirement of officers, to be convened at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Proceeding with caution, Secretary Welles ordered Comdr. David D. Porter to visit Farragut and ascertain his views on the proposed expedition. Upon receiving a favorable report from Porter, the Department ordered Farragut to come to Washington.

On December 21, Farragut met with Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus Fox and Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. Farragut, at the conference, demonstrated enthusiasm for the enterprise and confidence in its success. He was accordingly selected to command it, and, on January 9, 1862, was formally named to the command of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron. His confidential orders, dated January 20, instructed him to

proceed up the Mississippi River and reduce the defenses which guard the approaches to New Orleans, when you will appear off that city and take possession of it under the guns of your squadron.[1]

2. Reorganization of the Gulf Blockading Squadron

Meanwhile, on December 4, 1861, Secretary Welles had administratively divided the Gulf Blockading Squadron into two commands--the East Gulf Blockading Squadron to be based at Key West and La Habana and the West Gulf Blockading Squadron to operate out of Ship Island.[2] Flag-Officer McKean would have charge of the former and Flag-Officer Farragut was to command the latter. This reorganization was to become effective upon Farragut's arrival at Ship Island.

At the beginning of the fourth week of January 1862, four of the 37 vessels constituting the old Gulf Blockading Squadron were at Ship Island--the flagship Niagara was laying to in the anchorage, while Itasca, South Carolina, and Sciota were undergoing repairs. Three ships--Massachusetts, Water Witch, and New London--were protecting Mississippi Sound, and Wissahickon was blockading Petit Bois and Horn Island Passes.[3]

3. Flag-Officer McKean's Final Weeks on the Ship Island Station

From Ship Island Anchorage, Flag-Officer McKean directed the far-flung operations of his squadron as it blockaded the coasts of the Gulf states from the Rio Grande to Key West. On the evening of January 30, McKean proceeded aboard Niagara to the mouth of the Mississippi.

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1. Dufour, Night the War was Lost, pp. 140-48; Loyall Farragut, Life and Letters of David Glasgow Farragut (New York, 1879), pp. 204-06.

2. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 17, p. 807.

3. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, p. 71. The wartime-built gunboats Itasca and Sciota, on their run down from the Philadephia Navy Yard, where they had been received from the contractors and had been commissioned, had behaved miserably. Ibid., p. 41.

Pending his return, Commander Smith was in charge of the Ship Island station.

McKean and his flagship returned to Ship Island on February 15. Riding at anchor, he found the transport Constitution and the British screw steamer Labaun. The latter had been captured by the sloop Portsmouth off the mouth of the Rio Grande, where she was taking aboard cotton from a small steamer. McKean hit the ceiling when he learned that Portsmouth's captain, in violation of orders, had sent the Britisher to Ship Island, instead of to Key West or New York City for adjudication by a prize court. After drafting a letter of reprimand for the captain of Portsmouth, McKean sealed the log and ship's papers in presence of the prize master, and ordered him to precede to New York City with Labaun.[4]

On the evening of February 19, the day before Flag-Officer Farragut's arrival at Ship Island, sailors aboard New London, while blockading Cat Island Pass, sighted a number of small schooners and sloops manned by oystermen close in to Isle au Pied. Lt. Abner Read determined to capture them, because they were known to have relayed news of the blockaders' movements to Confederate authorities.

Next morning, Read sent off two boats manned by 30 heavily armed bluejackets to effect their capture. Taking advantage of a good wind, the sailors bore down on the oystermen, capturing three schooners and nine sloops. Two of the fleet escaped. After assigning several men to each craft, the small boat expedition prepared to return to

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4. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 17, pp. 93, 99-104. The captain of Portsmouth was Comdr. Samuel Swartwout. In defense of his actions, Swartwout explained that he "did not feel sufficient confidence in the engineers, firemen, and coal heavers of Labaun to trust them to work her to New York, particularly as Prize Master [Gilbert] Richmond overheard a conversation between the chief mate and chief engineer, previous to the steamer leaving [the mouth of the Rio Grande], from which he was satisfied they were forming some plan for deranging the machinery and recapturing the vessel." Ibid., p. 106.

New London. The wind was against them, and they were obliged to tack several times. Contact was thus lost with one of the schooners, and her crew overpowered the two Union tars and escaped.[5]

4. Flag-Officer Farragut Arrives at the Island

On the afternoon of the 20th, Flag-Officer Farragut reached Ship Island aboard the steam sloop Hartford. The voyage out from the Philadephia Navy Yard had been rather vexing for the 60-year-old Farragut. His ship had been detained at Fort Mifflin for five days in late January by ice in the Delaware River. Then, on the run down from Hampton Roads to Key West, where all hands were turned to coaling ship on February 13, Hartford had encountered strong headwinds. She had then proceeded to Ship Island by way of La Habana.[6]

At Ship Island, Farragut met and conferred with Flag-Officer McKean. McKean, gesturing to the steamers Montgomery, South Carolina, and Sciota, moored in the anchorage, explained that their machinery was so broken down that they could not put to sea. Colorado, currently on station off South West Pass, must have her mainmast lifted. Farragut, however, vetoed sending any ships home for repairs until such time as his squadron had ascended the Mississippi and had fought its way past Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

Because of the remote stations of several of the vessels, Farragut and McKean determined to work an exchange. Midnight, Preble, and Montgomery assigned by the Department to the East Gulf Blockading Squadron were traded for Ethan Allen, John L. Davis, and R. R. Cuyler.

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5. Ibid., pp. 147-48.

6. Ibid., pp. 11, 27, 31.

New London, in view of her shallow draft which made her a terror to the Rebels, was transferred to Farragut's squadron.[7]

Although command of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron was formally assumed by Farragut on February 21, it was March 3 before Flag-Officer McKean sailed from Ship Island aboard Niagara. Traveling by way of Apalachicola, he reached Key West, the designated headquarters of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, on the 10th.[8]

B. Farragut's Squadron Prepares to Attack

1. "Pensacola" and "Richmond" Bolster the Squadron

At the time of Farragut's arrival at Ship Island, two of the more formidable ships assigned his squadron were not on the Gulf Coast. The first of these--the steam sloop Pensacola--arrived from Key West on March 2. She stood into the anchorage just before a severe norther struck. "Had she encountered it," Farragut reported, "God knows when she would have arrived." Her captain informed the flag-officer that Pensacola's engines were worthless, and he feared for the lives of the "black gang." Farragut was undeterred and sent Pensacola down to the mouth of the Mississippi, under orders to get across the bar.[9]

Richmond, the second anxiously awaited vessel reached Ship Island from the Brooklyn Navy Yard by way of Key West, on the evening of March 5. She was accompanied by the gunboat Kennebec.

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7. Ibid., pp. 33-4, 36. The Department, in dividing the command, had assigned these vessels to Farragut's squadron: Colorado, Santee, Ethan Allen, Maria A. Wood, Sciota, Arthur, Bohio, Mississippi, Vincennes, De Soto, Itasca, Portsmouth, Pursuit, Pensacola, Brooklyn, Richmond, Hatteras, Sagamore, Winona, Tahoma, R. R. Cuyler, Potomac, Wissahickon, Huron, Kittatinny, and John L. Davis. Four Coalers-- Fearnot, Pampero, J. C. Kuhn, and National Guard--would support the squadron. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

8. Ibid., p. 187.

9. Ibid., pp. 43-4, 46-7. The supply ship National Guard reached Ship Island the same day as Pensacola. She had aboard Hartford's two IX-inch pivot guns.

Capt. John Alden of Richmond had bad news for Farragut--there was no coal at Key West. To support day-to-day operations, Farragut was compelled to borrow 700 tons of coal from the Army. This situation, it was hoped, would not last long, because the Navy Department had recently contracted for delivery of 10,000 tons of coal at Ship Island.[10]

Dawn on the 6th, revealed to Richmond's crew a crowded anchorage. There were "a great many storeships," and two large cotton steamers captured while attempting to run the blockade, in addition to warships. The white tents ashore were a "beautiful sight." At 1 P.M., the sidewheel steamer Rhode Island put to sea en route to Key West with the mail.[11]

2. Farragut Visits the Mouths of the Mississippi

By March 7, Flag-Officer Farragut had perfected his plans for crossing the bar, ascending the Mississippi to Head of Passes, and engaging the forts guarding the riverine approach to New Orleans. After issuing orders directing Captain Alden to remain at Ship Island until instructed differently, Farragut sailed for Pass a l'Outre in Hartford.[12]

3. Ship Island as a Base for Lightening the Ships

On the day of Hartford's departure, the gunboats Wissahickon and Calhoun and the storeship Dreadnaught arrived in the anchorage.[13]

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10. Ibid., pp. 49-50, 730.

11. Ibid., pp. 730-31.

12. Ibid., pp. 50, 731.

13. Ibid., pp. 61, 731. The prize steamer Calhoun had been armed and had been cruising off Barataria; Wissahickon had been blockading Horn Island Pass; and the storeship Dreadnaught had arrived from Boston. The brig Bohio relieved Wissahickon of responsibility for guarding Horn Island Pass.

Early on the 9th, Captain Alden, learning that the troop transport Idaho was aground, signaled Sciota to go to her assistance. Initial efforts to refloat the big sailing vessel were unsuccessful, and Alden ordered Calhoun to join Sciota. At dusk, Idaho was still on the bar, and, fearing the worst, the soldiers were taken aboard the gunboats and landed on the Ship Island wharf. A second vessel had grounded during the day, but, assisted by the gunboat Kineo, her crew refloated her at high tide. Before freeing Idaho, on the 12th, she had to be lightened. Most of the cargo was sent aboard Calhoun, though some provisions were jettisoned.[14]

The sidewheel steamer Mississippi, en route from Santa Rosa Island to reinforce the squadron, arrived at Ship Island on the 9th. Before continuing on South West Pass, all hands turned to coaling and lightening the ship.

On March 11, Pensacola returned to the anchorage from the mouth of the Mississippi, and two days later the frigate Colorado arrived. Efforts to get these deep-draft ships across the Pass a l'Outre bar had been in vain. Writing Farragut from Ship Island, on the 14th, Capt. Theodorus Bailey of Colorado reported that Richmond, Mississippi, and Pensacola were being lightened and prepared for their work. It was the "considered opinion" of several officers familiar with the area, Bailey noted, that Colorado could not get over the bars at either Pass a l'Outre or South West Pass unless there was a pronounced rise on the lower Mississippi.[15]

4. Porter's Mortar Flotilla Comes In and Sails

Meanwhile, Comdr. David D. Porter's mortar flotilla, having sailed from the Brooklyn and Philadelphia Navy Yards in February, reached Ship Island. Porter's flagship, Harriet Lane, arrived on March 10, and most of the schooners the next day, and the remainder,

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., pp. 64-66, 731.

except a laggard, on the 12th. Richmond's watch officer accordingly noted in the ship's log on the 11th, "It was a beautiful sight to see so many vessels under sail. They came all together. There was a fine breeze in their favor. The bay is crowded with the fleet, and they are all preparing for action." Next day the weather was cold and mizzling. At 4 P.M., the mortar flotilla got underway and made sail, "and came to anchor again in divisions, each division forming a line."

On Thursday, the 13th, a mortar schooner arrived with jury rigged masts. She had been demasted in a gale several days earlier.

Two of Porter's gunboats sailed from the anchorage for Pass a l'Outre on the morning of the 15th. At 4 P.M., they were followed by the rest of the flotilla, the gunboats taking the lead. There was a fair wind blowing in their favor, and they put out by divisions, Harriet Lane bringing up the rear towing one of the schooners. As far as the eye could see out into the Gulf there was "a line of sails."

Within three days of their Ship Island departure, the 21 schooners, towed by Harriet Lane, Owasco, Westfield, and Clifton, had crossed the Pass a l'Outre Bar and ascended the Mississippi to Head of Passes.[16]

5. Farragut Returns to Ship Island

After his failure to get Brooklyn and Hartford across the Pass a l'Outre bar, Flag-Officer Farragut turned his attention to South

16. Ibid., pp. 68, 71, 731. The 21 schooners, each armed with a XIII-inch mortar and several smaller guns, were: Norfolk Packet, Oliver H. Lee, Para, C. P. Williams, Arletta, William Bacon, Sophronia, T. A. Ward, Sidney C. Jones, Matthew Vassar, Maria J. Carlton, Orvetta, Adolph Hugel, George Mangham, Horace Beals, John Griffith, Sarah Bruen, Rover, Sea Foam, Henry Jones, and Dan Smith. Steamers assigned to the flotilla were: Westfield, Clifton, John P. Jackson, Owasco, Miami, Harriet Lane, R. B. Forbes, and Octoara.

West Pass. The situation improved. On March 11, Brooklyn crossed the bar and reached Head of Passes. The next night on the flood Hartford followed, ascending the pass. She anchored off Pilot Town, and at 5:45 A. M., on the 14th, her Marine detachment landed, took possession of the village, and hoisted the stars and stripes.

On the 17th, Farragut determined to return to his Ship Island operating base and give attention to the squadron's general duties. While there, he would expedite preparation of the other big vessels of the "river force" for crossing the South West Pass bar. At 9:30 A.M., he boarded the gunboat Winona and headed down Pass a l'Outre. She grounded on a shoal, and he transferred to Sciota, which hove to in the anchorage at 5 P.M., on the 18th. There, Farragut found Colorado, Pensacola, Richmond, Mississippi, Itasca, New London, and Calhoun; the bark Alamo with 650 tons of coal; the schooner Anna E. Glover with machinery; and the coaler Fearnot.[17]

6. "Richmond," "Pensacola," and "Mississippi" Put to Sea

Conferring with Captains Bailey of Colorado and Alden of Richmond, Farragut learned that it would be impossible to lighten Colorado sufficiently to get her across the bar. He was also told that two of Commander Porter's steamers--Clifton and Westfield--had arrived and had sailed for the mouth of the Mississippi. This was welcomed news, because fears had been raised for their safety. On the outbound voyage, Clifton and R. B. Forbes had collided off Nags Head, and the latter had been beached in a sinking condition.

On the 19th, another of Porter's steamers, Miami, arrived from Philadelphia along with the storeship Pampero. Urged on by Farragut, who had shifted his flag to Colorado, work was expedited in preparing the big ships for ascending the river and engaging the Rebel forts. By 11 A. M., on the 19th, Richmond was ready and sailed for

17. Ibid., pp. 64-5, 67-68, 686, 717, 732.

Pass a l'Outre. She was followed the next day by Pensacola, and on Sunday, the 23d, by Mississippi.[18]

7. Navy Sets up a Machine Shop

Meanwhile, Farragut had ordered the machinery and prefabricated shop that had arrived aboard Anna E. Glover rafted ashore. The building was then assembled, the machinery positioned, and the facility staffed by a team of skilled machinists bossed by Master Mechanic Andrew Crosgift rushed by the Department to the Gulf Frontier. The shop was to focus attention on repair of the warships' steam machinery, a problem that had heretofore plagued the squadron.[19]

8. Farragut Returns to Head of Passes

At 9 P.M., on the 23d, Farragut boarded Miami, preparatory to returning to Head of Passes. She was a double-ender, and Comdr. Henry H. Bell found her to be a "most remarkable steamer, almost unmanageable on account of bad-steering qualities and bad-working machinery." With a strong wind gusting out of the northwest, it took almost three hours to clear the anchorage.[20]

Farragut was back aboard Hartford on the 26th. From Head of Passes, on the 28th, he wrote the senior naval officer at the Ship Island Anchorage, directing him to send the coaler Fearnot to South West Pass, as the river flotilla was nearly out of coal and the coaler Alamo had not arrived. Before Fearnot sailed, stores from Pampero were to be sent aboard. Pampero would then return to Key West to embark and bring out to the squadron an assorted cargo of provisions, stores, and slop clothing.[21]

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18. Ibid., 29, 71, 93, 685, 687, 732.

19. Ibid., p. 685; Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 697. The machine shop was positioned, near the north beach, about midway between the fort and lighthouse.

20. Official Records--Navies, Series 1, Vol. 18, p. 687.

21. Ibid., p. 88.

9. Ship Island as the Squadron's Depot

The departure of the big ships had left Comdr. George F. Emmons of Hatteras as senior officer afloat at Ship Island. He had partially anticipated Farragut's needs. Although the 30th was a Sunday, he directed the captains of Fearnot and Pampero to keep all hands employed making necessary transfers. Because Fearnot's coal supply was limited, Emmons borrowed 150 tons from the Army. As soon as it was taken aboard, she would depart for South West Pass towed by the gunboat Winona. The 90-day gunboat Cayuga, scheduled to sail at dusk, was alerted to search for the bark Alamo, which had been reported near Pass a l'Outre on Saturday.[22]

C. Army Embarks and Disembarks

On March 29, encouraged by reports that progress was being made in getting Richmond, Mississippi, and Pensacola across the bar and the arrival of several vessels that could double as transports, General Butler ordered the embarkation of 6,000 soldiers of General Williams' brigade. They were to begin going aboard ship at 8 A.M., on the 30th. Each regiment was allowed three tents, while the detached companies of artillery, cavalry, and pioneers were to have one tent each. The remaining tents were to be left standing. The soldiers were to carry their camp kettles, mess pans, cups, plates knives, and forks; each man was to have a knapsack, overcoat, blanket, one extra shirt, one spare pair of drawers, one extra pair of shoes, canteen, and in his haversack four days' cooked rations.

Officers' baggage was limited to bedding and one valise, carpetbag, or knapsack. All remaining personal baggage was to be compactly secured, stenciled, and turned over to the division quartermaster.

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22. Ibid., p. 90. Cayuga encountered Alamo and took her en tow on the last day of the month.

Each soldier was to have 40 rounds of ammunition in his cartridge-box.[23]

Staff Officer Biddle spoke for most of the soldiers:

> I am delighted to get away from here. We have not one particle of shade & our tents are very close. We have a new fashioned tent called the New England Tent & it without exception is the most uncomfortable Tent I was ever in. There is no draught possible to circulate through it.[24]

About noon on the 30th, the long roll beat in the camp of the 12th Connecticut, and the regiment fell in with slung knapsacks, filled canteens, and four days' rations in haversacks. The officers slung their blankets and rubber ground sheets over their right shoulders. At the colonel's command, they moved out, trudging "under a hot sun through nearly a mile of deep sand to the dock." There, they stood in close column of companies until a tug ran them out to E. Wilder Farley.[25]

The situation off South West Pass was not as hopeful as Butler had been led to believe. Pensacola had made five different attempts to enter the pass when the water seemed favorable. On the first four she grounded, though everything was out of her, and was got off with difficulty. On the fifth a hawser snapped, killing two sailors and injuring five. On the 28th, Farragut wrote Captain Bailey about his problems, and that he was "much disheartened by the many trials without

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23. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, pp. 705-06. The troops' embarkation assignments were: Mississippi--General Butler and his staff, the 4th Wisconsin Infantry, Durivage's cavalry (dismounted), 4th Massachusetts Battery, and Weitzel's pioneers; Matanzas--General Williams and his staff and the 21st Indiana Infantry; Lewis--9th Connecticut Infantry; North American--26th Massachusetts Infantry and the 6th Massachusetts Battery; Wild Gazelle--6th Michigan Infantry; and E. Wilder Farley--12th Connecticut Infantry.

24. Biddle to Gertrude, March 29, 1962, HSP.

25. DeForest, A Volunteer's Adventures, p. 8.

success, but live in hopes that a southerly wind will rise the tide on the bar a few inches."

Bailey was to tell General Butler that the Navy was not ready, and while the Army marked time Butler might employ some of his troops elsewhere.

Captain Bailey had departed for the mouth of the Mississippi aboard Colorado, so Farragut's communication was delivered to Commander Emmons, who relayed it to Butler.[26]

In addition to the 12th Connecticut, a number of units had gone aboard ship by the hour that Butler became privy to Farragut's problems. Instructions were accordingly issued countermanding the embarkation and ordering the men already aboard to return to their camps.

This was very distressing, because the troops found Ship Island a "very dull place."[27]

D. Union Forces Carry the War to the Confederates on the Waters and Shores of Mississippi Sound

1. The March 25 Engagement

Five days earlier, on March 25, the Confederate gunboats Pamlico and Oregon debouched from the Rigolets and stood eastward toward Pass Christian. While Pamlico anchored off the village, Oregon reconnoitered the Ship Island Anchorage. On her return, she was shadowed by her old antagonist New London. Reinforced by Pamlico, Oregon came about. The Yankees, at a range of 2,000 yards, fired the first shot. Pamlico answered with her 6.4-inch rifled gun.

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26. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 88, 99; Alfred T. Mahan, The Gulf and Inland Waters (New York, 1883).

27. Murray, 9th Connecticut, p. 72; Parton, General Butler, p. 212; Biddle to Gertrude, March 30 & 31, 1862, HSP.

The engagement continued for the next 110 minutes, and was broken off when Pamlico's rifled gun jammed. The Confederates then withdrew through the Rigolets. New London held her position until they disappeared and then returned to Ship Island.

Neither side could boast about their gunnery, because, although a large number of projectiles had been fired, no hits were registered. Muzzled blasts from Pamlico's guns, however, caused considerable damage to her frail superstructure, carrying away the greater part of the gundeck paneling and the leading wheel rope chock on the port beam, besides shattering skylights and windows.[28]

2. The Great Cattle Raid

On the 26th, one hundred soldiers boarded a schooner and, escorted by New London, proceeded to Horn Island. Going ashore, they rounded up more than 300 cattle belonging to a Mrs. Waters that were ranging the island and brought them back to their camps. During the next several days, the cattle were slaughtered and the meat issued to the messes.[29]

3. General & Mrs. Bulter as Good Samaritans

Two weeks earlier, on March 15, the blockade runner Black Joker, en route from La Habana to Matamoras, foundered. Five days later, one of her boats with 17 survivors, including a 5-year-old girl (Alma Peniston), was picked up by the armed schooner Maria A. Wood, near East Pass, Santa Rosa Island. The survivors were transferred first to Vincennes and then to J. P. Jackson. Upon her arrival at Ship Island, J. P. Jackson's commander turned these people over to General Butler's provost-marshal.[30]

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28. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 75-6; Biddle to Gertrude, March 26, 1862, HSP.

29. Biddle to Gertrude, March 26 & 27, 1862, HSP. Later, Union sailors also made off with Mrs. Waters' boat. Ltr., Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

30. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 86-7, 91. Black Joker had slipped out of Sabine Pass and had sailed from La Habana with a cargo of coffee, zinc, sheet copper, oil, and paper.

The lass was taken to Mrs. Butler's quarters and provided with clothing and tender care. She was unable to give her name, but had a "lively sense" of having a grandfather in New Orleans.[31]

4. Confederates Hassle a Flag of Truce Party

On April 1, General Butler called for Maj. George C. Strong and told him to organize a flag of truce party; and take the child across Mississippi Sound to Biloxi, where she was to be restored to her grandfather. Boarding a schooner, Strong and his party landed at Biloxi and entrusted the girl to the care of a local court official. The schooner then cast off but soon ran aground and was fired on from shore. Soon thereafter, two boats closed in and the men aboard called on Major Strong to surrender. He refused, and, to mislead the secessionists as to his strength, he had his men pile up a wood barricade. Shouting at the Confederates, Strong told them to keep their distance.

After they were bluffed and withdrew, Strong dispatched a small boat to Ship Island with a call for help. Upon receipt of this message, Commander Emmons ordered New London and J. P. Jackson to the schooner's assistance. At daylight on the 2d, the schooner was refloated and returned to Ship Island escorted by the gunboats.[32]

5. Federals Land at Biloxi and Deliver an Ultimatum

General Bulter, angered by the Rebels' actions, determined to secure a written apology for their "cowardly conduct." He called on Commander Emmons for the assistance of a naval force "to rebuke the outrage offered to his flag of truce while doing an act of humanity."

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31. Parton, General Butler, p. 213.

32. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 97, 98-99; Parton, General Butler, pp. 213-16; Murray, 9th Connecticut, p. 13; Biddle to Gertrude, April 6, 1862, HSP. Major Strong was accompanied by Capts. Jonas H. French and R. S. Davis and Lts. J. B. Kinsman and C. N. Turnbull of Butler's staff and Capt. Cardinal H. Conant and several men of the 31st Massachusetts. J.P. Jackson, built for ferry service in New York Harbor, had been purchased by the Navy in November 1861. Her shallow draft and maneuverability enhanced her value for operating on Mississippi Sound.

Emmons was agreeable and directed the captains of New London and J. P. Jackson to stand ready to cooperate with the Army.[33]

Coincidentally, General Butler alerted Major Strong to embark the 9th Connecticut and the cannoneers and two guns of the 6th Massachusetts Battery on the steamer Henry Lewis. Strong would then proceed to Biloxi and demand and obtain an apology, along with a written guaranty against a repitition, signed by the mayor, the principal inhabitants, and Colonel Deason of the 3d Mississippi Infantry.

Strong and the troops would then proceed to Mississippi City and Pass Christian, if desired by the Navy, and cooperate in a demonstration against these localities.[34]

By 2 P.M., on April 2, the troops had boarded Henry Lewis and, escorted by the two gunboats, the transport cast off. Crossing the sound, the vessels arrived off Biloxi. Because of the "intricacies of the miserable channel," Henry Lewis experienced considerable difficulty in getting alongside the wharf. The landing was "unopposed save by a single bloodthirsty individual." As the townspeople lined the beach, this "wild son of Mississippi stood on the wharf, rifle in hand, defying the troops to come on shore." About the time that the first soldiers began to disembark, he took to his heels, along with most of the onlookers.

As soon as the last of his regiment and the two 10-pounder Sawyers reached the beach, Col. Thomas W. Cahill of the 9th Connecticut pushed out Company G to the west, Company D to the east, and formed the rest of the regiment parallel to the waterfront. After

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33. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 97-8.

34. Ibid., p. 98; Biddle to Gertrude, April 6, 1862, HSP. Describing Henry Lewis, Lieutenant Biddle wrote, being a captured "Mississippi Cotton Steamer," she was "built very high above water mark, to get the greatest capacity for holding Cotton, with two Engines."

establishing and manning a picket line shielding the beachhead, the soldiers fell out and camped. Colonel Cahill and Major Strong established their command post in the Long Branch Hotel, a summer watering place that had seen more properous times. The room assigned to Lieutenant Biddle had been occupied the previous night by Colonel Deason, who had hastened to Biloxi upon learning of Major Strong's initial visit.[35]

At daybreak on the 3d, Colonel Cahill sent a three-company combat patrol through the town and out into the countryside beyond to search for the camp of the 3d Mississippi. Simultaneously, fatigue parties turned to cutting down telegraph poles on the New Orleans-Mobile line and cutting the submerged cable crossing Biloxi Bay.

If Major Strong were to discharge his mission successfully, it was necessary to locate Mayor Fewell. Capt. William Wright of Company G was told to proceed to the mayor's residence, two miles west of town. If he could not find him, Wright was to return with a member of the mayor's household as a hostage, leaving word that unless Fewell put in an appearance at the Long Branch, within an hour, the hostage would be sent to Ship Island. Unable to locate the mayor, Wright returned with his daughter. This strategy paid off. Mayor Fewell arrived hard on Wright's heels.

Before releasing the hostage and reembarking the troops, Major Strong handed Fewell an ultimatum. He was informed that a repetition of an outrage such as had occurred against the flag of truce party would result in the destruction of Biloxi.[36]

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35. Parton, General Butler, p. 215; Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 73-4; Cahill's "After Action Report," April 17, 1862, found in the Connecticut State Library; Biddle to Gertrude, April 6, 1862, HSP.

36. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, pp. 707-08; Murray, 9th Connecticut, p. 74; Cahill's "After Action Report," April 17, 1862.

6. Three Confederate Gunboats Surprise the Yanks

Sunset found the troops back aboard Henry Lewis. Getting underway, the transport and the two gunboats steamed westward, anchoring for the night off Mississippi City. Major Strong and Colonel Cahill then boarded New London to discuss with Lieutenant Read further blows against the foe. Having learned at Biloxi that a battalion of the 3d Mississippi was camped at Pass Christian, a plan of attack was outlined. At dawn, Henry Lewis, protected by the gunboats, was to run up to the Pass Christian pier. Scrambling ashore, the soldiers would surprise, capture, and burn the Mississippians' camp.[37]

Soon after the senior officers had left for the meeting, a fire erupted aboard Henry Lewis. One of the brick galleys built to provide food for the troops overheated and the wheelhouse caught fire. The blaze was soon extinguished, but it had been a narrow escape.[38]

Meanwhile, the Confederates were preparing to counter-attack. The force available, however, had been slashed in half by the late February transfer of the 7th Mississippi Infantry to West Tennessee to help shore up the Confederate position there following loss of Fort Donelson. Consequently, the three companies of the 3d Mississippi at Pass Christian were ordered to reinforce the seven companies at Handsboro, while Commo. William P. Whittle was to debouch from Lake Borgne with the gunboats Carondelet, Oregon, and Pamlico. The Confederates planned a dawn blow against the Biloxi beachhead.[39]

Shortly before daybreak on April 4, the soldiers on Henry Lewis were awakened by shouts of the lookouts, "Three Rebel boats are

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37. Cahill's "After Action Report," April 17, 1862.

38. Biddle to Gertrude, April 6, 1862, HSP.

39. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, p. 104; Rowland, Mississippi Statistical Register, p. 574.

bearing down on us!" Lieutenant Biddle raced out on deck, saw the newcomers, and

> made up my mind we were gone. We had not sufficient steam to move with, & I was afraid we were all going to be blown to pieces. We had two guns on board the Lewis but could not bring them to bear.

Aboard New London, Lieutenant Read rushed Colonel Cahill into a small boat with instructions to return to Henry Lewis and head for Ship Island. A Rebel projectile, puncturing one of Lewis' high-pressure boilers, "would blow the entire regiment into eternity." Weighing anchor, the transport slowly moved out of range, the gunboats screening her retreat. As she did cannoneers of the 6th Massachusetts Battery, their Sawyers' field of fire no longer obstructed by New London and J. P. Jackson, returned the Rebels' fire. Before she was out of range, Lewis took two hits in her upperworks--the first passing through a chimney and out the steampipe and the other penetrating the wheelhouse.

New London and J. P. Jackson carried the fight to the Confederates. After about 90 minutes, the three Rebel gunboats broke off the engagement and withdrew first to Pass Christian and then the Rigolets. In the fight Oregon was struck by a shell in the pilothouse and Carondelet in the wheelhouse. The Union gunboat J. P. Jackson likewise received two hits from 30-pounder Parrott shells.

Three hours after the Southerners had escaped into shoal water, Commander Emmons arrived in Hatteras. Lewis was recalled and preparations made for putting a force ashore and occupying Pass Christian.[40]

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40. Official Records--Navies, pp. 99, 100-102, 104; Cahill's "After Action Report," April 17, 1862; Murray, 9th Connecticut, pp. 75-7; Dismal to Pic, April 11, 1862, found in Daily Picayune, April 11, 1862; Biddle to Gertrude, April 6, 1862, HSP.

7. Federals Raid Pass Christian

The convoy approached Pass Christian at 11:30 A.M., on April 4. When Henry Lewis sought to come alongside the wharf, she grounded 100 yards from the pier head. As the tide was ebbing, Colonel Cahill determined to employ small boats to land the troops on the wharf. If there were any resistance, this could be suicidal, because the wharf was about 250 yards long and 10 feet wide. Coincident with the launching of the boats someone ashore set fire to a warehouse filled with baled hay. Dense clouds of smoke belched forth, and the gunboats, to cover the landing of the 9th Connecticut, shelled the town. The inhabitants panicked, abandoned their homes, and fled into the woods. The sailors soon ceased fire, but kept their big guns pointed landward.[41]

After several companies had been shuttled ashore and had established a narrow beachhead, Henry Lewis floated free and was brought alongside the wharf. This expedited the landing, and by 3 P.M. all the troops and artillery were ashore. Colonel Cahill then put his column in motion to attack the camp of the 3d Mississippi. A spectator reported that the Yankees marched "silently thru the streets, with the Stars and Stripes floating high in the air, in the direction of . . . Tugville."

Meanwhile, the Federals had taken possession of the post office, where they secured valuable information pertaining to Confederate troop movements, local morale, and the New Orleans newspapers as late as April 2.

The artillerists found it difficult to drag their two 10-pounder Sawyers through the soft sand and Colonel Cahill detailed Companies A and E to assist them. Manning drag ropes in fireman style,

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41. Biddle to Gertrude, April 6, 1862, HSP; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 99, 102; Dismal to Pic, April 11, 1862, found in the Daily Picayune, April 11, 1862; Cahill's "After Action Report," April 17, 1862. Several dwellings (Judge Brill's and a Mrs. Heirn's) were badly damaged by the bombardment.

the footsoldiers stepped out quickly. It was a dusty, fatiguing two-mile march.

The head of the column, as it came in sight of a crossroads, was shelled by two Rebel guns. Captain Everett shouted for his redlegs to unlimbered their Sawyers. Almost as soon as the trails struck the ground, the cannoneers began hammering the foe with shot and shell. Company A dashed off through the woods to the right of the road to outflank the Southerners, while Company G moved to the left, advancing across several "closely built and fenced grounds," grown up in shrubbery. A battalion (Companies B, C, D, and E) deployed perpendicular to the road and felt its way forward. Cahill then reinforced Company A on the right with Companies H and K.

The three companies of the 3d Mississippi and the artillerists encountered belonged to Lt. Col. Thomas A. Mellon's command. The Union landing had been an unpleasant surprise. They had just returned, in an exhausted condition, from Handsboro, where they had gone on the 3d to join the seven companies camped there for an attack on the Biloxi beachhead. When it was discovered at daybreak that the bluecoats had pulled out of Biloxi, Colonel Mellon and his three companies had hastened to Pass Christian.

Colonel Mellon realized that he was outnumbered and outflanked. After a brisk skirmish, the Confederates abandoned their camp and retreated on the double-quick to Gainesville.

The Federals promptly set fire to the cantonment, burning tents, bedding, uniforms, trunks, forage, etc. As trophies of war, they carried off a handsome white silk flag, a large magnolia flower painted on it; three drums; and a number of "coarse villianous looking Bowie Knife Swords," on one of which was inscribed the works "Yankee Exterminator."

At dusk, recall sounded and the soldiers of the 9th Connecticut were assembled and mustered. Colonel Cahill then led the column back to the wharf.[42]

Meanwhile, there had been action and excitement afloat. A small boat expedition from Hatteras was sent to fish for and cut the submarine cable crossing Bay St. Louis. While they discharged this mission, a small schooner loaded with wood was captured by the sailors.

A steamer was then sighted off in the direction of Cat Island. In response to a signal from Hatteras, New London and J. P. Jackson gave chase. The newcomer, P. C. Willis out of Mobile bound for New Orleans, with a cargo of lime, pitch, and rosin, mistook the gunboats for Confederates. She permitted them to get too close before stoking up her boiler fires.

The chase lasted about an hour and the Yankees were compelled to open fire, hitting the merchantman with three rounds. As P. C. Willis hove to, her captain set her afire. A boarding party from J. P. Jackson quickly extinguished the flames. A prize crew was sent aboard the steamer, and her captain, hands, and passengers transferred to J. P. Jackson. The gunboats and their prize then returned to Pass Christian.[43]

The last soldiers of the 9th Connecticut had evacuated Pass Christian and had reembarked on Henry Lewis by 9 P.M. The convoy then pulled out into Mississippi Sound and anchored for the night. On the morning of April 5, the expedition returned to Ship Island, and

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42. Cahill's "After Action Report," April 17, 1862; Dismal to Pic, April 11, 1862, found in Daily Picayune, April 11, 1862; Official Record-Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, p. 104. In the skirmishing, the Federals had a man wounded, while the Confederates listed no battle deaths.

43. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 99-103; Biddle to Gertrude, April 6, 1862, HSP.

by 9 o'clock Colonel Cahill and his men were back in their camp, after an exciting 72 hours.[44]

E. The North Scores a Sweeping Victory

1. Reinforcing Butler's Army

On the day of the expedition's return, the sailing ships James Hovey and Wallace reached Ship Island with the 8th Vermont Infantry and 1st Vermont Battery. They had sailed from New York City, on March 9, and the Vermonters, after 27 days at sea, were glad to get ashore.

As soon as a camp was laid out, tents pitched, and wells dug and barrels positioned, the Vermonters were drilled daily. They found themselves assigned to General Phelps' brigade.

On April 9, General Butler scheduled a review of the more than 12,000 soldiers currently on Ship Island. A regimental historian chronicled, "This was the first grand parade in which the Eighth Regiment . . . participated, and the marching and countermarching along the shore gave the new recruits some idea of maneuvering of large bodies of troops."[45]

2. Last of the Big Ships Cross the Bar

Meanwhile, the situation at the mouth of the Mississipi had taken a favorable turn for the Union. On April 5, Mississippi was towed across the bar by four of Commander Porter's gunboats working in tandem. She then chugged up South West Pass, anchored off Pilot Town, and proceeded to take aboard her armament, which had been sent up the river on barges. Before another 48 hours slipped by, Pensacola, assisted by Porter's tugs, was finally dragged over the mud banks.

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44. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, p. 102; Cahill's After Action Report," April 17, 1862.

45. George W. Carpenter, History of the Eighth Regiment Vermont Volunteers, 1861-1865 (Boston, 1886), pp. 26-9; Murray, 9th Connecticut, p. 88.

On the 6th, General Butler had left Ship Island for Head of Passes aboard Saxon to confer with Flag-Officer Farragut. The next afternoon and evening, Butler met with Farragut first aboard Wissahickon and then Hartford. Besides a review of plans and responsibilities in the forthcoming attack on Forts Jackson and St. Philip, the problem of supplying the fleet received considerable attention. Butler agreed to provide Farragut with 1,700 tons of coal, a welcomed addition, because there were only 700 tons aboard the fleet coaler Alamo. At 10 P.M. on the 7th, Butler reboarded Saxon and the next day was back at Ship Island.[46]

On April 8, following Butler's departure, Farragut wrote Secretary of the Navy Welles, announcing that Mississippi and Pensacola were at Head of Passes, and now preparing for their work up the river." Porter's mortar flotilla was moving into position, and the bombardment would soon begin.[47]

3. Eight Regiments, Three Batteries, and Two Companies of Cavalry Embark and Depart

General Butler, on his return from the Mississippi, again issued orders for embarkation of his troops. This time both Phelps' and Williams' brigades were involved. The troops were to go aboard ship in this order: the 21st Indiana, 6th Michigan, and 4th Wisconsin on Great Republic; the 26th and 31st Massachusetts, Brown's detachment of sappers and miners, and the 6th Massachusetts Battery on Mississippi; the 9th Connecticut Infantry and 2d Massachusetts Battery on Matanzas; the 30th Massachusetts Infantry, Read's and Durvage's companies of cavalry, and the 4th Massachusetts Battery on North America; and the 12th Connecticut Infantry aboard E. Wilder Farley. Butler and his staff were to take passage on Mississippi, General Phelps and his aides on Matanzas, and General Williams on Great Republic.

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46. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 690, 718; Biddle to Gertrude, April 7 & 9, 1862, HSP.

47. Official Records--Navies Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 690, 718.

The allotments of provisions, baggage, etc., to be carried by the troops, were to be the same as stipulated for the aborted March 30 expedition.[48]

A wind and sand storm on the 11th kept the soldiers in their camps and the ships in the anchorage. General Williams, writing his wife, reported that the wind "drives the sand into everything we eat, drives it like so much fine snow, tingling in our faces, stopping eyes, ears and nose, making a 'feller' sneeze."

That night the gale-force winds were followed by rain, thunder, and lightning. A lightning bolt struck the 31st Massachusetts' guard tent, electrocuting three soldiers and stunning 13 others.[49]

A number of tents were also flattened. The "whole side of our tent," Lieutenant Biddle informed his fiancée

> blew open, & commenced flapping violently. We were obliged to get up, & after a good deal of trouble succeeded in securing it, everything being soaking wet, this is nothing for a soldier, he must soon get used to such things.[50]

The morning of the 12th dawned on calm seas and a clear sky. Two of the ships, Great Republic and Idaho, had dragged their anchors during the blow and had been driven aground. Assisted by J. P. Jackson and Calhoun, they were refloated, "but not without serious damage." There was no need to hurry, however, because it would be several days before Porter's mortar flotilla began its bombardment of the Rebel forts.[51]

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48. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 708.

49. "Letters of General Thomas Williams," American Historical Review, Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 310-11.

50. Biddle to Gertrude, April 12, 1862, HSP.

51. "Letters of General Thomas Williams," American Historical Review, Vol. XIV, No. 2, p. 311; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, p. 129.

On Tuesday, April 15, the troops commenced embarking. "All our boys," a participatnt wrote:

> seem much pleased at the prospect of a change of scene, and active service. Still, sweet memories of the island, so barren and desolate, and our home for 132 days, will ever remain with us. Since the first troops landed on this island, Dec. 4, 1861, to April 9, last, fifty men have died, and are buried here.[52]

Staff Officer Biddle, writing his fiancee, confided:

> Before this reaches you, we will have struck a blow for New Orleans. I trust we may be successful. It will be a great thing if we get possession of that place, after the failure of the English. We are not going to attempt it in the same manner. We are to go up the Mississippi river, & take Forts Jackson & St. Philip.[53]

The embarkation of the 7,000 officers and men was completed by forenoon on the 16th, and the transports left the anchorage at 4 P.M. They stopped off Chandeleur Island to await darkness, so their further movements would be in secrecy.

Aboard Great Republic, towed by J. P. Jackson, General Williams mused, "Jackson and the Great Republic! Is not this all a good omen? If Jackson won at New Orleans for the Great Republic, ought not the two combine also to win at New Orleans?"[54]

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52. Murray, 9th Connecticut, p. 90. On April 14, another soldier was added to this grim toll. He was Pvt. Robert Walsh of Company E, 9th Connecticut, shot through the heart by an accidental discharge.

53. Biddle to Gertrude, April 15, 1862, HSP.

54. Murray, 9th Connecticut, p. 90; "Letters of General Thomas Williams," American Historical Review, Vol. XIV, No. 2, p. 311. Great Republic, the largest sailing ship afloat, was a veteran of the Crimean War, having on one voyage transported 3,000 French soldiers from Marseilles to Kamiesh.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock, the vessels again got underway and stood out to sea. The course taken was a little south of west. The afternoon of April 17 found the ships off South West Pass. Writing Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, General Butler reported that his force afloat was "ready to co-operate with the fleet." The health of his troops was "very good," and they were well supplied with arms and provisions.[55]

Some eighteen hours later, on the morning of the 18th, Commander Porter's mortar schooners had commenced the bombardment of Fort Jackson.

4. Light-Draft Gunboats Tightened the Mississippi Sound Blockade

The blockaders had been active during the second week of April. On the 11th, Lieutenant Biddle reported that the Navy had captured six schooners loaded with cotton. These vessels were laying-to within a short distance of the Union camps. The next day, New London returned to the anchorage, a seventh captured schooner in tow.

If all our naval officers were as active as New London's, Biddle observed:

> There would be a poor chance for any vessels trying to run the blockade. She is the terror of the rebels, & they run away from her every time they see her. She met two rebel Gun Boats the other day, both of which were as formidable as herself. She drove them into shallow water & waited till night, when one of our boats the Calhoun, which was captured by the New London, went out to ascertain what was going on, the rebels then retreated.[56]

55. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 71.

56. Biddle to Gertrude, April 11 & 12, 1862, HSP. Biddle was mistaken. Calhoun had been captured by Colorado off South West Pass.

On the evening of April 13, three days before General Butler sailed for the mouth of the Mississippi, the sidewheeler Hatteras put to sea. To enforce the blockade of Mississippi Sound and protect the Ship Island Anchorage against a raid by Rebel gunboats would be the responsibility of New London, Calhoun, and the sailing ship Morning Light. The latter had recently reached the area from New York City. Also available for local defense was the bark J. C. Kuhn.

Hatteras put in at Head of Passes, on the 14th, to allow Commander Emmons to communicate with Flag-Officer Farragut. During the two weeks that he had been in charge of the Ship Island naval depot, Emmons reported, he had dispatched ten coalers and two ordnance ships to the mouth of the Mississippi. The next morning Hatteras dropped down Pass a l'Outre and took position to enforce a blockade of Berwick Bay.[57]

5. Farragut's Squadron Stuns the Rebels and Captures New Orleans

Porter's flotilla hammered Fort Jackson round-the-clock with 200-pound shells from their XIII-inch mortars for days but failed to seriously damage the defenses. Farragut now made a momentous decision to run by the forts before they were knocked out and their guns silenced--a movement contrary to the orders of the Department and the advice of some of his most experienced subordinates. Long before daybreak on April 24, 17 ships of the squadron advanced in a line of three divisions, Farragut in Hartford leading the second. They encountered a savage fire and Hartford narrowly escaped destruction from a fire-raft. Fourteen ships successfully ran the gauntlet, and engaged and shattered the Confederate fleet.

Capitalizing on his smashing victory, Farragut continued up the Mississippi 70-river miles to New Orleans. The Confederate defenders had hurriedly evacuated the city, and , on the 25th, Farragut

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57. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 127, 128-29, 691.

sent Captain Bailey ashore, and he hoisted the stars and stripes over the mint. On the 28th, Forts Jackson and St. Philip were surrendered to the mortar flotilla. This enabled the transports with Butler's troops to ascend the river, and, on May 1, the soldiers landed in New Orleans and marched up the streets to the tune of "Yankee Doodle."[58]

F. Ship Island Loses its Importance as an Army Staging Area

1. Additional Units are Sent to the Mainland

The day before his soldiers took possession of New Orleans, General Butler from Head of Passes had sent a message to Brig. Gen. George E. Shepley, whom he had left in charge at Ship Island. Shepley was to embark as many of the troops aboard the steamer Tennessee, as she could accommodate, and proceed to New Orleans. He was to stop at Fort St. Philip long enough to put ashore the camp equipment of the 26th Massachusetts, the unit garrisioning that fallen Rebel bastion.

Shepley was to bring with him on Tennessee and such other vessels as were available the 13th Connecticut, 12th Maine, and 8th Vermont Infantry Regiments. His most effective colonel was to be left in charge at Ship Island.

Before leaving for New Orleans, Shepley was to organize a 250-man detachment to cooperate with the Navy in taking possession of Fort Macomb. Measures would also be taken to provide transportation from Ship Island to New Orleans for rations and forage to last for 30 days, the staff officers' and artillery horses, 1st Maine Battery, and Mrs. Butler.[59]

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58. Mahan, Gulf and Inland Waters, pp. 54-88; Dufour, Night the War was Lost, p. 330.

59. Official Records, Series I, Vol. VI, pp. 716-17.

General Shepley, in the first week of May, hustled the three designated regiments and the Maine artillerists aboard the first available shipping. The 12th Maine said goodbye to Ship Island on the 4th, the 13th Connecticut Infantry and 1st Maine Battery on the 5th, and the 8th Vermont on the 7th. The latter unit had reboarded James Hovey.[60]

Meanwhile, three companies of the 8th New Hampshire and a similar number from the 7th Vermont had been alerted to cooperate with the Navy to insure that Forts Pike and Macomb were promptly occupied. On the morning of May 4, the gunboat Calhoun took aboard a detachment of Vermonters and Company A, 8th New Hampshire, and sailed for the Rigolets. Off St. Josephs, at 11:30 A.M., she overhauled, boarded, and captured the sloop Charles Henry out of Pensacola. At 4:30, Calhoun arrived at Fort Pike and pulled alongside the wharf. The soldiers, accompanied by a number of bluejackets, swarmed ashore, took possession of the fort, and hoisted the United States flag. Inspecting the fort, the Federals saw that the Rebels, before evacuating the area, had spiked the guns and burned their carriages. The torch had also been applied to a number of adjacent buildings.

Next morning, Calhoun passed through the Rigolets and stood out into Lake Pontchartrain. At 9 A.M., she captured the schooner Rover, with a load a bricks. A prize crew was sent aboard and the schooner dispatched to Fort Pike.

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60. Carpenter, 8th Vermont, p. 32; Homer B. Sprague, History of the 13th Infantry Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers, During the Great Rebellion (Hartford, 1867), pp. 43, 48. The 13th Connecticut had reached Ship Island, on April 12, aboard the sailing ship City of New York, the same vessel on which it traveled to New Orleans. A number of sick from the Vermont regiment were left in the post hospital. During the three weeks the regiment had been on the island two men--Cpl. George Walker and Pvt. Charles S. Lamb--had died. A hospitialized soldier in the 13th Connecticut, B. Jones, prepared a sketch of "the place where i staide on ship island when i was sick." A copy of this sketch is on file at the Mississippi Unit, GUIS.

At 10 o'clock, on the morning of the 6th, while Calhoun was convoying troops earmarked to occupy and garrison Fort Macomb, she encountered the steamer Whiteman, bound from Mobile to New Orleans. The gunboat gave chase and brought her to with a shot across her bow.[61]

The other companies constituting the 8th New Hampshire and 7th Vermont, along with the 1st Vermont Battery, left the island for New Orleans in mid-May. They were followed on the 19th by the 14th and 15th Maine Infantry Regiments.[62]

2. Island Becomes a Military Post

Thus in five weeks the force camped on Ship Island had been slashed from 16 regiments, 6 artillery batteries, and a cavalry battalion (more than 15,000 officers and men) to one regiment, the 13th Maine. Less than nine hundred officers and men were now called upon to man as many posts as thousands. Three guard detachments were mounted: a camp guard, a picket guard across the island midway between the camp and East Point, and a headquarters guard near the wharves. There were numerous fatigue details. The soldiers had to load aboard vessels for shipment to New Orleans the tons of stores and supplies stockpiled on the island during the five months it had been a vital staging area. Several times there were emergencies, when round-the-clock working parties were called for by General Dow. Forty Mainemen were drafted to beef up the crews of merchantmen shuttling supplies from the island to New Orleans.[63]

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61. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 450-53; John M. Stanyan, A History of the Eighth Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers . . . in the Civil War of 1861-1865 . . . (Concord, 1892), p. 67.

62. Henry A. Shorey, The Story of the Maine Fifteenth, Being a Brief Narrative of the More Important Events in the History of the . . . Regiment . . . (Bridgton, Me., 1890), pp. 14, 17-21. The 15th Maine had reached Ship Island aboard Great Republic, on April 4, and sailed for New Orleans aboard Tamerlane.

63. Edwin B. Lufkin, History of the Thirteenth Maine Regiment from its Organization in 1861 to its Muster Out in 1865 (Bridgton, Me., 1898), pp. 17-8. Neal Dow had been promoted from colonel to brigadier general to rank from April 28.

3. 13th Maine Harasses the Pass Christian Confederates

The monotonous routine of drill, fatigue, and guard was interrupted on June 3. On the previous evening, General Dow had received a message from General Butler, dated the 1st, directing him to proceed to Pass Christian and arrest five of the principal secessionists, including the mayor. Dow would take these men to Ship Island, informing their friends and neighbors that they were being held as hostages. Hereinafter, if any Union soldiers or sympathizers were disturbed or injured at Pass Christian, the five were to be hanged.[64]

At 2 A.M., on the 3d, Dow embarked six companies of the 13th Maine on the steamer Sallie Robinson. Landing at 7:30 the battalion marched into Pass Christian and stacked arms. There, they remained, while Dow collared and lectured a number of the townspeople. Unable to locate the mayor, Dow led his men back aboard the steamer. She then crossed the bay and tied-up briefly at the Shieldsborough wharf, before returning the Mainemen to Ship Island.[65]

Little, if any, risk was involved for the Federals in this operation. In the days following the loss of New Orleans and the evacuation of Forts Pike and Macomb, the 3d Mississippi Infantry and the Brookhaven and Seven Stars Artillery had been withdrawn from the Mississippi Gulf Coast and had taken position at Camp Moore. Defense of the three coastal counties was left to a few mounted units and home guards.[66]

Dow's mission, however, was a failure, because the Rebels continued to badger their Unionist neighbors. Consequently, on June 21, 200 men were alerted to hold themselves ready to embark on the steamer

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64. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 619-20.

65. Lufkin, History of the 13th Maine, p. 28.

66. Rowland, Mississippi Statistical Register, p. 530.

Creole before daybreak next morning. Upon going ashore at Pass Christian, the bluecoats were to seize as hostages--Village Recorder Hearn, the Reverend Sill, and a Mr. Seal. Next, Creole was to enter Bay St. Louis and sweep it and its tributaries clear of Confederate shipping.[67]

The Yankees landed at Pass Christian at daybreak, and patrols hastened to the residences of the designated hostages. They were not at home, so the Yankees arrested Hearn's son-in-law and another man. The troops reembarked and Creole stood out into Bay St. Louis. The only vessel encountered had a trading pass signed by General Butler.

A 20-man patrol then put out in small boats and ascended Wolf River. These bluecoats were guided by a Choctaw and their mission was capture of a partisan ranger captain, who lived some ten miles inland. The steamer then entered the Jordan River. As Creole proceeded upstream, refugees were taken aboard till the cabin was crowded. Several cattle were also liberated.

After ascending the river to a site of a ferry and discovering that the boat had been removed, the steamer put about and started downstream. A stop was made to land a demolition team to burn Saucier's sawmill. But, before the soldiers could scramble ashore, the vessel was fired on from ambush by a score of shotgun-armed partisans. The attack came as a surprise. Amid crinkling broken glass, shouts, and screams, soldiers, who had been lounging about, sought to secure their arms then stacked on the lower deck. A second volley followed, and the partisans took to their heels. Although much glass was broken and the saloon's woodwork riddled, there were no casualties.

When the shooting began, the helmsman let go of the wheel and dove for cover. With no hands at the helm, Creole grounded. It

67. Lufkin, History of the 13th Maine, p. 29; Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 112; Stanyan, History of the 8th New Hampshire, pp. 120-21.

was impossibile to refloat her before morning. To protect aginst a night attack, a strong picket guard was posted ashore.

On the morning of the 23d. Creole returned to Bay St. Louis, where she rendezvoused with the 20-man patrol. The lieutenant in charge reported that the partisan leader had fled, but they had found and destroyed a considerable quantity of corn, flour, and hospital stores. In addition they had rounded up 20 cattle bearing the fugitives' mark, which were sent aboard the steamer. Nightfall found Creole back at Ship Island and the troops in their camp.[68]

4. Garrison is Slashed to Two Companies

Between July 5 and 11, the Ship Island garrison was pared to Companies D and F, 13th Maine. First to go were Companies C and K. On the 5th, the former was sent to Fort Pike and the latter to Fort Macomb. Three days later, Companies G, H, and I departed for Fort Jackson and Company A for the Quarantine. Then on the evening of the 11th, Companies B and E boarded the vessel chartered to land them at Fort St. Philip.[69]

G. Ship Island as a Naval Deport in May & June 1862

1. Mortar Flotilla Returns to Ship Island

Meanwhile, on May 1, 1862, Flag-Officer Farragut took the initial step, which he hoped would lead to the early capture of Mobile. As soon as the vessels of the mortar flotilla were ready, they were to be withdrawn from the Mississippi River and return to Ship Island. Commander Porter was to accompany his flotilla, and at the island await Farragut's arrival with the ocean-going ships.

Porter was cautioned not to undertake any hostile operations until the fleet was in position off Mobile Bay, because the

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68. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 112; Lufkin, 13th Maine, pp. 29-30; Stanyan, History of the Eighth New Hampshire, pp. 121-22.

69. Lufkin, 13th Maine, p. 32.

Rebel Mobile gunboats might way lay and destroy the schooners, if they ventured too close inshore.[70]

Porter's flotilla reached Ship Island on the 6th. The next morning, Porter took his steamers and the coast survey ship Sachem and sailed for Mobile bar. He proposed to locate bombardment positions for his schooners and place buoys for their guidance. Their appearance caused excitement ashore.

While reconnoitering the approaches to Fort Morgan, Clifton grounded. Rebel gunners then opened fire and soon bracketed her. As it seemed that all was lost and Clifton would be pounded to pieces, the enemy's guns fell silent. Soon thereafter, assisted by her consorts Clifton was refloated.

Foul weather setting in, Porter sent all his steamers, except the flagship Harriet Lane, back to Ship Island. She remained on station to permit the blockader Kanawha to proceed to the island to coal.

At 2 A.M., on the 9th, Porter was awakened by the watch, calling out that a glow from fires was illuminating the eastern horizon. Suspecting that the fires portended a Rebel evacuation of Pensacola, Porter ordered the captain of Harriet Lane to head for Fort Pickens at forced draft. Arriving off the entrance to Pensacola Bay, Porter's suspicions were confirmed. The Confederates, after setting fire to Fort McRee, the naval hospital, a number of structures in the navy yard, the village of Warrenton, and a few buildings in Pensacola had pulled out of the area.[71]

By July 8, the mortar schooners had been refitted and provisioned. Not wanting the crews to while away their time in the Ship

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70. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, p. 462.

71. Ibid., pp. 478-79.

Island Anchorage, Porter had deployed six schooners on an arc, out of sight of land, to reinforce the blockade of Mobile Bay. Three of their sisters were sent into Mississippi Sound to watch Grant's Pass.[72]

2. Porter Urges the Department to Close the Ship Island Depot

Many of Porter's sailors were stricken and sent to sick bay in the days following the flotilla's return to Ship Island. Consequently, in the fourth week of May, Porter shifted his base to Pensacola. By the 30th, all the schooners and four of the steamers were riding at anchor in Pensacola Bay.

Relaying this information to Secretary of the Navy Welles, Porter reported that the Pensacola Navy Yard, "though destroyed," offered more facilities for repair of ships than existed elsewhere on the Gulf Coast. The wharves were serviceable and a section of the smithery had escaped the fires.

Porter urged that the naval machinists be transferred from Ship Island to the yard, where there were satisfactory accommodations. If they were compelled to remain on the island, he feared that half the machinists would sicken and die.

Possession of Pensacola, Porter reminded the Department, made Ship Island valueless as a depot. On his own initiative, he had ordered two storeships, drawing too much water to lay-to alongside the Ship Island wharves, to proceed to Pensacola and discharge their cargo at the navy yard.[73]

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72. Ibid., pp. 496-98. On the 15th, the schooners Sea Foam and C. P. Williams encountered and captured the sloops New Eagle and Sarah bound from Mobile to La Habana with cotton, tar, and turpentine.

73. Ibid., pp. 522-23.

In view of the Department's decision to give priority to the campaign to open the Mississippi and capture Vicksburg, Flag-Officer Farragut recalled Porter's flotilla. By June 9, Porter was at New Orleans with 19 of his schooners and six steamers.[74]

3. Union Gunboats Rule Mississippi Sound

Meanwhile, on May 10, Lieutenant Read, as senior naval officer present on the Ship Island station, had written Flag-Officer Farragut that he was experiencing no problems. The machine shop had been erected and the machine tools installed. The mechanics, however, were becoming anxious about their pay and a number wished to send for their families.

As rapidly as the coalers arrived from the north, they were sent on up the Mississippi.

Since the April 4 engagement with Carondelet, Oregon, and Pamlico, no Rebel gunboats had ventured into Mississippi Sound. Several fishermen had told Read that the Confederates had burned Oregon and Pamlico to keep them from falling into the Yankees' hands. Consequently, the Lake Pontchartrain gunboats no longer constituted a threat to Ship Island.[75]

74. Ibid., p. 543.

75. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 18, pp. 484-85. This information was correct. Oregon and Pamlico, along with Carondelet, had been burned.

VII. SHIP ISLAND AS A PRISON, NAVAL DEPOT, AND RENDEZVOUS: JULY 1862-JANUARY 1863

A. Island as a Facility for Political Prisoners & Military Convicts

1. Long Imprisonment of the Fort Jackson Six

Ship Island in the weeks following the capture of New Orleans by Union forces, became first a prison for political prisoners and then a site for confinement of military convicts. General Butler, a ruthless, strong-willed individual, took prompt and vigorous reprisals against Confederate sympathizers making public display of their sentiments. William B. Mumford was hanged in front of the mint, on June 7, having been tried and convicted of tearing down the United States flag hoisted above the mint in accordance with Flag-Officer Farragut's orders. William Benzie was sentenced in mid-May to hard labor for life. He was sent to Fort Jackson, where a cannon ball, to weigh not less than 12 pounds, was attached to his legs by a chain.[1] Edward W. Outlaw was sent to the same place for three years for disturbing the peace and insulting Northern soldiers.[2]

On May 31, Abraham McLane, Daniel Doyle, Edward C. Smith, Patrick Kane, George L. Williams, and William Stanley, Confederate soldiers captured at Fort Jackson, were tried, convicted, and sentenced to be executed by a firing squad on June 4. They had been judged guilty of violating their paroles. Instead of returning to their homes, the six had conspired to force the Union picket lines and make their way to Corinth, Mississippi, where they would join Gen. Pierre G. T. Beauregard's Army of the Mississippi.[3]

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1. New Orleans Bee, May 14, 1862.
2. Ibid., May 8, 1862.
3. Official Records, Series II, Vol. III, pp. 616-17.

On Wednesday, the 4th, the doomed were paraded and the firing squad took position. Then, at the last minute, the provost-marshal called a halt, and pulled out an order signed by General Butler commuting the men's sentence. Instead of being shot to death, they were to be "confined at hard labor upon the fortifications at Ship Island or the nearest military post," during the pleasure of the President of the United States.[4]

The six Louisiana soldiers were tranferred from the New Orleans prison to Ship Island, on June 16. They thus became the first Confederate prisoners to be incarcerated on the barrier island. They were still there in March 1863, when Lt. Beverly C. Kennedy, who had commanded Company B, 1st Louisiana Heavy Artillery, at Fort Jackson, called their situation to the Confederate War Department's attention. He urged that the agent for exchange of prisoners be directed to demand their exchange or a new trial with council.[5]

Word has frequently traveled slowly in the military, and, it was mid-July 1863, before Confederate Agent of Exchange Robert Ould complained to his Yankee counterpart that, although eleven military and two civilian prisoners confined at Ship Island had been declared exchanged, they had not been released. The prisoners involved were Doyle, McLane, Kane, Smith, Stanley, and Williams captured at Fort Jackson; Capts. William McLane and Fred Taylor and Lt. V. Wattingham of the 30th Louisiana Infantry; William Grount and John Horr of Stuart's Cavalry; and J. M. Brown and William H. Marshall, civilians.[6]

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4. Ibid., p. 634; Official Records, Series II, Vol, V, pp. 848-49. Sergeants Williams and Kane, Corporal Smith, and Private Stanley had served in Company E, 1st Louisiana Heavy Artillery; Private Doyle in Company D, 1st Louisiana Heavy Artillery; and Private McLane in the 23d Louisiana Infantry.

5. Official Records, Series II, Vol, V, pp. 848-49.

6. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VI, p. 128; Register of Prisoners Confined at Ship Island, 1862-1870, NA, RG 393. William McLane had been imprisoned on the island since Sept. 4, 1862, for violation of parole; (continued)

Ould's letter brought a remarkably rapid response, and, by August 15, all these men were released, excepting William F. McLane who was given his freedom on September 4. Thus, upon McLane's release, Ship Island ceased being employed by the United States as a place of detention for political prisoners and members of the Confederate military convicted of crimes.

2. Three Well-Known Confederate Sympthizers Earn General Butler's Wrath

Though the Fort Jackson Six have the distinction of being incarcerated on the island longer than any other political/military prisoners, their circumstances caused much less of an uproar on the part of the Confederates and concomitant problems for the Federals. Of particular interest are the circumstances involving the confinement of Mrs. Eugenia Phillips, Fidel Keller, and Judge John W. Andrews.

News reaching New Orleans through the lines, during the last days of June 1862, told of bloody battles in front of Richmond and of Confederate successes. This emboldened the secessionists. On Sunday the 28th, there was a funeral for Lt. George De Kay, an attractive young officer on General Williams' staff, mortally wounded, near Grand Gulf, on the amphibious thrust up the Mississippi to Vicksburg. Women appeared in the streets wearing Confederate colors. Mrs. Eugenia Phillips, wife of former Alabama Congressman Philip Phillips, recently banished from Washington as a confidante of Confederates, appeared on the piazza of her home. As the cortage passed, she chatted and laughed at the sight of 15 to 20 empty carriages.

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6. (Continued) Taylor since Oct. 5, 1862, for an unlisted offense; Wattingham since Sept. 18, 1862, for attacking John Williams for taking the oath; Grount since Oct. 25, 1862, for transporting contraband through the lines; Horr since Oct. 28, 1862, for an unlisted offense; Brown since Dec. 5, 1862, for betraying official business; and Marshall since Oct. 26, 1862, for trading with the enemy.

When the De Kay funeral procession reached Christ's Church, the deceased's friends found the doors "thrown open like a stable," and the "galleries and most prominent places occupied by a rabble and negroes."

No minister was there to conduct the final rites. Dr. William T. Leacock, the pastor, "a weak, vacillating man," who had agreed to officiate, failed to appear, having been induced to renege on his promise by pressure from his parrishioners. Other arrangements for the services had to be hurriedly made "amid the sneers and exultation of the crowd."[7]

General Butler, who had gone upriver to Baton Rouge, returned to New Orleans the next day. Upon being told of these happenings he determined to mete out stern justice to those secessionists who had flaunted their sympathies on the day of De Kay's funeral.

On Monday, June 30, Mrs. Phillips, Keller, and Judge Andrews were arrested and brought before General Butler. First to appear was Mrs. Phillips. She was accompanied by her husband, who had met the general in 1860 at the Charleston and Baltimore Democratic Conventions.

When asked by Butler if she had laughed and mocked as the cortage passed, Mrs. Phillips replied, contemptuously," I was in good spirits that day." It was known that this was not her first offense. She had been "imprisoned for her traitorous proclivities and acts at Washington," in the summer of 1861, and had been "released by the clemency of the Government."

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7. Parton, General Butler, pp. 438-39; New Orleans Daily Delta, June 29, 1862.

Butler, therefore, ordered that Mrs. Phillips be "regarded and treated . . . as an uncommon, bad and dangerous woman, stirring up strife and inciting to riot." She was to be confined on Ship Island until further orders, being allowed only one female servant. A shanty, erected for hospital purposes, was to be set aside for her quarters, and she was to be issued a soldier's rations and the means for cooking the same.[8]

Next to face Butler's wrath was Fidel Keller. He was sentenced to be confined on Ship Island for two years for displaying in the window of his bookstore a skeleton "labelled 'Chickahominy,' in large letters, meaning and intending that the bones should be taken by the populace to be the bones of an United States soldier slain in that battle."[9]

Upon reaching the island, Keller was to be allowed to communicate with no other person except Mrs. Phillips. After listening to the order, Keller requested that "so much of it as associated him with 'that woman' might be recalled." Not being acquainted with Mrs. Eugenia Phillips, Keller assumed that the Mrs. Phillips of Special Order No. 151 was the well-known madam of a notorious whorehouse. He accordingly desired to spare his wife's feeling, should it become common knowledge that he was associating with such a woman.

General Butler, unaware of the mistaken identity, amended the paragraph of the order permitting Keller to communicate with Mrs. Phillips.[10]

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8. Special Order No. 150, New Orleans, June 30, 1862, found in Private and Public Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler, During the Period of the Civil War, June 1862-February 1863, 5 vols. (Norwood, 1917), Vol. II, p. 24; Official Records, Series II, Vol. IV, p. 105; Phillips & Meyers Family Papers, Mrs. Phillips' Journal, Vol. 6, SHCL, Chapel Hill.

9. Special Order No. 151, New Orleans, June 30, 1862, Butler Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 24; Picayune, July 3, 1862.

10. Ibid.; Official Records, Series II, Vol. IV, p. 105; Parton, General Butler, pp. 441-42.

Judge Andrews, when hailed before Butler, was sentenced to two years' solitary confinement at hard labor on the Ship Island fortifications. He had "exhibited a cross, the emblem of the suffering of our blessed Savior, fashioned for a personal ornament" which he boasted was made from the bones of a Yankee soldier. He had "shown this too without rebuke in the Louisiana Club which claims to be composed of Chilvaric Gentlemen."[11]

3. Mrs. Phillips Endures

This trio of political prisoners soon found themselves en route to Ship Island. Mrs. Phillips was accompanied by her white maid, Phoebe. Mrs. Phillips recalled that she landed on the island from a small boat, accompanied by her maid and escorted by Lt. George Blodgett. The area where she came ashore

> was all covered with houses and looked comfortable enough. We soon left all evidence of population and came to a stretch of dead white sand and drift, of which pile upon pile looked like waves of sand. In the midst of this on the sand was a railroad passenger car, flat roof, not even a curve that might keep off the perpendicular rays of the sun. . . . Into this car Lieut. Blodget introduced me as my quarters.

The lieutenant put up her bed and mosquitoes bars. To escape the mosquitoes, which soon covered her face and arms, first Mrs. Phillips and then Phoebe took refuge under the bars.[12]

The next afternoon, about 5 P.M., General Dow rode up, and, in a loud voice, ordered the sentry, posted some 7 yards in front of their quarters, not to allow anyone to communicate with these women. He then directed the soldier to walk his post nearer the doorway to better enforce this order. Before riding off, Dow intercepted a note

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11. Special Order No. 152, New Orleans, June 30, 1862, Butler's Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 25.

12. Mrs. Phillips' journal, Phillips & Meyers Family Papers, Vol. 6, SHCL, Chapel Hill.

Mrs. Phillips had written in reply to a message from the post surgeon, Dr. George Avery.

Soon after sunrise on their second night on the island, a soldier delivered the two ladies their breakfast--four rolls, dried apples, and "a horrible mixture" which passed for coffee. To drink the coffee, they were given two tin cups. When the soldier prepared to depart, Mrs. Phillips asked if they might have a broom and dust pan.

Dinner (crackers and rice cooked together, with four biscuits and salt meat thrown in a tin pan) was delivered by a Lieutenant Smith. On introducing himself, Smith said he was sorry for the way they were being treated, and explained that General Dow would not let them have a broom.

Mrs. Phillips, told by Lieutenant Smith that the general planned a visit, wrote Dow:

> Mrs. P. regrets not having had the pleasure of a visit from Gen. Dow. Mrs. P. suggests to his respectful consideration the necessity of carrying out the orders of Gen. Butler relative to "rations"; the omission of which causes serious inconvenience to her maid. Mrs. P. respectfully suggests a change of quarters as the rain wetting bed and bedding may cause sickness.[13]

Dow made no response beyond ordering the sentries to increase their vigilance and threatening imprisonment to any soldier speaking to the two ladies.

On July 6, Lieutenant Smith arrived at their quarters with an army wagon, and told Mrs. Phillips that he was to move them into better housing. Mrs. Phillips had become adjusted to "my mode of life and felt indifferent to being removed," but there was no refusing orders.

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13. Ibid. There was a Lt. Morrill P. Smith in Company E and a Lt. William Smith in Company G, 13th Maine, and it is impossible to determine which befriended Mrs. Phillips.

After a "terrible walk in the sand and sun," they halted at the building that had served the garrison as a postoffice. It had been cleaned out for their use. Although the "outside" did not promise much, Mrs. Phillips found her new quarters an improvement. She was permitted to received letters and newspapers, which made her "feel like a queen."

On Friday, July 11, one of the sentries told Mrs. Phillips that General Dow had been ordered to the mainland. His replacement as post commander would be Lt. Col. Henry Rust, Jr., said to be a "perfect gentleman."[14]

Mrs. Phillips' joy about the change in commanders was brief. On Thursday, the 24th, she noted in her journal that since the 11th, her days had been full of suffering and dispondency. Nearly four weeks had passed since her imprisonment and she had

> not been allowed a minute out of my room, no speech with anyone. None of the officers . . . are at all anxious as to my existence. The severe storms alarm us, but shut up from the outer world no one would know what our extremities are, for the rain pours in on our bed, bedding and clothes. The sun rises and goes down, and this is all our knowledge of the outer world. The cook puts on the door sill a pan of spoilt beef and some doughy substance three times a day. The coffee being made of beans . . . we cannot drink . . ., and the tea has given out.
>
> My only happiness is in looking for the boat to bring me letters. This happens once a week, and is a break in the sad monotony.
>
> It seems strange that Gen. Dow with all his inhumanity took away with him the best part of the men here. Since his departure new rules and orders have subjected us to utmost rigor and severity of military rules. For 18 [days] no one has come near us and exercise will not be allowed, and I ask no favors. Phoebe is even turned back if she ventures to empty the slops or sweep beyond my door. I dare not allow my mind to dwell any length of time on all these outrages. The amenities of life have certainly never been indulged in by these "Maine gentlemen."[15]

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

4. General Butler Sends Anna Larue to the Island

In mid-July, a second female prisoner arrived to be confined on Ship Island. She was Anna Larue. News that the Army of the Potomac had been hurled back and had taken position in a fortified camp at Harrison's Landing led pro-secessionist New Orleanians to take to the streets.

Anna Larue was an attractive young lady. Dressed in Confederate colors and wearing a Rebel badge, she appeared on St. Charles Street and began passing out handbills, describing the capture of General McClellan in the Richmond battles. She even went so far as to insult a Union soldier, for which she was arrested by a policeman.

When the policeman sought to escort Anna Larue to the mayor's office, she screamed for help and a riot ensued. The policeman was knocked down, and a soldier rushing to his aid was shot and wounded. A Union officer fired at the would be assassin. The provost guard dashed up, dispersed the mob, and took Mrs. Larue and several of her sympathizers to City Hall. Brought before General Shepley, Mrs. Larue verbally abused the general, and pulled from her bosom scraps of paper on which were written "insulting epithets," addressed to United States authorities.

After interrogating the woman, General Shepley had her hustled into a carriage and driven to Butler's headquarters. There, she was recognized as wife of John H. Larue and the mistress of a gambler and murderer currently incarcerated in Fort Jackson.

General Butler sent for John Larue. Upon being asked his occupation, Larue replied, "I play cards for a living." Whereupon Butler disposed of the case. Larue, being by his own confession a vagrant, was committed to the parish prison until further orders. Anna Larue, for her actions, would be sent to Ship Island till further orders. She would be "kept apart from the other women confined there."[16]

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16. Special Order No. 179, New Orleans, July 10, 1862, found in Butler Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 57; Picayune, July 11 & 12, 1862; Parton, General Butler, pp. 437-8.

Mrs. Larue reached Ship Island, on July 11. This was a busy day. General Dow turned command of the post over to Colonel Rust and took passage on a vessel bound for the mouth of the Mississippi. In addition to Companies D and F, 13th Maine Infantry, the garrisoning force, Rust would be responsible for the well being of the Engineer workforce employed on construction of the Ship Island fort, contrabands who had fled the mainland, the prisoners (military, political, and criminal), and bummers.

The next morning, Colonel Rust moved into his new quarters on the wharf. Coincidentally, fatigue parties readied a building to house Mrs. Larue, outfitted a barracks for the infantry battalion, and a structure as post hospital. A severe afternoon thunderstorm, accompanied by gale-force winds, drove the men to cover.

Although the 13th was a Sunday, Rust, since he needed the building occupied by Mrs. Larue, kept his carpenters busy. By late afternoon, they had completed her permanent quarters, and she was moved in.[17]

5. Colonel Rust Calls for Reinforcements

By Monday evening, it was apparent to Colonel Rust that his understrength command was hard-pressed to meet its manifold duties. Writing General Butler, he pointed out that, upon General Dow's departure, he found himself responsible for the confinement of 13 male prisoners, all under sentence of hard labor. Moreover, two of them were kept in solitary confinement. This presented problems, because the masonry fort was under construction and it was impossible to use its casemates as cells as was being done at Forts Pickens and Jackson. Consequently, the prisoners were confined in a "small wooden building away from the main guard."

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17. Rust's Journal, July 11-13, 1862, the MOLLUS Commandery Collection, Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pa.; cited hereinafter as MHI.

To compound Rust's problem, Companies D and F mustered for duty only three commissioned officers, three sergeants, seven corporals, and fifty-four privates. By assigning one-half the available manpower to guard duty, he could man nine posts, having

> but two for outpost duty, two for . . . [the thirteen] prisoners, no Camp guard or guard at Headquarters, and barely sufficient left to guard the stores about the wharf and buildings,[18] and the female prisoners in their separate quarters.

Upon being apprised of this situation, General Butler ordered the Ship Island garrison to be reinforced by two companies of recruits.[19]

Somewhere in the chain of command there was a breakdown, and the garrison was not reinforced as General Butler had promised.

By noon on July 15, the soldiers' barracks had been completed and the two companies moved in. A temporary stables for the horses and mules was also readied.[20] On Saturday, the 19th, working parties sent aboard the captured Rebel steamer Grey Cloud, for transfer to New Orleans, four sectional buildings, and "the Genl. Hospital, Drs., patients, hospital stores & all."[21]

In late July, Colonel Rust put the prisoners to work policing the cantonment area.[22]

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18. Rust to Butler, July 14, 1862, found in Butler Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 64.

19. Butler to Rust, undated, found in ibid., p. 65.

20. Rust's Journal, July 14-15, 1862, MHI.

21. Ibid., July 19, 1862.

22. Ibid., July 28, 1862.

6. Anna Larue Returns to New Orleans

On August 3, the mail brought an order from General Butler's headquarters authorizing Rust to release Mrs. Larue and permit her to return to New Orleans, provided she pledged good behavior. When he called upon the prisoner and explained the situation, Mrs. Larue expressed indignation. "But the idea of liberty when once harbored grew too strong for her and she consented."

On the 6th, Mrs. Larue was released, and as she passed Mrs. Phillips' quarters en route to the landing, Mrs. Phillips "called to her my 'adieux' and begged her to tell Gen. Butler I . . . [am] still 'in good spirits.'" Mrs. Larue was all smiles when she boarded the mail sloop, and Colonel Rust jotted in his journal, "A good riddance for all."[23]

7. Editor Walker Complains to President Davis

Meanwhile, an informer had tipped Rust that the male prisoners planned a mass escape. To prevent this, Rust doubled the guard on the night of August 4, and next morning moved the prisoners into the "new plank guard house."[24]

On the morning of the 7th, Grey Cloud reached Ship Island. Aboard were four prisoners to be confined in the stockade. Before returning to the Crescent City, she embarked the telegraph property, all the spare houses, and a large quantity of lumber.[25] Grey Cloud returned to Ship Island, on the 13th. Aboard were two political prisoners--Alexander Walker, editor of The Delta, and Marcellus Gillis. Colonel Rust had them confined with Judge Andrews and several others. As the newcomers seemed to be very dissatisfied with their quarters,

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23. Mrs. Phillips' Journal, Phillips & Meyers Family Papers, Vol. 6, SHCL, Chapel Hill; Rust Journal, Aug. 3-6, 1862, MHI; Butler Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 57.

24. Rust's Journal, Aug. 4-5, 1862, MHI.

25. Ibid., Aug. 7, 1862. Three of the four men received were: James Beggs, James C. Batchelder, and Fred Losberg.

Rust whistled "Yankee Doodle to their grumbling and let it pass. Prisoners," he observed, "cannot be waited on as Gentlemen, as they expect to be."[26]

One month later, Walker wrote President Davis protesting his treatment. He was, he complained, confined on desolate Ship Island, being "consigned with seven other respectable citizens to a small hut fifteen feet by twenty, exposed to sun and rain, without permission to leave except for a bath in the sea once or twice a week."

Currently, Walker continued, there were about 60 prisoners confined in

> portable houses and furnished with the most wretched and unwholesome condemned soldiers' rations. Some are kept at hard work on the fort; several in addition to labor are compelled to wear a ball and chain which is never removed.
>
> He next proceeded to detail the charges that had resulted in the imprisonment on Ship Island of many of these people.[27]

Although Walker exaggerated the hardships, a correspondent for the New York Tribune sketched a grim picture of summer life on the barrier island:

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26. Ibid., Aug. 14, 1862.

27. Official Records, Series II, Vol IV, pp. 880-81. Prisoners on Walker's list included these persons entered on the prison register: John W. Andrews, James Beggs, James C. Batchelder, Fidel Keller, Thomas Kane, Fred Losberg, Abram McLane, F. W. Moore, and William H. Shepphard. Persons cited by Walker but not on the register were: Mrs. Phillips, LeBeau, and Davidson. On August 21, Edward and Edgar Le Beau had been convicted of conspiring to conceal arms belonging to the Confederacy to keep them from falling into Union hands. They were sentenced to confinement on Ship Island for one year. The subject arms were confiscated, and the young black--George Washington Walker--who had informed on the Le Beaus was emancipated. Ibid., p. 418.

> Ship Island is a barren sandy, arid waste, as a residence, . . . the thermometer from 85 deg. to 95 deg. in the shade, with the additional pleasure of having the walls of the wooden houses ornamented by a living cover of flies; reminding a person who is the unfortunate occupant that his house may move off some day by magical wings. There are millions upon millions of flies; men as well as animals are almost devoured by them.[28]

8. Mrs. Cowen Makes the Best of Her Incarceration

On Wednesday, August 20, Grey Cloud arrived at Ship Island from Lake Pontchartrain with the mail and two prisoners--a Mrs. Cowen and R. F. Dunoy. Also aboard was former congressman Phillips, who had permission to spend the day with his wife. Since there was a shortage of cells for women, Mrs. Cowen was lodged for the night in one of the officer's quarters. Next morning, several male prisoners were transferred into a building occupied by quartermaster stores, and Mrs. Cowen moved into their former quarters.

During the day, a German woman reached Ship Island from Ocean Springs, with her household effects. While awaiting passage to New Orleans, the woman was housed with Mrs. Cowen. Neither lady relished this arrangement. On the morning of the 23d, the German lady and her possessions were placed aboard a New Orleans-bound skiff. As a token of gratitude, she sent Colonel Rust a bottle of champagne and her biggest gobbler.[29]

On Sunday, the 24th, Lt. Benjamin B. Manton of the storeship Relief bet Colonel Rust that the "haughty secesh lady Mrs. Cowen would walk with him." Rust gave Manton a permit and the naval officer won his wager. Subsequently, Lieutenant Manton received a note from Mrs. Cowen. Upon learning of this, Colonel Rust made sport of his naval officer's friend.

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28. New York Herald, June 2, 1802.

29. Rust's Journal, Aug. 21-23, 1862, MHI.

On September 1, Lieutenant Weigh reached Ship Island from New Orleans in General Butler's yacht, bringing a pardon for Mrs. Cowen. To celebrate the occasion the lady got tight. The next day, Lieutenant Weigh returned to New Orleans with "his liberated prisoner."[30]

On the 3d, the steamer Ceres, which had replaced Grey Cloud on the New Orleans-Ship Island run, arrived with five prisoners. They were lodged in the building vacated by Mrs. Larue four weeks before. Seventy-two hours later, Ceres returned bringing five prisoners and 15 head of cattle.[31]

9. Mrs. Phillips Grudging Takes the Oath

On September 11, General Butler directed that Mrs. Phillips be released, provided she gave her parole not to "give aid, comfort or information to the enemies of the United States."[32]

Mrs. Phillips, Judge Walker, and H. S. Traphagen were, therefore, given their paroles, released, and returned to New Orleans aboard Ceres on the 18th. Colonel Rust reported that his interview with Mrs. Phillips was "unique." She "would not admit that her husband had ever asked a favor of Genl. Butler, or interceded in her behalf. 'She would have died in martyrdom rather than to have had him.'"

Rust knew better, but he "indulged her fancy." When he told her to hold up her hand to enable him to administer the oath, she did but immediately dropped it. Whereupon, Rust told her, it will be necessary to keep your right hand elevated until the ceremony is completed "and then assent audibly to the oath" you have "taken so that

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30. Ibid., Aug. 30-Sept. 1-3, 1862.

31. Ibid., Sept. 3-6, 1862. Among the prisoners received on the 3d were F. W. Moore and William P. McLane. Those arriving on the 6th included Joseph Durand and Loran Duchine.

32. Official Records, Series II, Vol. IV, p. 516.

there might be no mental reservation." To obtain her release Mrs. Phillips did as directed, but with "very bad grace."[33]

10. The Ratio of Political Prisoners to Military Convicts Begins to Shift

On the 24th, Ceres arrived from New Orleans with 4 prisoners, ice, and the mail. She was back on Sunday, the 28th, with orders from General Butler's provost-marshal for the release of Edger and Edward Le Beau, and a Messrs. Dumois and Davidson.[34]

On November 3, Colonel Rust inspected and issued clothing to the prisioners. The next day, the steamer Sykes put ashore a prisoner (B. F. Perry), his guard, and a black servant claimed by Col. John W. Andrews of the Rebel army. In accordance to orders received in the mail from the provost-marshal, Colonel Rust released Fidel Keller from confinement.[35]

On December 9, Sykes arrived at an early hour from New Orleans and put ashore three prisoners--one of whom was a soldier (Charles Armstrong of the 9th New York Infantry) under sentence of three years' hard labor, with ball and chain.

Two days later, the political prisoners, having heard rumors that Colonel Rust was to be transferred, sent him a testimonial, thanking him for their good treatment and wishing him success in his new assignment.[36]

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33. Rust's Journal, Sept. 18, 1862, MHI.

34. Ibid., Sept. 24 & 28, 1862. The prisoners received on the 24th were: Aaron H. Dale, Henry Dubois, George Mensmen, and James H. Ure.

35. Ibid., Nov. 3, 1862.

36. Ibid., Dec. 9-11, 1862. The other prisoners received on the 9th were: H. W. Humphreys of the 26th Massachusetts and a civilian Samuel Johnson.

11. General Banks Replaces General Butler and Accelerates the Release of the Political Prisoners

On December 20, Sykes landed 12 prisoners, four of whom were blacks.[37]

On Christmas, Colonel Rust released two prisoners--Capt. James H. Ure and H. M. Wright--the latter by order of Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks and the former on expiration of his sentence.[38]

On the next to the last day of the year, Sykes arrived with one military convict (William Patterson), and an order signed by Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, dated the 23d, for release of a number of political prisoners, upon their giving "parole not to commit any act of hostility to the United States or render any aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States during the existing war."

Those to be released, in accordance with this stipulation, were: James C. Batchelder, William H. Sheppard, Fred Losberg, Aaron H. Dale, Eugene Morris, P. E. Wiltz, Jr., B. F. Perry, L. J. Dodge, and Joseph Bloom. To be released, on taking the oath of allegiance to the United States were: James Beggs, Michael Murphy, Frederick A. Taylor, and P. E. Wiltz.[39]

The prisoners accepted these conditions and were immediately released, returning to New Orleans on the first available transportation.

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37. Ibid., Dec. 20, 1862. Among these prisoners were: Charles Grotzner, Frank Brust, George Goff, and Edwin Tuttle of the 14th Maine; Amos Hunt of the 21st Indiana; Henry Kuhlman and Joseph Raymond of the 19th Connecticut and Charles Simond of the 2d Massachusetts Cavalry; and blacks Robert Bates, William Guest, Jesse Schaffer, and George Washington.

38. Ibid., Dec. 25, 1862. General Banks had relieved General Butler as commander of the Department of the Gulf on December 17.

39. Official Records, Series II, Vol. V, pp. 199-20; Rust's Journal, Dec. 30, 1862, MHI.

12. Ship Island as a Place of Confinement for Soldiers Convicted of Military Crimes and Civilian Criminals

In mid-April 1862, some ten weeks before the first Confederate sympathizers and parole violators were sent to Ship Island, Union authorities began employing the island as a place of confinement for soldiers and blacks convicted of crimes, both military and civil. Between April and January 1863, 22 people falling into these catagories were confined in the Ship Island stockade. They were:

Name	Unit	Date of Arrival	Sentence
Armstrong, Charles	6th New York Inf.	12/9/62	6 mos. Hard Labor
Burst, Frank	14th Maine Inf.	12/20/62	3 mos. Hard Labor
Bates, Robert	Black	12/20/62	6 mos. Hard Labor
Donney, John	Mass. Cav. Bn.	4/14/62	6 mos. striking an officer
Ellis, Thomas E.	9th Conn. Inf.	4/15/62	1 year dis. of order
Gust, William	Black	12/20/62	60 days
Goff, George	14th Maine Inf.	12/20/62	3 mos
Grotzner, Charles		12/20/62	2 years
Humphrey, H. W.	26th Mass. Inf.	12/9/62	3 years
Hunt, Amos	21st Ind. Inf.	12/20/62	1 year
Hammond, C. M.	18th N.Y. Bat.	1/31/63	6 mos.
Kuhiman, Henry	13th Conn. Inf.	12/20/62	4 mos.
Moses	Black	12/24/62	4 mos.
Raymond, Joseph	13th Conn. Inf.	12/20/62	60 days
Sheridan, F. P.	13th Me. Inf.	10/6/62	drunkness
Stewart, J. C.		11/11/62	embezzeling
Simonds, Charles A.	2d Mass. Cav.	12/20/62	15 mos.
Schaffer, Jesse	Black	12/20/62	1 year
Tuttle, Edwin	14th Me. Vols.	12/20/62	3 mons.
Washington, George	Black	12/20/62	3 years
Washington, Allen	Black	12/24/62	60 days[40]

A different category of prisoners sent to Ship Island were civilians accused and convicted of larceny and other major crimes. The first criminal sent to the island included in this class was Theodore Lieb of New Orleans.

40. Register of Prisoners Confined at Ship Island, 1862-70, NA, RG 393.

On June 14, 1862, a military court convicted George W. Craig, a former officer on the ship City of New York; Frank Newton, a deserter from the 13th Connecticut; and Lieb, as member's of a gang of outlaws. Craig and Newton were sentenced to death by hanging. Lieb, in consideration of his youth, was sentenced to be confined at hard labor on the Ship Island fortifications "during the pleasure of the President."[41]

B. Farragut's Squadron Directs its Attention toward Mobile Bay

1. The Recoil from Vicksburg

On June 28, 1862, Flag-Officer Farragut and his ships fought their way by Vicksburg and rendezvoused with the river gunboats that had descended the Mississippi from Memphis. The Confederates stood tall and struck back. Farragut's ships were endangered by a rapidly falling river, his crews decimated by fevers and scurvy, and he and his captains embarrassed by the July 15 dash of the Rebel ram Arkansas. The Union fleets now recoiled from Vicksburg. Most of the river gunboats withdrew upriver to Helena and Memphis, and the ocean-going squadron returned to Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

From New Orleans, on July 29, Farragut, who had been promoted rear admiral, advised the Navy Department that he would leave in the river, to support General Butler's troops, Pensacola, Mississippi, Iroquois, and Portsmouth, and the gunboats Kineo and Katahdin. The other ships, as fast as they could be coaled and the more serious damages repaired, would be sent to Pensacola or to enforce the blockade of Mobile Bay. He proposed to proceed in Hartford to Ship Island and then to Pensacola, "to make my final arrangements for our future depot." Farragut was of the opinion that his choice would be Pensacola, because of the difficulty of repairing vessels at Ship Island.[42]

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41. Official Records, Series II, Vol. IV, pp. 19-20.

42. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 97, 110.

Pending his arrival at Ship Island, Farragut issued instructions for the senior naval officer there to detain all vessels putting in with provisions, stores, or coal for the squadron.[43]

The Confederate August 5 attack on Baton Rouge, followed the next day by the destruction of Arkansas, compelled Farragut to delay his departure from the Mississippi until the end of the second week of August. From South West Pass, on the 15th, he sent a dispatch to the Department, requesting that, in the future, supplies consigned to the squadron be sent to "Pensacola and one other port."[44]

2. "Richmond" Returns to Ship Island

The powerful steam sloop Richmond, upon her return from Vicksburg, had proceeded to Pensacola Bay. She was anchored off Pensacola on August 9, when a schooner arrived with news that Baton Rouge was under attack and the Rebels were threatening New Orleans. The engines had been disassembled and valuable time was lost in putting them back together. It was noon the next day, before Richmond got underway. She reached Ship Island on the 11th, anchoring "inside the island" at noon. There, the bluejackets found Potomac lying outside the anchorage and the gunboat Owasco undergoing repairs. Ashore, they saw that the Army was building a formidable casemated brick fort.

Richmond's skipper (Capt. James Alden), on communicating with those ashore, learned that the Confederates had been mauled at Baton Rouge and that New Orleans was not endangered. He, however, determined to lay-over and make necessary repairs to his ship. His presence was also necessary to protect the 12 coalers lying in the anchorage. Because, as he informed Admiral Farragut, "it is a matter of

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43. Ibid., p. 111.

44. Ibid., p. 156.

surprise that the rebels have not been here and destroyed them long since," as Potomac could do little to protect them.[45]

On the 12th, a schooner reached the anchorage with the New Orleans mail. Upon learning of the destruction of Arkansas, Captain Alden called all hands to the quarterdeck to permit his executive officer to announce this welcomed news. After splicing the main brace and giving three cheers, all hands were permitted to go ashore to bathe.

Three days later, on the 15th, Captain Alden condemned and had his seamen throw over the side 200 boxes of fresh meat. Alden then went ashore to pay his respects to Colonel Rust, the post commander. Rust pronounced Alden to be "the finest appearing officer I have ever seen." Richmond's starboard beam, Rust saw, in her passage of the Vicksburg batteries and engagement with Arkansas, has been riddled with shot, and grape protrude from her side so one could almost climb by them on deck."

In accordance with a request by Alden, Rust lent the Navy a donkey engine and pump.[46]

3. Farragut Moves to Reactivate the Pensacola Navy Yard as the Squadron's Major Repair and Coaling Facility

On Sunday, August 17, Hartford and Brooklyn entered the anchorage. The flagship was received by Richmond, Potomac, and the storeship Relief with 17-gun salutes. Hartford answered with 13. Farragut sent ashore six Mobilians, who had put to sea in a small boat to escape being conscripted into the Rebel army, and sailed for Pensacola on the 19th.[47]

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45. Ibid., pp. 151, 752.

46. Ibid., p. 753; Rust's Journal, Aug. 15, 1862, MHI.

47. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 753; Rust's Journal, Aug. 17, 1862, MHI.

Hartford and Brooklyn hove-to off the Pensacola Navy Yard the next morning, and Admiral Farragut went ashore to inspect and determine whether the Confederate demolitions precluded its early reactivation as a repair facility. He found that the "old chapel and former armory," could with repairs to the roof, be converted into a 60-bed hospital. The machine shop, which was half slated, could be equipped with the tools from the Ship Island shop. The 200-foot storehouse might be repaired at small cost.

Satisfied that Pensacola Bay was far superior to Ship Island as a repair and coaling station, especially in the hurricane season, Farragut ordered the prefabricated frame house and coal hoisting machine shipped to the Gulf Frontier by the Bureau of Yards & Docks aboard Thomas Holcombe put ashore at the navy yard. Simultaneously, he called for authority to relocate the machine shop from Ship Island to Pensacola; to proceed with necessary repairs to the navy yard; and to hire a dozen New Orleans machinists and bring them to Florida. Otherwise, he would be "compelled to continue the machinery at Ship Island and keep our vessels in an open roadstead instead of this excellent harbor."[48]

Pending receipt of approval of his proposals by the Department, Farragut sent orders to Ship Island for the frigate Potomac and the storeships Andrew Manderson and Kate Waters to join him in Pensacola Bay. The three vessels sailed for the Florida facility on August 25.[49]

Coincidentally, the Bureau of Yards & Docks had authorized Farragut to do "whatever may in your judgment appear" to promote the public interest.[50]

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48. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 163-64.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., pp. 753-54; Chief of Bureau of Yards & Docks to Farragut, Sept. 9, 1862, NA, RG 71, Ltrs. Sent, Y & D.

4. "Richmond" Spends Several Weeks in the Anchorage

Meanwhile, back at Ship Island, on August 20, a small-boat expedition, consisting of Richmond's and Potomac's launches, had been organized. The bluejackets were to proceed to Cat Island and investigate a smoke cloud. The launches returned the next day, Richmond's bringing a man and his wife, refugees from Mobile, and Potomac's six men who had left Mobile the previous morning.[51]

Captain Alden had promised to provide halyards and send some of his sailors to rig the post's flagstaff. Six days later, Richmond's boatswain came ashore and rigged the flagstaff.[52]

On August 27, Owasco, laid-up for weeks while the machinists repaired her engines, put to sea to give them a shakedown. She quickly ran aground and had to be towed off at floodtide on the 28th by Miami. On Friday night, the 30th, the gunboat Albatross arrived from the Charlestown Navy Yard. She was a "small merchant-built steamer, mounting seven guns."

Aboard Richmond, on Sunday evening, the 31st, all hands were mustered, and the order read putting a stop to the grog issue. Captain Alden told his tars that "we had heard the drum roll for the last grog in the Navy, now we would hear it for the last time that the main brace would be spliced." All hands then sadly fell out and drew their last grog.

Earlier in the day, Miami had departed for Hampton Roads, having previously taken aboard those invalids who had been surveyed and sailors and Marines whose enlistments had expired. On September 4, Albatross left the anchorage. She was Rio Grande bound.[53]

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51. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 753.

52. Rust's Journal, Aug. 20-26, 1862, MHI.

53. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 754.

On September 6, the light-draft gunboat John P. Jackson, having returned to the Ship Island Anchorage from service on the Mississippi, made a run across Mississippi Sound to Biloxi. As she closed on the mainland, the lookouts sighted a squad of Rebel horsemen near the town. Casting loose one of their guns, the bluejackets sent several shells screaming toward the foe, who, conceding that discretion was the better part of valor, scattered. The gunboat returned from her patrol at 2 P.M.[54]

5. Arrival of the Cruiser "Florida" in Mobile Bay Causes Farragut to Strengthen the Blockade

The September 4 dash of the British-built Rebel cruiser Florida (Oreto) from Cuba through the blockade and into Mobile Bay distressed Admiral Farragut. To cope with this embarrassing situation, he issued instructions for Captain Alden to, "Proceed with all practicable dispatch to Mobile and assume the command of the blockading force." This order was entrusted to the captain of Clifton for delivery.

Clifton reached Ship Island from Pensacola at 4:30 A.M., on Sunday, the 7th. Alden made his plans accordingly. By 8 A.M., Clifton, Owasco, and Harriet Lane had departed the anchorage en route for the approaches to Mobile Bay. All hands were turned to by Alden getting Richmond ready for sea. The machinists encountered problems when they sought to lower the propeller into place. They got it up, but, because of rust in its slides, it would neither come up or go down. Nearly 48 hours were required to get it functioning correctly. At 3:15 A.M., on the 10th, Richmond finally was underway. Her pilot took her out of the anchorage and through Ship Island Pass in the darkness. At 1 P.M., she arrived and took position off Mobile Bay, where she found the 90-day gunboats Onieda, Pinola, and Cayuga on station.

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54. Ibid.

Before departing from Ship Island, Captain Alden had directed John P. Jackson to maintain the blockade of Mississippi Sound, and to "overhaul every sail that comes in sight." A 7 P.M., on the 7th, she pursued and captured a small schooner (the fishing sloop Charles Henry) standing into Biloxi loaded with foodstuffs.[55]

6. Patroling Mississippi Sound with "John P. Jackson"

During the next three weeks (on September 12 and again on October 1) J. P. Jackson left her Ship Island station to carry mail to the blockaders off Mobile Bay and to Admiral Farragut at Pensacola. On her second trip, she brought four Confederate deserters who had reached Ship Island from Mobile. They had been stationed at Fort Morgan and had volunteered for service on Florida (Oreto) before escaping. They reported that Florida had arrived from Cuba with yellow jack aboard and her crew decimated.[56]

On September 26, the bark Mountain Eagle reached Ship Island from New York City by way of Key West. Learning that she had put in at the latter port, then being ravaged by yellow fever, Colonel Rust placed her under a 12-day quarantine.[57]

On Monday, the 29th, the gunboat J. P. Jackson arrived in the anchorage with two schooners, both prizes. One of them (West Florida) had been intercepted flying the British colors. On the last night of the month, the gunboat Onieda of the Mobile Bay blockading force visited Ship Island and ran aground about 100 yards offshore. Colonel Rust questioned the captain's skill," because she must have been steering directly for land when she grounded." During the day, Calhoun reached

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55. Ibid., pp. 178-79, 754-55.

56. Ibid., pp. 755-57. The steam gunboat Florida, which had been active on Mississippi Sound during the autumn and winter of 1861-62, had been renamed Selma, in July 1862, to avoid confusing her with the cruiser Florida.

57. Rust's Journal, Sept. 26, 1862, MHI.

Ship Island from the Mississippi and tried, in vain, to pull Onieda off the shoal. On October 2, Ceres, Calhoun, and Jackson sought, unsuccessfully, to free the gunboat. The crew then was turned to lightening ship, and she was refloated at flood tide on the 3d.[58]

7. Ship Island as a Relay Point for Communications and Mail

At the end of September, General Butler's quartermaster scheduled the fast steamer Ceres to make two round trips weekly, between New Orleans and Ship Island. There she would rendezvous with Tennessee, which would operate on a similar schedule between Pensacola and Ship Island.[59]

Such an arrangement had been fostered by Admiral Farragut, who had written General Butler, on the 26th, "I wish to establish a mail twice a week between New Orleans, Ship Island, and Pensacola." This service was mandated by knowledge that there was a large mail at New Orleans for personnel aboard the Pensacola ships and those blockading Mobile Bay, as well as his official mail from the Department.[60]

In late September, Farragut shipped 200 barrels of powder from Pensacola to his ships operating on the Mississippi aboard Rhode Island. She, however, was compelled to send the powder ashore at Ship Island for transhipment to New Orleans.[61]

8. Commodore Bell Takes Charge of the Blockaders

On October 4, Calhoun and J. P. Jackson departed the anchorage and steamed eastward to reconnoiter the approaches to Grant's

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58. Ibid., Sept. 29, Oct. 3, 1862; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 757.

59. Rust's Journal, Oct. 1, 1963, MHI.

60. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 240-41, 244.

61. Ibid.

Pass. They returned the next day, and Lt. Comdr. Thomas M. Buchanan of Calhoun told Colonel Rust that several steam blockade runners were loading cotton up the Pascagoula, in anticipation of a dash to sea.[62]

Admiral Farragut was disappointed to learn that J. P. Jackson was remaining close to Ship Island and had not pursued the steamers seen plying the sound, merely reporting that they had entered Grant's Pass. On the 4th, Farragut accordingly wrote Lt. Selim E. Woodworth, commanding the gunboat, that he had no fears for security of the island, because, if the sound were patroled Ship Island "can take care of itself." Farragut would, however, send a vessel (Vincennes) to guard the anchorage, but he warned Woodworth "there must be a force in the sound."[63]

The next day, Farragut ordered Commo. Henry H. Bell to proceed with Brooklyn and take charge of the force blockading Mobile Bay. Bell's authority was to extend eastward to Pensacola and west to Ship Island. There were currently available for guarding the sound, the light-draft gunboats Calhoun and J. P. Jackson, while the sailing sloop Vincennes was under orders to take position at Ship Island, and provide "a general protection" to the anchorage and vessels lying there. When and if his blockaders needed coal, water, or repairs other than to their machinery, they were to be sent to Pensacola, but if work on their engines were indispensible, they were to proceed to Ship Island.

By the morning of the 7th, Brooklyn was ready to sail. At 7 A.M., the pilot came aboard, and, after Bell had had a last minute conference with Farragut ashore, she got underway and by 9:30 had crossed Pensacola Bar and was at sea.[64]

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62. Rust's Journal, Oct. 4-5, 1862, MHI.

63. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 247.

64. Ibid., pp. 252-53, 720-22.

9. Generals Dow and Butler Return to the Island

Coincidentally, on the 7th, General Dow, en route from New Orleans to take command of the District of Pensacola, reached Ship Island aboard McLellan. He came ashore and told Colonel Rust to expect a visit from General Butler. During the day, the gunboat Pinola arrived from her station off Mobile Bay. Heavy seas had damaged her engines during a recent gale and she had been compelled to put in for repairs.

General Butler's yacht reached the island at daybreak, on the 8th, and the general landed and caught Rust in bed. Butler had sad news for the garrison regarding the mail steamer Ceres, which had left the island the previous afternoon for New Orleans. Her boilers had exploded, she had burned to the waterline, and there were only 21 survivors.

Butler, who was accompanied by several staff officers, "seemed pleased with the condition of the Island," and Rust enjoyed his visit. Butler and his party then boarded McLellan and continued on to Pensacola with General Dow.[65]

10. A Fire and the Need to Coal and Repair Ships Complicates Commodore Bell's Task

On the morning of Butler's visit, J. P. Jackson, which had spent the night guarding Horn Island Pass, got underway and stood up the sound toward Grant's Pass. A fresh wind blew from the east, southeast. At 5:30, the dreaded cry "Fire" was raised, flames having been discovered in the fireroom. While firefighters turned out with hoses, Lieutenant Woodworth "put the vessel before the wind." The fire was soon extinguished, but Woodworth, "deeming it imprudent to proceed up the sound to the eastward," until a survey of the damage was made,

65. Rust's Journal, Oct. 7 & 8, 1862, MHI; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 333. General Butler's yacht laid over and returned to New Orleans on the 12th.

continued on to Ship Island with banked fires. There, the gunboat anchored at 10 A.M., and Master Machinist Crossgrist inspected the damage.[66]

A norther came up on the evening of the 10th, and continued throughout the next day. It caused considerable damage to shipping in the anchorage. A prize schooner was driven aground; several small boats stove in: the bark Monitor, lying at the new wharf, severely damaged that structure and bashed a hole in her beam; Xenophone dragged her anchors half way to shore; and the lighthouse tender Florida and General Butler's yacht were "bobbling like egg shells in water."[67]

On the 11th, Commodore Bell, while riding out the blow, sent Kennebec to Ship Island with a letter addressed to Lt. Comdr. Pierce Crosby, as senior officer present. Crosby's 90-day gunboat, Pinola, had put in at the island, on the 7th, for repairs to her machinery. Crosby was to send J. P. Jackson or Calhoun up the sound to Petit Bois Pass, because the Rebels were said to have opened Grant's Pass, and the Confederate gunboat Morgan and four or five schooners were anchored off the Pass. When Kennebec returned from Ship Island, on the evening of the 11th, Bell was disappointed to learn that J. P. Jackson was still repairing fire damage and Calhoun was in Lake Borgne.[68]

It was October 11 before the damage was repaired, and J. P. Jackson left the anchorage to take up her newly assigned station, blockading the pass between Dauphin and Petit Bois Island.[69]

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66. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 287-88.

67. Rust's Journal, Oct. 11, 1862, MHI.

68. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 295-96.

69. John P. Jackson's Log, Oct. 11-12, NA, RG 24.

In mid-October, Farragut relieved Lieutenant Woodworth and ordered him to appear before a court of inquiry. He was to answer why he had not pursued the blockade runners Ariel and Alice, when they had escaped from Mobile Bay by way of Grant's and Petit Bois passes.[70]

On the 24th, the 90-day gunboat Kanawha entered Mississippi Sound by way of Horn Island Pass and relieved J. P. Jackson to allow her to return to Ship Island and take on a 10-day supply of coal. Kanawha's orders were to stop all "intercourse along the coast," the accomplishment of which would require capture of all sailboats encountered. J. P. Jackson, her bunkers full of fuel, returned to the east end of the sound on the 28th, enabling Kanawha to resume her station off Mobile Bay. Coincidentally, Lieutenant Woodworth was detached and sent to New Orleans, and Lt. Comdr. H. A. Adams assumed command of Jackson.[71]

Meanwhile, on October 13, the provost guard seized the schooner Antelope for making an unauthorized landing on Ship Island's south shore. When brought before Colonel Rust, the master pulled out a paper, signed by the New Orleans collector of customs, authorizing him to engaged in a coasting trade. Consequently, Rust released the little 15-ton schooner.[72]

11. Sloop "Vincennes" Takes Station in the Anchorage

On October 12, the sloop-of-war Vincennes (Lt. Comdr. John Madigan) entered the anchorage in splendid style. She had arrived from the Rio Grande by way of Pensacola. Although the men of Vincennes did not know it, their ship was destined to spend more than 32 months at Ship Island.

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70. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 297, 301, 303, 311. While Woodworth was absent, Lt. Comdr. Montgomery Sicard of Onieda assumed command of J. P. Jackson.

71. Ibid. pp. 315, 325, 728-30.

72. Rust's Journal, Oct. 13, 1862, MHI.

On Wednesday, the 15th, Owasco arrived from the coast of Texas, by way of Pensacola, with news that Galveston had been captured 11 days before by a flotilla led by Comdr. William B. Renshaw. As soon as Owasco's engines were repaired and she had been coaled, she returned to the Texas coast.

On the 16th, Rhode Island came in from the North and St. Marys from New Orleans with the mail. Aboard the former were Col. Billy Wilson of the 6th New York Zouaves and three of his officers. They joined Colonel Rust for dinner on Vincennes, and then, after borrowing four horses, went for a ride. "It was a breakneck affair," Rust observed, "We made the circuit of the Island . . . twenty miles in two hours." Rust was understandably glad when his visitors left for New Orleans.[73]

That evening there was an alarm. The distant roar of cannon was heard out on the sound. Aboard the vessels lying to in the anchorage all hands were beat to "General Quarters." Ashore, Rush reinforced his pickets and established beach patrols.[74]

12. Ship Island Continues to Serve the Navy as a Gulf Frontier Depot

On Sunday, the 19th, the steamer Tennessee arrived from Pensacola. She would be laying over for several days for repairs. The gunboat Pocahontas came in from the same place to receive a new set of masts.[75] The former Rebel sternwheel gunboat Diana and the steamer Sykes reached Ship Island on Monday evening. The latter, which was to be chartered to carry dispatches and supplies between New Orleans and

73. Ibid., Oct. 16, 1862; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 253-63; Vincennes Log, Sept. 15-Oct. 18, 1862, NA, RG 24.

74. Rust's Journal, Oct. 16, 1862, MHI.

75. Ibid., Oct. 19, 1862.

the island, was a "witch to go making sixteen knots in smooth water and draws but about four feet."[76]

On the afternoon of October 24, another norther, the worst of the season to date, blew in. The thermometer plummeted 38 degrees in several hours, "making it shivering cold." By dusk, most of the vessels in the anchorage were dragging their anchors, and it was feared that Monitor and Mountain Eagle might fetch ashore. Daybreak, on the 26th, revealed Mountain Eagle broadside to the beach and the sea breaking over her. Already, the copper from her weather bow had been "peeled out" by the pounding surf. Xenophon was dangerously close inshore, while Monitor's stern was pounding against the bottom. General Barry, a coaler, had parted one of her cables and had drifted dangerously near the wharf. The winds fortunately abated on the morning of the 25th.[77]

The steamer Rhode Island, on her way North from New Orleans, stopped briefly on the morning of the 25th. Master Machinist Crossgrift of the Naval Repair Shop lost his passage home, when she cast-off before he could get aboard. Later in the day, Tennessee, her repairs completed, sailed for Pensacola, and Sykes arrived from New Orleans with provisions, three prisoners, and several staff officers.[78]

On the last day of October, Sykes returned from New Orleans with more provisions and continued onto Pensacola. That afternoon, Colonel Rust mustered the troops. Company F made a sharp appearance, their rifle-muskets being in superb condition. Sykes returned from Pensacola the next evening, and a score of Lieutenant Palfrey's workmen took passage for New Orleans.

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76. Ibid., Oct. 20, 1862.

77. Ibid., Oct. 25-27, 1862.

78. Ibid., Oct. 27-28, 1862.

On Sunday, November 2, Mountain Eagle was refloated, "after a week's hard work." As she drifted free, she came close to crashing into the Engineers' wharf. A heavy sea was running, and they had to warp her off into deepwater.[79]

Another norther roared in on the night of November 5. By morning, wind and waves had carried away the head of the post wharf and some of the machinery for the gunboat Pembina stored thereon. Chief Machinist Crossgriff had brought the machinery over from Pensacola for repair. Xenophone came ashore near the lighthouse, but fortunately escaped serious damage.[80]

The next day, the 90-day gunboat Winona, shipping 8 inches of water per hour and battered by the gale, was relieved from her station off Mobile Bay and sent to Ship Island.[81]

C. Farragut Redirects the Squadron's Priorities

1. Admiral Farragut Returns to New Orleans

On November 7, 1862, Admiral Farragut in Hartford, accompanied by Richmond and Tennessee, departed Pensacola and returned to the Mississippi, by way of South West Pass, anchoring off New Orleans on the 9th.[82]

The paymaster, on November 8, disembarked from Sykes, and the troops were mustered and paid up to August 31. That evening Colonel Rust and the paymaster attended a dance at the black refugees' camp.[83]

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79. Ibid., Oct. 31-Nov. 2, 1862.

80. Ibid., Nov. 6-7, 1862.

81. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 339, 730.

82. Ibid., pp. 708, 730.

83. Rust's Journal, Nov. 8, 1862, MHI.

2. Commodore Bell Beefs Up His Force on Mississippi Sound

By mid-November, J. P. Jackson's boilers and engines were badly used up and her coal bunkers were nearly empty. She was ordered by Commodore Bell to be relieved from her station guarding the sound approaches to Grant's and Pêtit Bois Passes. On the 21st, Hatteras entered the sound and J. P. Jackson returned to Ship Island to have her machinery overhauled. Lt. Comdr. Homer Blake of Hatteras, while in the sound, was expected to keep a close watch on these passes, "looking occasionally into Horn Island Pass (where Maria Wood, schooner is stationed) and Pascagoula."[84]

3. Acting Master Chase and Five Sailors Disappear

That morning, Acting Master Anthony Chase of Maria Wood and five of his sailors cast-off from the schooner in a small boat. They planned to row close in to shore and investigate a schooner seen near the long wharf, fronting the large hotel in East Pascagoula. It was a hard nine-mile pull. The six were never seen again alive by their shipmates.

In late December, the bodies of three of the bluejackets, Chase and Landsmen Charles Bagley and Jacob Kickline, were found on the north shore of Pêtit Bois Island and buried--Chase and one of the seamen in a single grave, with a headboard, marked "U.S.N." The fate of the other three was never known, though Confederate sources suggested they had mutinied and killed Chase, Bagley, and Kickline.[85]

4. "Winona" and "Hatteras" Search for "Florida"

Meanwhile, on Monday, November 17, the supply schooner Trojan arrived at Ship Island from the North and sent ashore apples and

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84. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 349, 357-59, 731.

85. Ibid., pp. 362-68, 436. The missing bluejackets were: Acting Master's Mate Clement J. Haas, Quartermaster Adophus Hamburg, and Landsman Robert Kelly. Small boat parties from Hatteras and J. P. Jackson landing on Pêtit Bois to kill and butcher cattle discovered Chase's and Kickline's bodies.

potatoes. The next day, the sutler's schooner came in from New Orleans.[86]

At dark on the 19th, a west-bound steamer, with white paddlewheel boxes, was sighted hugging the shore of the mainland. When she failed to respond to recognition signals, Winona went in pursuit, and, although she fired 18 shots, the steamer employed her superior speed and escaped. Fears, which were subsequently alleviated, were expressed that the stranger was the cruiser Florida, and that she had used the sound to escape thus giving the Yankees the slip.[87]

The naval officers soon learned that Florida was still in Mobile Bay, while their informants identified the stranger as Creole. Consequently, on November 28, Commodore Bell directed Hatteras to carefully examine the coast, especially Bay St. Louis, to see if she could locate the vessel pursued by Winona. He was of the opinion that she was Creole and had debouched from the Pascagoula River, where she had taken refuge. On Hatteras' reconnaissance, her crew saw nothing but small boats.[88]

5. Island Serves as a Camp for Paroled Soldiers

On Thanksgiving Day, November 27, the steamer Nassan reached the island and sent ashore 3 officers and 117 enlisted men of the 8th Vermont Infantry, who had been captured at Boutte Station, on September 4, and paroled at Vicksburg on November 1. The Vermonters were to report to Colonel Rust until such time as they were exhanged. They were quartered in the structure formerly employed as a flour shed.

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86. Rust's Journal, Nov. 17-18, 1862, MHI. From Ship Island Trojan proceeded to Pensacola.

87. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1862; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 371, 384.

88. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 384-86, 733.

The Vermonters remained on the island until after their mid-January exhange, rejoining their regiment on February 18, 1863.[89]

6. Pleasant Thanksgiving Interlude

Colonel Rust and Commander Madigan and Lieutenant Manton had Thanksgiving dinner as guests of Commander Adams aboard J. P. Jackson. The "bill of fare was excellent, soup, fish, goose, pig, duck, pheasant, pastry, fruit, claret, nuts, etc." This was Rust's first time aboard the gunboat. He found that the former Fulton Street Ferry now carried "the heaviest kind of armament for her class, a hundred and twenty pounder rifle forward, a ten or eleven inch Dahlgren aft and four 9 inch guns amidships."

About 7 P.M., Rust excused himself and went aboard New England, spending an hour with Captain and Mrs. Edge, "the belle of Ship Island." Rust then joined Lieutenant Manton in Rust's quarters for dominoes. He beat the naval officer three consecutive games, "notwithstanding he is the best player I have met."[90]

On the last day of the month, the sentries reported a steamer "creeping along the Biloxi shore." Colonel Rust ordered the sand batteries manned, and a shell screamed across her bow. The steamer came to and identified herself. She was Hatteras on her reconnaissance of the sound from Grant's Pass to Pass Christian, in search of Creole.[91]

7. Colonel Rust Celebrates His 29th Birthday

December 2 was Colonel Rust's 29th birthday. The mail steamer Sykes arrived about 4 A.M. She landed one prisoner and orders

89. Rust's Journal, Nov. 27, 1862, MHI; George N. Carpenter, History of the Eighth Regiment Vermont Volunteers: 1861-1865 (Boston, 1886).

90. Rust's Journal, Nov. 27, 1862, MHI.

91. Ibid., Nov. 30, 1862.

for the garrison to evacuate the lighthouse keepers' quarters, then being used as the post hospital.

At 10 A.M., Commander Adams of J. P. Jackson sent his gig to bring Rust aboard. They were joined by Lieutenant Manton for a leisurely breakfast. They then chatted and smoked until 1, when the Army officer went ashore. Rust then joined Commanders Madigan and Adams, and Lieutenant Manton on Vincennes for dinner. They had a "jolly time until 10 P.M. playing the old Down East game of 'High Low Jack.'" The recent prohibition against liquor aboard ship, Rust mused, "will save officers many a dollar of their earnings, and at the same time it enables one to partake of their hospitality without a dead certainty of a headache afterward."[92]

8. "J. P. Jackson" and "Hatteras" Engage the Confederates

By December 10, J. P. Jackson's machinery had been overhauled and she joined Hatteras in blockading Grant's Pass. With both gunboats on station only one had to keep up a head of steam. According to Confederate deserters no guns had yet been emplaced on Shell Bank, and both passes had been closed by spiles.[93]

On the 13th, Commodore Bell learned from a deserter that the Rebels had moored a floating battery in Grant's Pass and had established a camp on Shell Bank. He therefore ordered J. P. Jackson and Hatteras to close the range and drive the foe off. On the 13th, the two gunboats steamed to within two miles of the Shell Bank battery and engaged it and the Confederate steamer Selma with their rifled guns. The Rebels replied. After one projectile passed over J. P. Jackson and another burst short, the Yankees retired.[94]

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92. Ibid., Dec. 2, 1862.

93. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 400-01.

94. Ibid., pp. 407, 733-34.

9. Federals Focus Attention on the Mississippi

Upon General Banks' arrival in New Orleans, Admiral Farragut learned that the administration had given the highest priority to the campaign to open the Mississippi by capturing Vicksburg and Port Hudson. He therefore ordered Commadore Bell to join him on the river. The responsibility for enforcing the blockade of Mobile Bay and Mississippi Sound would be left to Commo. Robert B. Hitchcock.[95]

Farragut's order found Bell at Pensacola, on December 20, where he had been compelled to proceed, on the 13th, to effect repairs to Brooklyn's boilers. Bell sailed for New Orleans in Brooklyn on Christmas Eve. She was preceded by six of the mortar schooners (O. H. Lee, Orvetta, Sarah Bruen, John Griffin, Sea Foam, and Horace Beals) that had remained at the Pensacola Navy Yard, when Commander Porter returned to Hampton Roads with their 12 sisters in August.[96]

To enforce the blockade of Mobile Bay, Hitchcock was left with Susquehannah (his flagship), Kennebec, Kanawha, Aroostook, Pinola, and Pembina. J. P. Jackson and Hatteras would continue to prowl Mississippi Sound, and Maria A. Wood to guard Petit Bois Pass. Winona had previously reported to Farragut, having entered the Mississippi early in December.

In mid-December, Hitchock lost the services of Pinola for several days, when she had to put in at Ship Island for repairs to her boilers. Then, at the close of the year, his force on the sound was slashed by one-half, the light-draft gunboat Hatteras temporarily joining the growing river armada. Coincidentally, Pocahontas was ordered to Ship Island for repairs, but she was back on station on the 4th.

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95. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 16, pp. 409-410.

96. Ibid., pp. 407, 424, 734. Accompanying Brooklyn from Pensacola to New Orleans was the storeship Supply Sportsman loaded with ordnance stores and the bark J. C. Kuhn with provisions.

Then, on the night of January 15-16, the Rebel cruiser Florida, covered by a gale, embarrassed the Mobile Bay blockaders by escaping to sea. At that time, the 90-day gunboat Kanawha was laid-up for repairs at Ship Island, where she had gone on the 5th, upon return of Pocahontas.[97]

D. Several Sand Batteries are Erected and Armed

In the fourth week of July, after discussing the situation with several naval officers and reconnoitering the island, Colonel Rust took steps to erect and arm several sand batteries. Comdr. John Guest of the gunboat Owasco suggested that they be placed near the commissary storehouse and sighted to command Mississippi Sound and the landward approach to the cantonment area.

Assisted by sailors from the sailing ship Morning Light, the soldiers, beginning on the 25th, were turned to erecting sand batteries and moving and mounting cannon. By the 30th, two guns had been positioned. Colonel Rust reported that the two pieces (IX-inch Dahlgrens) were heavy, each weighing more than four and a half tons. He found it exhilarating to watch and listen to the chanties as 60 to 70 sailors bent a rope and heaved at "the big fellows."[98] Work dragged in August, as the men toiled on the parapets, and it was September 8 before the sand batteries were declared completed.[99]

E. Island as a Haven of Refuge for Blacks and Whites

On July 19, Colonel Rust was pestered throughout much of the day by an old woman desirous of purchasing two barrels of flour. A wealthy lady from Pass Christian, she had secured an order from General Butler, authorizing her to visit the island to purchase two barrels. After

97. Ibid., pp. 407, 423, 430, 490, 497, 528.

98. Rust's Journal, July 28-30 & Aug. 10-12, 1862, MHI.

99. Ibid., Sept. 8, 1862.

securing them, she was determined to have two more. To get rid of her, Rust had to be uncivil.

Commenting on this incident, Rust observed:

> These poor devils in the South are absolutely starving, have to depend upon our generosity to keep soul & body together, and yet they hate the North. Flour has been . . . worth $40 per bbl. on shore. Every thing else in proportion and but little can be got at that.[100]

On Sunday, the 20th, a Mississippian arrived on the island with a pass signed by General Butler. He proposed to secure the return of a slave girl, who had refugeed to the island. Colonel Rust and the man met with the black. She stated that she did not wish to return to the mainland. Rust then told the Mississippian to leave.

The civilian returned at sundown on "some frivolous matter," and Rust had him arrested and confined. He was released in the morning and warned that if he returned, Rust would throw him in irons and send him to New Orleans. The blacks had told Rust that the Mississippian was one of the Pass Christian guerrillas.

Meanwhile, on Sunday evening, several sailors, ashore for the day, had too much to drink and failed to return to their ship at sunset. At midnight, they were arrested by the provost guard for "disturbing & insulting some negro wenches."[101]

On the 27th, six black men, one woman, and several children reached the island in two small boats--one from Wolf River and the other from Red Creek. They were fortunate, because 30 minutes after they landed, a squall roared in. That evening, Colonel Rust

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100. Rust's Journal, July 19, 1862, MHI.

101. Ibid., July 21, 1862.

attended a black prayer meeting. He found it a "unique performance," one that he would not soon forget.[102]

After dinner, on the 28th, a large black woman, her face "wreathed in smiles, followed by two new arrivals" on the island, rushed into Rust's quarters. She greeted the colonel:

> Hi! Massa Colonel, Hyars two more womens jes come ober. Wouldnt yer please shoot de big gun massa to let uns know dey got ober safe. Dye want to known ober toder side and dats wot dey sed dey'd do.

Colonel Rust, declining to fire a cannon, turned the newcomers over to his post quartermaster.[103]

Late in July, three whites, to escape conscription, fled to Ship Island. These men, Colonel Rust noted, had abandoned their wives, children, and homes to escape being "dragged into a war in which they have no heart."

According to Rust:

> The persecution of women even if their husbands are not in the war is terrible, and many are actually starving for want of food. . . . They have subsisted for months on fish & oysters. But now their skiffs are taken and that is denied them.[104]

On August 5, several mainland refugees reached the island in a boat during a storm. They brought a cow and its calf, chickens, ducks, and household furniture. Colonel Rust made arrangements with them to supply his mess with milk.[105]

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102. Ibid., July 27, 1862.

103. Ibid., July 28, 1862.

104. Ibid., July 29, 1862.

105. Ibid., Aug. 5, 1862.

At the beginning of the second week in September, Colonel Rust had a long visit with two ladies "stopping up the island." This was "the first conversation" he had "held with a civilized female since last February."[106]

On Monday, September 15, Franklin Carson, formerly a resident of Cape May, New Jersey, reached the island by skiff from Mobile. When questioned by Colonel Rust, Carson described the economic and social conditions in the Alabama city as dreadful.[107]

On the 20th, Colonel Rust discovered that a number of his soldiers had drunk too much sutler's beer. He seized the beverages, turning over the beer and ale to the hospital. The sutler was forbidden to stock anymore intoxicants.

The next day, some of the soldiers broke into the storehouse and carried off almost 200 bottles of the confiscated ale. Most of it was found hidden under a pile of lumber and returned to the storehouse.[108]

On November 19, a Mrs. Schell arrived on the mail steamer Sykes. She had passes signed by General Butler and Admiral Farragut permitting her to visit Pass Christian to secure some of her property. Lt. Comdr. A. W. Weaver of the gunboat Winona agreed to proceed to the Pass to do this, but then changed his mind.[109]

Orders were received in late November, directing that, hereinafter, full rations would be issued only to those contrabands and refugees that were employed by the Quartermaster Department. All others falling into these catagories were to be issued sufficient rations to

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106. Ibid., Sept. 8, 1862.

107. Ibid., Sept. 15, 1862.

108. Ibid., Sept. 19-22, 1862.

109. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1862.

keep them from starving. This order resulted in about 50 refugees and contrabands taking passage on Sunday, the 23d, for New Orleans.[110]

On December 31, the blacks remaining on the island held a combination New Year's Eve and Emancipation Ball in the workforce messhall. Colonel Rust reported, "They had a gay old' time of it. Most of the Capts. of the fleet were present & I went in with them. I was some what afraid of a disturbance but everything went off quietly."[111]

On January 8, 1863, two refugees reached the island from Biloxi. They brought with them copies of the Mobile Register & Advertiser of the 4th, reporting the Confederates victorious at Stones River and Chickasaw Bayou.[112]

F. Naval Butcherers Cause an Interservice Row

On Saturday, September 13, Commander Guest of Owasco presented Colonel Rust with a quarter of beef. The next day, Rust was shocked and angered to learn that the beef had come from one of six quartermaster cattle the Navy had killed and butchered. He accordingly filed a protest.[113]

Replying, Commander Guest questioned whether the cattle butchered by his sailors belonged to the Army, as he had been told that wild cattle ranged the island. The sailors in question had been sent ashore on the east end of the island to look for several sheep that had escaped from a pen. They saw the sheep but were unable to get near enough to shoot them, so they had slaughtered the beeves.

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110. Ibid., Nov. 23, 1862.

111. Ibid., Dec. 31, 1862.

112. Ibid., Jan. 8, 1863.

113. Ibid., Sept. 13 & 14, 1862.

A supply steamer was in the anchorage, so the naval personnel did not require the beef. Consequently, Guest, except for the quarter sent to Rust, had distributed the meat among the merchant ships. He trusted that Rust found the beef "very tender." The post quartermaster must therefore charge "the beef to 'profit & loss,' especially the latter." Henceforth, his bluejacket riflemen, when ashore on Ship Island, were to confine themselves to mutton, "lest they might by chance find an Army beef amongst the wild cattle."[114]

Rust did not appreciate Guest's reply, which in Rust's opinion showed Guest "less than a gentleman than I supposed."[115]

G. Ship Island Anchorage Serves as a Rendezvous for More Than 20,000 of General Banks' Soldiers

Early in November, the War Department decided to replace General Butler as commander of the Department of the Gulf. His successor would be Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, who was to "immediately proceed with the troops assembling in transports at Fort Monroe to New Orleans." Additional soldiers, to number about 10,000, were to be sent to the Gulf Frontier from New York City and Boston, as soon as possible. Upon reaching New Orleans, Banks was to focus his attention on a campaign to open the Mississippi and to capture Fort Morgan. Admiral Farragut was to cooperate with Banks in achievement of these goals. Coincidentally, an amphibious expedition was being organized at Cairo and Memphis to descend the Mississippi and to cooperate with Banks in an attack on Vicksburg.[116]

General Banks and his staff sailed from New York City, on December 4, aboard North Star, rather than Hampton Roads.[117] A

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114. Guest to Rust, Sept. 17, 1862, found in Butler's Correspondence, Vol. I, pp. 415-16.

115. Rust's Journal, Sept. 17, 1862, MHI.

116. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 590.

117. Ibid., p. 613.

number of other vessels, with men and supplies belonging to the expedition, had departed from the great harbor in the days immediately preceding. The units that had been assembled aboard ships at Hampton Roads, convoyed by the sidewheel gunboat Augusta, sailed on the 4th. The vessels, both those sailing in convoy and individually, were to rendezvous at Ship Island. This was fortunate, because, on the 5th, off Cape Hatteras a fearful storm was encountered, which scattered the convoy and battered individual ships.[118]

On Thursday, December 11, the transports Illinois and Che Kiang put-in and lay-to in the Ship Island Anchorage. Aboard the former were the 52d Massachusetts Infantry and the 18th New York Battery and the latter fourteen companies of the 23d and 28th Connecticut Infantry. Che Kiang's engines were not functioning properly, so the troops were disembarked and went into camp. Chaplain Richard Wheatly of the 28th Connecticut wrote his loved ones:

> This low sandbank is the creation of the restless Mexican Gulf. It boasts little vegetation. A few grasses, cacti, flowering herbs and shrubs, and some stunted pines, exhaust the list. Nor is the fauna more extensive than the flora. A dilapidated cow and an untimely calf, some splendid horses and refactory mules, ugly alligators, venomous spiders and spiteful mosquitos would chiefly claim the attention of the naturalist. The encircling waves swarm with fish.[119]

The next day, New Brunswick came in with the 24th Connecticut Infantry and S. R. Spaulding with the 22d Maine Infantry. Meanwhile, Colonel Rust had loaded the colonels of the 52d Massachusetts and 23d Connecticut into an ambulance and gave them a grand tour of the island.

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118. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 429; Andrew M. Sherman, In the Lowlands of Louisiana (Morristown, N.J., 1908), pp. 8-9. The transport Thames was compelled to put in at Port Royal, S.C., where she was condemned and her troops sent on in sailing vessels.

119. Rust's Journal, Dec. 11, 1862, MHI; Sherman, In the Lowlands of Louisiana, p. 10.

On the 13th, fourteen steamers entered the anchorage. General Banks, accompanied by Brig. Gen. Cuvier Grover and their staffs, came ashore from North Star. Colonel Rust met and escorted them to his quarters. After partaking of a glass of sherry to "steady their sea legs & stomachs," Banks and his people proceeded to make plans and perfect arrangements for ascending the Mississippi to New Orleans.

Banks, whom Rust found to be "pleasant and affable," expressed a desire to see the political prisoners and Rust obliged. Banks was introduced to Dr. Batchelder and the others.

Before reembarking, Banks detailed Lt. Col. William S. Abert and Capt. W. Sturgis Hooper to remain on the island for several days and send the other ships, as they arrive, up the Mississippi. Orders were also given for Atlantic and Baltic, as they drew too much water to cross the South West Pass bar, to send their troops and supplies ashore. Che Kiang, her engines continuing to malfunction, was to effect repairs before sailing for New Orleans.[120]

The remainder of the vessels then got underway and headed out to sea, through Ship Island Pass.

On Sunday, the 14th, Atlantic and Baltic sent the 38th Massachusetts and 116th New York ashore, and the soldiers went into camp. While Colonel Rust was having supper aboard Che Kiang, the steamer Curlew stranded on the south shore of the island, nearly abreast the barracks. The captain, in attempting to enter the anchorage, had mistakenly assumed that the lighthouse was on the western extremity of the island.

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120. Vincennes Log, Dec. 13, 1862, NA, RG 24. Among the steam transports entering the anchorage on the 13th were: Northern Light, Arago, E. L. Boardman, United States, Atlantic, Ericsson, Baltic, and Matanzas. They were escorted by the gunboat Augusta. Those sailing for New Orleans were: S. R. Spaulding, North Star, Northern Light, Arago, Illinois, Matanzas, E. L. Boardman, United States, and New Brunswick.

To lighten ship, the troops (three companies of the 28th Connecticut and a detachment of the 114th New York) were landed in Vincennes' boats. Che Kiang then tried, on the morning flood, to pull Curlew off the bar, but, after parting two hawsers, gave up. A strong northwind caused the captain of Che Kiang to cancel a second attempt to free Curlew on the evening tide.

Curlew was finally refloated on the evening of the 17th. Earlier that day, Che Kiang (having reembarked the 14-companies), Thorn, and a canal boat departed the anchorage bound for New Orleans.

Brig. Gen. William H. Emory had spent the morning with Colonel Rust. They visited the encampments and called on Col. Timothy Ingraham of the 38th Massachusetts. That afternoon, Rust watched the troops drill.[121]

On the 18th, one of the few vessels putting in at the anchorage was Eastern Queen, a detachment of the 16th New Hampshire aboard. All were glad to see her, because fears had been voiced for her safety. The next day, three ships came in, among them Honduras with the staff's horses. On Saturday, the 20th, the mail steamer Sykes, having been laid-up for nearly a week, arrived from New Orleans. She carried orders for Colonel Abert and Captain Hooper to turn over their duties to Colonel Rust and to report to General Banks, who, upon reaching New Orleans on the 15th, had relieved General Butler as commander of the Department of the Gulf. This news had caused great rejoicing by the "Crescent citians."

The "great event" of Sunday, Rust recorded, was

> a dinner on the Baltic. Turtle soup, etc. Capts. Madigan, Manton & Eldridge, Col. Abert, Capt. Hooper & myself dined with Capt. "Joe Comstock." I have been full to repletion ever since.

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121. Rust's Journal, Dec. 12-17, 1862, MHI; Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 604-08; Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 429.

At 4 A.M., on the 22d, Colonel Abert and Captain Hooker bid Colonel Rust goodbye and boarded Sykes.[122]

On the 23d, Pocahontas arrived from New Orleans to embark detachments from the 110th and 114th New York and 23d Connecticut. On Christmas Eve, three vessels (Salvor with Col. William Dwight and four companies of the 160th New York, the bark Amazonia with stores, and Cumbria with a detachment of the 15th New Hampshire) stopped briefly at Ship Island before proceeding on to New Orleans.

Early on the 25th, Sykes dropped off newspapers with articles datelined the 14th, detailing the defeat of the Army of the Potomac at Fredericksburg. "Our hopes are dashed to the ground," Colonel Rust noted in his journal, "and our Christmas is not so merry."

During the day, Pocahontas and E. Green departed for New Orleans with the 110th New York and detachments of the 23d Connecticut and 114th New York. This left only two regiments on the island, in addition to the garrison.

A thick fog enveloped Mississippi Sound on the 26th. The steamer Quincy arrived in the morning, and, after checking with Colonel Rust, continued on to New Orleans. The steamers Albany and Quinnebaug arrived, but, rather than risk proceeding, laid over to have their boilers repaired. The fog lifted at noon on the 27th.

On the 28th, Illinois, Northern Light, and North Star came in from New Orleans under orders to embark the troops and stores awaiting transportation. North Star, having taken aboard the 116th New York, sailed for the Mississippi on the 29th, to be followed the next morning by Northern Light with the 38th Massachusetts. Meanwhile, the steamer Mississippi, her decks crowded by 1,500 Massachusett and New

122. Rust's Journal, Dec. 18-22, 1862, MHI.

York soldiers, paused briefly.[123] She was hurried on her way by the threat of a norther, which by dusk on the 30th, was sending waves "sheeting in upon our northern beach and around the wharves."

Baltic left the anchorage on New Year's Day en route to the North. She was followed on the 2d by Atlantic. Meanwhile, a tug arrived from New Orleans with one of Banks' staff officers. He was to intercept and divert to New Orleans all shipping bound for the Department of the Gulf with reinforcements and supplies.[124]

H. Colonel Rust's Last Days on the Island

On Monday, January 12, the steamer Morning Light tied-up at the wharf. Aboard were Col. Nathan W. Daniels and seven companies of the 2d Regiment, Louisiana Native Guards. Daniels told Colonel Rust that he was to relieve him as post commander. But, as all that Daniels had was "a memorandum of an order," Rust refused to act. He was also concerned about the fate of his battalion, because there was no information whether they should accompany him.

In addition, Rust was directed, if practicable, to send ten IX-inch Dahlgrens aboard the steamer for shipment to New Orleans. But, as each gun weighed about 10,000 pounds, the master told Rust that they would throw his vessel out of trim. Moreover, his ship drew so much water that she, when brought alongside the wharf, even at flood tide grounded.

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123. Ibid., Dec. 23-30, 1862.

124. Ibid., Dec. 31, 1862-Jan. 2, 1862. The steamer Memmonium Sanford, the 154th New York aboard, had grounded on Carysford Reef on December 10. All hands were rescued by the gunboat Gemsbok and the steamers Curlew, Blackstone, and City of Bath, and taken to Key West, where arrangements were made for their transportation to New Orleans. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 608-09. Except for the loss of M. Sanford, along with most of the men's equipment and 60-days' rations for 500 soldiers, General Banks had successfully transported more than 20,000 officers and men from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Gulf Frontier.

While awaiting resolution of this situation, Rust visited the blacks' camp, on the 13th, to watch them drill. The adjutant was in charge, the field officers being absent. Rust commended their marching, but found the other battalion exercises "indifferently done."

A norther bore in on the 14th and continued for more than 48 hours. Consequently, the schooner Rocky Hill, arriving on the 14th with provisions, clothing, and medical stores, was unable to come alongside the wharf until the 16th.

On Saturday, January 17, news reached the island that the Rebel raider Alabama had engaged and sunk an old friend the gunboat Hatteras off Galveston, on the 11th, in view of the fleet. As a precautionary measure, to guard against an attack on the Ship Island Anchorage by the raider, Colonel Rust recommended to Colonel Daniels that he erect two more sand batteries--one near the fort and a second at the east end of the island. Daniels was agreeable, and fatigue parties were organized and began work on the battery nearest the fort.

About dusk, the steamer Nassan, bound from New Orleans to Pensacola, stopped briefly at the island. On her return she would take aboard Colonel Rust and the Dahlgrens.

When Rust turned out on the morning of the 18th, a howling wind was blowing. "The water was higher than I have ever before seen it," he observed:

> everything is floating round promiscuously. The water surges with a clean breach over the head of the wharves and piling, timber, etc., are drifting at will all about. The water is over the planking of our commissary and raising.

Although the sea was too rough for Nassan to approach the post wharf, a fatigue party dismounted several of the Dahlgrens and rolled them toward the landing.

On the morning of the 19th, the seas were still high and a driving rain had set in. Nassan's captain now changed his mind; he would not transport the guns to New Orleans.

On Tuesday, January 20, the weather improved, and, at 2 P.M., Nassan came up to the wharf. Colonel Rust now turned over command of the post to Colonel Daniels and boarded the steamer, which sailed for the mouth of the Mississippi at 4 A.M., on the 21st. On doing so, he wrote in his journal:

> Good bye Ship Island. My only regret at leaving is that I must leave my two companies there to the tender mercies of a colonel of Niggers which, if appearances are a true indication will not be very tender.[125]

125. Rust's Journal, Jan. 12-21, 1863, MHI.

VIII. BLACK REGIMENT SPENDS 33 MONTHS ON THE ISLAND

A. General Butler Organizes the Louisiana Native Guards

In mid-August 1862, General Butler, following the recoil from Vicksburg and the repulse of the Confederates at Baton Rouge, became convinced that the enemy was massing an army for an attack on New Orleans. Butler's forces coincidentally had been weakened by loss of men from disease and the discharge of those whom nine months of service had shown to be unfit for duty. To fill many of these empty billets, Butler had enlisted a thousand men locally, and was organizing another 1,200 Louisiana whites, who favored the Union, into the newly constituted 1st Regiment of Louisiana Volunteers, National Guard, and two companies of cavalry.

Relaying this information to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, Butler boldly announced plans to avail himself of the services of the "free colored men who were organized by the rebels into the Colored Brigade. . . . They are free; they have been used by our enemies, whose mouths are shut, and they will be loyal."

Butler, in calling for reinforcements to enable him to cooperate with the Navy in its projected attack on Mobile and at the same time to defend New Orleans, would "call on Africa to intervene." Such a call, he believed, would not be in vain.[1]

On August 22, to implement his decision, General Butler issued General Order No. 63, announcing plans to organize a force from Native Guard veterans

> to take service in the volunteer forces of the United States and be enrolled and organized to "defend their homes from ruthless invaders," to protect their wives and children and kindred from wrong and outrage, to shield their property from being seized by bad men, and to defend the flag of their native country as their fathers did under Jackson at Chalmette against Pakenham.

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1. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 548-49.

Relying on their "well-known loyalty and patriotism," Butler directed that all Native Guard veterans and all other free men of color who "shall enlist in the volunteer service of the United States" are to be organized by "appointment of proper officers and accepted, paid, equipped, armed, and rationed as are other volunteer troops of the United States, subject to the approval of the President of the United States."

Men desirous of enlisting were to report at the Touro Charity Building, on Front Leeve Street. There, they would be met and mustered in by officers designated by General Butler.[2]

The War Department, upon being informed of the proposal to organize and arm the Native Guards, wrote Butler that the subject was left to his discretion.

When the blacks were recruited, "no one asked whether slave or free," and some fugitive slaves probably joined. Butler's order to expropriate the property of pro-Confederate foreign nationals, living in and around New Orleans, and to enlist their slaves into the Union Army was an additional inducement to recruiting.[3]

By September 1, so many free men of color had answered the call that Butler boasted, "I shall . . . have within ten days a regiment, 1,000 strong, of Native Guards . . . the darkest of whom will be about the complexion of the late Mr. Webster."[4]

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2. Ibid., p. 557.

3. Butler Correspondence, Vol. II, pp. 270-71; "The Negro in the Military Service," NA, RG 94, Vol. IV, p. 554.

4. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 559.

B. The 2d Regiment of Louisiana Native Guards

1. Its Organization and Muster In

During the weeks between August 22 and mid-October several thousand "free men of color" were mustered into service at Touro Barracks. They were introduced to their officers, appointed by General Butler; organized into companies; and issued arms, accoutrements, and uniforms. On September 27, ten companies were organized into the 1st Regiment of Louisiana Native Guards; on October 12, ten additional companies were organized as the 2d Regiment of Louisiana Native Guards; and, on November 24, after additional recruiting in the La Fourche, the 3d Regiment of Louisiana Native Guards was constituted and mustered in.

One of these regiments, the 2d, was destined to be intimately associated with the history of Ship Island. The regiment's field officers and staff were: Nathan W. Daniels of New Orleans, colonel; Alfred G. Hall, late of the 9th Connecticut, lieutenant colonel; Francis E. Dumas, major; Samuel M. Willis of the 26th Massachusetts, surgeon; Elijah K. Proutz of the 8th Vermont, adjutant; Charles Sauvinet of New Orleans, quartermaster; and Stephen A Hodgman, chaplain. All the company officers, except one, were blacks or mulattos. The company commanders were: Company A, Pinckney B. L. Pinchback; Company B, William B. Barret; Company C, Hannibal Carter; Company D, Edward P. Chase; Company E, Monrose Merrillion; Company F, Samuel W. Ringgold; Company G. Joseph Villevert; Company H, Arnold Bertonneau; Company I, William Belley; and Company K, Samuel J. Wilkinson. Eight of the captains listed New Orleans as their place of residence and two, Pinchback and Barret, hailed from Ohio.

A review of the enlistment books for Company E reveals certain data about the enlisted personnel. Of the 89 men, 29 listed their complexion as black, 38 as fair, 7 as brown, and 18 as griff. The occupations represented were: cigarmakers, 18; shoemakers, 10; bricklayers, 8; carpenters, 7; masons, 3; coachmen, 2; laborers, 29; and engineers, plasterers, teamsters, bakers, coopers, cartwrights, printers, slaters, painters, brickmasons, and mattressmakers, one each. All the men resided in New Orleans but one, and he was from Franklin Parish.

The oldest recruit was John B. Ferrand, 56; and the youngest Francois Johnson, 17.[5]

While the Native Guards were in training, their activities aroused much interest. The streets and open spaces around the barracks and nearby Camp Strong were crowded with visitors and onlookers, particularly from the free black sector of the populace, who enjoyed the afternoon dress parades. On October 24, Frank Barclay, editor of L'Union, a French language newspaper catering to the free people of color, watched and wrote about an evening dress parade. He described the good discipline of the troops, neatness of the camp and barracks, and the skill with which the Native Guards handled their arms and performed military evolutions.[6]

2. It Goes into the La Fourche

The 2d Regiment remained at Touro Barracks until October 30, when it was ordered into the field to reinforce Union forces that had taken the offensive in the La Fourche, to the west of New Orleans.[7] Crossing the Mississippi, the troops bivouacked at Gretna. Early on the first day of November, Colonel Daniels formed his regiment and turned it into the road paralleling the New Orleans, Opelousas & Great Western Railroad. Nightfall found the blacks, after an 18-mile march, going into camp at Boutte Station. During the next 48 hours, Colonel Daniels, in accordance with orders from Brig. Gen. Godfrey Weitzel, posted his ten companies at key points along the 15 miles of track between Boutte Station and Raceland.[8]

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5. Regimental Books & Papers, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94.

6. New Orleans L'Union, Oct. 25, 1862.

7. Five days before, on the 25th, the 1st Regiment had departed Camp Strong en route for the La Fourche.

8. Muster Rolls & Returns, 74th USCT NA, RG 94; Company A was stationed at Bayou des Allemandes, where it guarded the railroad and (Continued)

The regiment, besides guarding the vital New Orleans, Opelousas & Great Western Railroad against forays by Rebel partisans, carried out a number of patrols, and confiscated supplies from Confederate sympathizers which were forwarded to the New Orleans quartermaster and commissary depots.

On November 5, General Weitzel wrote Butler's headquarters that he could not continue to command the blacks because slaves outnumbered whites in the region, and he feared the possibility of a servile insurrection precipitated by the Native Guards. There had also been complaints of stealing, plundering, and other crimes perpetrated by the black soldiers.

Although Weitzel was his protege, Butler had little sympathy for his carping. Weitzel was ordered to retain the Native Guards in his command, because "these colored regiments of freemen, raised by the authority of the President, and approved by him as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army must be commanded by the officers of the Army of the United States like any other regiments." Butler further reminded Weitzel that recall of two regiments would not necessarily prevent a servile uprising, and also pointed out that there had been no criticism of the blacks for failures in their previously assigned tasks, for disobedience to their officers' orders, or that they had "committed any outrage or pillage upon the inhabitants."

It seemed to Butler that Weitzel should be more concerned with advancing Union war aims than with protecting "the wives and children" of the armed enemies of our Nation "from the consequences of their own rebellious wickedness." While Weitzel was fretting about the

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8. (Continued) highway bridges; Company B at Boutte Station; Company C at Raceland; Company D at Boutte Station; Company E at Jefferson Station, guarding five miles of the right-of-way; Company F at St. Charles Station; Company G at Milladon's plantation; Company H three miles west of Bayou des Allemandes; Company I at Boutte Station; and Company K at Boutte Station.

security of Mrs. Braxton Bragg and other terrified ladies of the La Fourche, General Bragg was "at liberty to ravage the homes of our brethern of Kentucky because the Union army of Louisisana is protecting his wife and his home against his negroes."[9]

3. Pressure Builds to Redeploy the Regiment

Soon after the beginning of the new year, Colonel Daniels was alerted that his men were to be recalled from the La Fourche and given a new mission. The change in assignment was triggered by a decision by General Banks, who had relieved General Butler as commander of the Department of the Gulf on December 15. To calm fears voiced by many whites concerning the ramifications of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, to take effect in one week, General Banks, on Christmas Eve, issued an address "To the People of Louisiana." Slaves were advised to remain on the plantations until "their privileges shall have been definitely established." Leaves of absence from camps of both white and black units would be granted only in emergencies. Soldiers recruited in the Native Guards regiments would not be "allowed for the present to visit the localities of enlistment nor will visitors be received unnecessarily in their camps."[10]

Then, on January 3, Col. Spencer Stafford of the 1st Regiment wrote General Banks, requesting that his men be used for combat. If they were unfit to fight, they were equally unfit for guarding the New Orleans, Opelousas & Great Western. He received no reply.[11]

Coincidentally, General Banks, having been apprised of the Union defeats at Fredericksburg and Chickasaw Bayou and the terrible fight at Stones River, determined to take measures to bolster the

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9. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 164-66.

10. Ibid., pp. 619-20.

11. Regimental Papers, 73d USCT, NA, RG 94.

New Orleans defenses. The garrisons at the forts below the city and on Ship Island would be reinforced.[12] To accomplish this goal, while farther separating Colonel Daniels' regiment from the area where it had been recruited, the people at General Banks' headquarters determined to redeploy the 2d Regiment of Native Guards from the La Fourche to the defenses of Mississippi Sound.

4. Seven Companies are Sent to Ship Island

Accordingly on January 9, 1863, the regiment was relieved by General Weitzel and returned briefly to the New Orleans area, going into camp at Algiers.

There, Colonel Daniels learned that he, accompanied by Companies B, C, D, F, G, I, and K, was to proceed to Ship Island. Companies A, E, and H commanded by Colonel Hall were to take position at Fort Pike.

On the 11th, the seven companies slated for service on Ship Island embarked on the steamer Northern Light, and the next day went ashore on the barrier island. As soon as Colonel Daniels had reported to Colonel Rust, "a camp site was selected and tents pitched."[13]

Nine days, however, passed before Rush formally transferred command of the post to Colonel Daniels and sailed for the mouth of the Mississippi. Rust's battalion (Companies D and E, 13th Maine) remained behind. The Mainemen, as Rust had feared, refused to knuckle under to Colonel Daniels and to soldier in harmony with the blacks. By February 12, relations had deteriorated to where Daniels was compelled to place all the battalion officers and most of the enlisted men

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12. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 641.

13. Muster Rolls & Returns, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94; Official Records, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 546; Rust's Journal, Jan. 11-12, 1863, MHI. The 1st and 3d Regiments continued to guard the railroad until transferred to Baton Rouge in mid-March.

under arrest for disobedience of orders. Relaying this information to General Banks, Daniels complained, as now situated the Maine battalion's services were "useless to the post," and he urged that it be transferred to "some place where they thus could be of some avail to the govt." In any event, he deemed the seven companies of Native Guards sufficient for defense of the island.[14]

General Banks agreed. On the 13th, the Army cut through red tape to defuse a potentially explosive situation, and the Maine battlaion departed Ship Island aboard New Brunswick en route to their new station at Fort Jackson.[15]

5. Soldiering on the Island

The blacks, like the men of the 13th Maine, discovered that soldiering on Ship Island consisted of drill, guard duty, and working parties. Daily there was a guard mount, and the noncommissioned officers and enlisted men detailed to guard the military convicts and the few remaining political prisoners during the next 24 hours turned out and paraded. Throughout their first weeks on the island, large drafts reported to Lieutenant Palfrey of the Engineers. These men toiled long hours throwing up and, assisted by sailors from Vincennes, in arming several sand batteries. Three of the seven (D, G, and I) companies were then assigned to man the big guns and had to master the school of the heavy artillerist, in addition to that of the infantryman.[16]

The daily routine, during the winter, called for: reveille, 1st call, daylight, and 2d call, 15 minutes later; police call, 30 minutes

14. Daniels to Banks, Feb. 12, 1863, NA, RG 94, Regimental Papers, 13th Maine Inf.

15. Daniels to Banks, Feb. 13, 1863, NA, RG 94, Regimental Papers, 13th Maine Inf.

16. Muster Rolls & Returns, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94. Company I was assigned to a battery mounting two IX-inch Dahlgrens. Vincennes Log, Jan. 31, 1863, NA, RG 24.

after reveille; breakfast, 7; surgeon's call, 7:30; drill, 8; recall, 9; guard mount, 1st call, 9:20; adjutant's call, 9:30; drill, 10:30; dinner, 12; battalion drill, 2; recall, 4; dress parade, 1st call, 5; adjutant's call, 5:35; supper, 6; tattoo, 8; and taps, 8:30.[17]

C. The East Pascagoula Raid: April 9, 1863

At the beginning of the second week of April, there was a brief interlude in the garrisons monotonous routine of guard, drill, and fatigue. On the 8th, the steamer General Banks arrived from New Orleans. She tied-up at the wharf and was boarded by Colonel Daniels and 180 officers and men of Companies B and C, 2d Regiment Louisiana Native Guards. One of Vincennes' 12-pounder boat howitzers was also sent aboard, and at 2 P.M. the transport cast-off and got underway and anchored for the night near Horn Island.

Soon after daybreak, on the 9th, John P. Jackson rendezvoused with General Banks. The two vessels then crossed the sound conning a course toward East Pascagoula. The gunboat sent her crew to "General Quarters," cast loose her guns, and anchored 1,200 yards offshore. General Banks then ran in against the long wharf, and Colonel Daniels and his men landed and took possession of the village. Several of the blacks hastened to the large frame hotel and unfurled the United States flag.

As soon as they had recovered from their surprise, the Confederates launched a counterattack aimed at driving the invaders into the sea. The Native Guards more than held their own, and the Southerners were driven back with the loss of a number of dead and wounded, three prisoners, and a stand of colors.

At 2 P.M., Colonel Daniels, having learned that Confederate reinforcements were approaching, recalled his men. Upon retiring, the soldiers made for a short wharf, to the west of the long wharf. J. P.

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17. Regimental Books, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94.

Jackson, to cover the retreat, opened fire. A projectile from the rifled 6-inch Sawyer fell short, exploded with a roar, and killed 4 and wounded 5 of the soldiers. To evacuate the soldiers from the short wharf, boats from Jackson and General Banks were employed. The blacks, despite the accident and hurried evacuation, did not panic. As soon as the men were aboard, General Banks, escorted by the gunboat, returned to Ship Island, the two companies going ashore immediately.[18]

The 2d Regiment thus became the first black unit on the Gulf Frontier, during the Civil War, to meet the Confederates in battle and to suffer and inflict casualties. The honor of being the first black Civil War unit to engage the Rebels belongs to the 1st Kansas Colored Infantry, which fought the foe at Island Mound, Missouri, on October 29, 1862.

D. Colonel Daniels is Cashiered

On May 3, 1863, 25 days after the East Pascagoula Raid, Colonel Daniels was placed under arrest and ordered to face court martial for "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, in grossly insulting an officer of the Navy, while in company with a lady."[19]

Pending resolution of the affair, Colonel Hall was called from Fort Pike and, on May 3, assumed command of both the post and the regiment. Colonel Daniels and Lt. E. R. Proutey were convicted by a court martial, sitting in New Orleans, of the charges preferred against them, and, on August 27, the War Department issued a special order,

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18. John P. Jackson & Vincennes Logs, April 8-9, 1863, NA, RG 24; Official Records, Series I, Vol. LV, pt. I, p. 61; Post Returns, Ship Island, April 1863, NA, Microcopy M-617; Muster Rolls & Returns, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94. In the skirmishing preceding the evacuation, the battalion lost 2 dead and 5 wounded. On the 10th, the 12-pounder howitzer was returned to Vincennes and General Banks returned to New Orleans.

19. Special Order No. 384, War Department, Aug. 27, 1863, NA, Regt. Papers, 74th USCT; Daniels' Military Service Record, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94.

announcing that they had been cashiered for "conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman."[20]

E. Organization of the Corps de Afrique

1. General Banks' Plan for Boosting the Number of Black Units

In the weeks after assuming command of the Department of the Gulf, General Banks found that the three regiments of Native Guards were "demoralized from various causes." He was informed by a number of the regimental junior officers, both white and black, that it would be "impracticable for them to continue in service." The difficulty, Banks discovered, was "caused in a great degree by the character of the officers in command."

Banks thereupon gave priority to the reorganization of the three regiments by selection and commissioning of a better class of officers, and the organization of two additional infantry regiments and a regiment of engineers.[21]

During the late winter and spring of 1863, a purge of the company officers took place. Boards were convened, in accordance with special orders issued from General Banks' headquarters, and the credentials of the officers reviewed and many of their commissions revoked. The few surviving this procedure were asked to submit their resignations. By the summer of 1863, most, if not all, the black and mulatto officers had been replaced by whites.[22]

Then, on May 1, Banks unveiled plans to organize a "corps d'armee of colored troops, to be designated as the Corps d'Afrique."

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20. Special Order No. 384, War Department, Aug. 27, 1863, NA, RG 94, Regt. Papers, 74th USCT. A search of pertinent National Archives Record Groups failed to turn up a transcript of Daniels' court martial.

21. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, pt. 1, p. 689.

22. Regiment Books & Papers, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94.

The corps was to consist ultimately of 18 regiments, representing all arms--infantry, artillery, and cavalry--to constitute three brigades of two regiments each, and three divisions of three brigades each. The regiments were to have a table of organization, providing for 500 men, about one-half that called for by the current Army tables. Since the tables of organization were not adhered to once a regiment had been mustered in, the 500 figure would exceed the average of the present for duty number in the white volunteer regiments assigned to the Department of the Gulf.[23]

In addition, organization of 500-man skeleton regiments insured a more rapid instruction and disciplining of recruits. After this had been accomplished, the tables of organization could be increased to take advantage of the reservoir of manpower that would become available to the Federals should they get possession of Mobile or Texas.[24]

2. The 2d Native Guards is Dedesignated & Reorganized as the 2d Regiment, Corps de Afrique

Proceeding accordingly, measures were implemented, on June 6, to reorganize and respectively redesignate the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th Regiments of Louisiana Native Guards as the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th Regiments, Corps de Afrique. As Colonel Daniels was under arrest, Colonel Hall supervised the reorganization of the 2d Regiment, which was carried out at Ship Island and Fort Pike. Because the authorized enlisted company strength had been pared from 100 to 51, noncommissioned officers and privates in excess of this number were transferred to the 20th Regiment, Corps de Afrique, organized at Fort Pike, on September 11, 1963.[25]

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23. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 716-17.

24. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, pt. 1, p. 689.

25. Muster Rolls & Returns, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94.

3. New Company Organized

In October 1863, a new Company K was organized from the supernummaries, and two more would be as soon as necessary officers were assigned to the regiment. Nothing, however, was done to implement this proposal and the surplus personnel were transferred.

Two 100-pounder Parrotts were received at the post, but their emplacement had to be deferred pending receipt of necessary implements.[26]

F. Island Serves Briefly as a Reception Center for Paroled Union Prisoners of War

In the summer of 1863, the island was employed briefly as a reception center for paroled Union soldiers. During July, 1,376 men belonging to this category were received--782 arriving on the 11th, 273 on the 20th, and 115 on the 27th. Of these arrivals, there were processed and transported to New Orleans during this period 257 parolees, 191 on the 20th, 32 on the 21st, and 34 on the 30th. Thus, at the end of the month, there were 1,119 paroled soldiers on the island.[27] The remainder of the soldiers falling into this category were processed and transferred to New Orleans in August.

G. Department Closes Down Then Reopens the Stockade

On October 23, 1863, Headquarters, Department of the Gulf, issued orders for transfer of all Ship Island prisoners, whether soldiers or civilians, to Fort Jefferson, in the Dry Tortugas.[28] Consequently, on the last day of October, the Ship Island prisoners were released from the

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26. Post Returns for Ship Island, Oct. 1863, NA, Microcopy M-617.

27. Post Returns for Ship Island, July 1863, NA, Microcopy M-617. Of the parolees sent to New Orleans, 192 rejoined their units and 65 were sent to the General Hospital.

28. Special Orders No. 265, Dept. of the Gulf, Oct. 23, 1863, NA, RG 393.

stockade and escorted aboard the bark Harmon, which sailed at dusk for the Tortugas.[29]

Within less than a month, the Department of the Gulf resumed sending military convicts to serve their time at hard labor in the island stockade. Once again, the 2d Regiment, Corps de Afrique, was called on to provide a daily detail for guarding the convicts.[30]

H. Island Continues to be a Haven for Persons Fleeing the Confederacy

Throughout the year, but especially after the surrender of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, Ship Island continued to be a haven of refuge for persons, both white and black, fleeing the Confederacy. For example, in December 1863, the watch officer aboard Vincennes reported the arrival in the anchorage of: on the 1st, a boat with 2 refugees and their families; the 13th, Jasmine picked up a boat with 5 refugees (1 man, 2 women, and 2 children), and a small boat arrived from Biloxi with 2 men and a woman; the 20th, another small craft came in from Biloxi with a man, 4 women, and 3 children; the 23d, two skiffs arrived, the one from Biloxi with 3 refugees and the other from Mississippi City with 2; and on Christmas, a small boat from Biloxi with 2 men, 2 women, and 5 children.[31]

The Navy sent the refugees ashore to be interviewed and processed by the post commander. After which they were allowed to proceed to New Orleans.

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29. Vincinnes Log, Oct. 28-Nov. 1, 1863, NA, RG 24; Register of Prisoners Confined at Ship Island, 1862-70, NA, RG 393.

30. Register of Prisoners Confined at Ship Island, 1862-1870, NA, RG 393.

31. Vincennes Log, Dec. 1-31, 1863, NA, RG 24.

I. 2d U.S. Colored Infantry Spends Nine Weeks on Ship Island

On December 8, 1863, the garrison was more than doubled by arrival from New Orleans of the steamer Continental, with nine companies of the 2d U.S. Colored Infantry (Lt. Col. Stark Fellows commanding) that had been organized and mustered into service at Arlington, Virginia, on November 13. Five weeks later, on January 16, Company A arrived from New Orleans on St. Charles. The 2d USCT remained on Ship Island another four weeks, before sailing for Key West on February 16.[32]

J. Col. William M. Grosvenor Commands the Regiment

1. His Court Martial and Vindication

On October 29, 1863, William M. Grosvenor was commissioned a colonel and assigned to lead the regiment. Reaching Ship Island, on November 3, from New Orleans, he assumed command of the post, as well as the regiment. Colonel Hall, who had been wearing both hats for the past six months, returned to Fort Pike.

Grosvenor had been mustered into service, in mid-February 1862, as lieutenant and adjutant of the 13th Connecticut Infantry; in August 1862 he was named adjutant of the Defenses of New Orleans; rejoined the 13th as adjutant in September; and, after serving as adjutant of the 3d Brigade, XIX Corps, he was relieved at his own request, in Feburary 1863, to become captain of Company I, 13th Connecticut Infantry. He was wounded at the siege of Port Hudson, on June 14.

Colonel Grosvenor, despite his imposing credentials, clashed with several of his officers. On March 27, 1864, several soldiers were placed under arrest for being drunk and disorderly and sent to the guardhouse. When they continued to create an uproar, two of them were tied and gagged.

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32. Muster Rolls & Returns, 2d USCT, Dec. 1863-Feb. 1864, NA, RG 94; Post Returns for Ship Island, Dec. 1863, NA, Microcopy M-617.

About midnight, the officer-of-the-guard saw that one of the prisoners was very ill. Besides reporting this to Colonel Grosvenor, he also sent for Asst. Surg. John H. Gihon. The colonel accordingly ordered the sick soldier released and had him taken to the barracks, where he was examined by the surgeon. Dr. Gihon then hastened to the guardhouse and ordered the gag taken from the second soldier's mouth. The officer-of-the-guard questioned Gihon's right to do this in absence of instructions from the colonel. When the bayonet employed as a gag was removed, the prisoner "swore and raved around" until the officer-of-the-guard had it replaced.

In the morning, Colonel Grosvenor, upon being informed of what had occurred, sent for Dr. Gihon. When the surgeon entered his quarters, the colonel bellowed, "Who is commander of the Post?"

Gihon answered that nobody had questioned Grosvenor's authority as commander. Whereupon, the colonel roared, "Now you mind! If you, or any other medical officer ever again dare to interfere with any punishment that I may order to be inflicted, I will finish you, God damn you Sir! I will let you know that I command this Post!"

Then, on April 12, when the drummers began beating for battalion drill, Adj. Z. Burchmore sent his orderly to tell them to knock it off, which they did. Moments later, Colonel Grosvenor arrived at the adjutant's quarters and inquired, "Adjutant, how is this? What is the reason those drummers don't come along?"

Burchmore replied that he had sent this word to the drummers, because there would be no drill this morning. Grosvenor exploded, "By what authority do you countermand a standing order Sir?"

At this Burchmore answered, "If I have done wrong, it was unintentional."

Grosvenor then shouted, "By Jesus Christ! I will put you under arrest! God damm you, Sir, I will let you know that I command

this post. Damn you! don't say a word to me! By God you are too God damn lazy to attend to your business."

Meanwhile, Grosvenor was said to have entertained two women, not his wife in his quarters. The first of these was Belle Fisher and the second Jennie Davis. Belle was the daughter of Charles Fisher, late editor of the Mobile Register and she was accompanied by her 16-year-old brother, while Jennie was married to Colonel Grosvenor's brother.

Charges were accordingly brought against Colonel Grosvenor, and a court martial convened in New Orleans, on May 4. At the hearings, it was brought out that Dr. Gihon did not merely dislike the colonel but hated him. All witnesses, both for the prosecution and defense, were in agreement that there had been "a marked improvement in the discipline and efficiency of the 2d Regiment during the six months Grosvenor had been in command.

The court, after hearing the evidence, ruled against Grosvenor and he was ordered to be dismissed from the service. When the case was reviewed by President Lincoln, on August 3, 1864, he ordered the "disability removed on the ground that the sentence appears not to be sustained by the evidence."[33]

2. Fallout From the Court Martial Plagues Quartermaster Sauvinet

Regimental Quartermaster Sauvinet had been called to New Orleans to give testimony in Colonel Grosvenor's court martial. He was detained there until May 14. On his return to Ship Island, Sauvinet was shocked and dismayed to learn that his commissary-sergeant (P. Flemming) had committed suicide. Because of this a great amount of

33. Grosvenor Court Martial, May-June 1864, NA, RG 153.

business soon occurred. To add to Lieutenant Sauvinet's difficulties, communications with New Orleans were irregular and infrequent.[34]

3. Colonel Holmstedt Takes Command

Colonel Grosvenor would not rejoin the regiment. Upon his arrest, Colonel Hall had been recalled from Fort Pike and had resumed command of the regiment and the post. Hall remained on Ship Island until June 27, when Col. Ernest Holmstedt arrived at the island and relieved him.[35]

Holmstedt was a veteran soldier. The 32-year-old German emigre had been mustered in at Yorkville, New York, on June 6, 1861, as major of the 41st New York (the DeKalb) Volunteer Infantry. At that time, he wrote his name as Von Holmstedt, a habit he discontinued in February 1862, six months after his promotion to lieutenant colonel. From late March until late May 1862, he was on detached duty commanding the 54th New York Infantry. He rejoined the 41st in time to participate in the battle of Cross Keys, in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, on June 8. On April 22, 1863, Holmstedt resigned his commission.

On February 26, 1864, he reentered service as lieutenant colonel of the 4th Regiment, Corps de Afrique, then posted at Port Hudson. Then, on June 19, he was promoted colonel and ordered to Ship Island.[36]

K. The 2d Regiment, Corps de Afrique, is Redesignated and Reorganized as the 74th U.S. Colored Infantry

1. Regiment Redesignated

Three months before, on April 4, the 2d Regiment, Corps d'Afrique, in accordance with a new War Department program, had been

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34. Sauvinet to Meigs, Aug. 19, 1864, NA, RG 92, Consolidated Correspondence File.

35. Muster Rolls & Return for April-June 1864, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94.

36. Ernest Holmstedt's Compiled Service Records, NA, RG 94.

redesignated the 74th United States Colored Infantry.[37] This was done in accordance with the War Department's policy to standardize the nomenclature of the large number of black units that had been organized in the Departments of the Gulf and Tennessee. Henceforth, all troops of African descent were to be designated by number, and reported by the number as such-in-such regiment of United States Infantry (Colored), United States Cavalry (Colored), or United States Heavy Artillery (Colored).[38]

2. Consolidation of the 74th and 91st USCI

On July 24, 1864, to bring the regiment up to its authorized strength, it was consolidated with the 91st United States Colored Infantry, stationed at Fort Pike.[39] The companies of the 74th, as reorganized, were posted: F, G, H, I, and K on Ship Island; A, B, and C at Fort Pike; and D and E at Fort Macomb.

L. Three Companies See Combat on Mobile Point

Two weeks later, on August 5, Admiral Farragut's squadron fought its way by Fort Morgan and into Mobile Bay, where it defeated the Confederate flotilla, capturing the formidable ram Tennessee. Fort Gaines surrendered to the Federals on the 8th, and, on 9th, Union forces landed on Mobile Point. For details of the Mobile Bay Campaign, the reader is referred to Chapter IX of this study.

On August 14, to bolster the force besieging Fort Morgan, Maj. Gen. Edward R.S. Canby's New Orleans' headquarters ordered three companies of the 74th USCI to be sent from Ship Island to Mobile Point.

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37. Official Records, Series III, Vol. IV, pp. 214-15.

38. Ibid., pp. 164-65, 214-64.

39. GO 17, War Dept., July 7, 1864, Regimental Papers, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94.

Upon their arrival in Alabama, they were to report to Chief of Artillery Richard Arnold.[40]

Companies G, H, and I left Ship Island by boat for Mobile Point on the 20th. They landed on the Alabama coast later in the day. General Arnold employed the blacks in the siege operations which resulted in the capitulation of Fort Morgan on the 23d. Early in September, the three companies returned to Ship Island.[41]

The departure of the battalion for Mobile Point reduced the Ship Island garrison to Companies K and L. When he signed an inspection report for September 1, Colonel Holmstedt noted that eight companies, including the three at Mobile Point, were schooled in the use of siege guns. There were on hand, in the commissary-quartermaster storehouse, rations to last the 192 officers and men of the two companies then on Ship Island 100 days.[42]

M. Arming and Accoutreing the Regiment

In June, while Colonel Hall commanded the regiment, it was inspected by an officer from General Banks' headquarters. The unit, at this time, mustered 38 sergeants, 50 corporals, 16 musicians, 420 privates, and 1 artificer. The men, the inspector saw, were armed with obsolete rifle-muskets of both European and American manufacture. These weapons, though the 74th was currently assigned to garrison duty and guarding military convicts, were a problem, because ten had burst when fired.

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40. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXXIX, pt. II, p. 252.

41. Ibid., p. 337; Muster Rolls & Return for Aug. & Sept. 1864, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94.

42. Inspection Report for Sept. 1, 1864, of 74th USCT, RG 94. Companies A, B, and C were still stationed at Fort Pike and Companies D and E at Fort Macomb.

Colonel Hall explained that the regiment had been issued these weapons for drill purposes when organized in October 1862. They had been condemned by Lt. Col W. D. Smith, in mid-March 1864, and had been ordered turned in to the Chief of Ordnance, Department of the Gulf. But, before Colonel Grosvenor could follow-up on this, he had been placed under arrest and dismissed from the service.

Colonel Smith, upon reviewing the June 10 report, ordered the substandard firearms turned in, and new rifle-muskets issued to the 74th U.S. Colored Infantry, because if Ship Island were attacked, the blacks could offer but little resistance.[43]

In July, the obsolete firearms were turned in, and the regiment armed with caliber .57 Enfield rifle-muskets.

The next extant inspection returns are for December 31, 1864. As of that date, the island continued to be garrisoned by Companies F, G, H, I, and K, 74th USCI. In addition, the Army was responsible for providing subsistence and housing to 83 civilian employees of the Corps of Engineers engaged in construction of the Ship Island fort.[44]

A March 1, 1865, inspection of the regiment found the officers and men well instructed in the school of the soldier. Arms and equipment were in good condition; the quarters and barracks "generally good"; and the commissary-quartermaster storehouse "very good."

The Ship Island battalion was armed and accoutered:

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43. Inspection Report, June 10, 1864, 74th USCT, NA, RG 94.

44. Post Returns for Ship Island, Dec. 1864, NA, Microcopy M-617.

Companies	Enfield rifle-muskets	Sword bayonet scabbards	NCO's swords	Cartridge-boxes	Cartridge-box belts	Cap pouches	Wipers	Cone picks	Ball screws	Thumb screws	Bayonet scabbards	Waist belts	Gun slings	Sgts. & musicians waist belts	Sword shoulder belts
F	97	x	11	97	97	97	53	97	5	10	97	92	97	10	x
G	96	x	6	96	96	96	96	96	2	1	96	92	96	8	x
H	96	1	6	96	96	96	96	96	10	10	96	93	96	2	1
I	80	x	5	80	80	80	58	80	2	5	79	76	80	5	x
K	98	x	5	97	97	98	92	98	3	5	98	98	98	10	x[45]

45. Inspection of Arms & Accoutrements of 74th USCT for March 1868, NA, RG 94.

N. Transients Take a Dim View of the Island

In late December 1864, the 83d Ohio Infantry was transferred from Natchez to Pensacola by way of New Orleans. Disembarking in New Orleans, on the morning of December 30, the troops entrained at dusk on the Lake Ponchartrain Railroad for the ride to Lakeport. By midnight, the troops and their gear were aboard the steamship Alabama.

The next morning found the ship beyond the Rigolets and holding a course parallel to the Mississippi coast. About noon on the 31st, she lay-to off Ship Island, while freight and a few passengers were landed and taken aboard in small boats.

Pvt. Isaac Jackson of Company D spoke for many of the Ohioans when he wrote:

> This is the most desolate looking place I ever saw. Its nothing but a heap of sand surrounded by water, no vegetation on it whatever that I could see. I do not wonder at the "Government" for choosing this place for the punishment for the "evil workers." I should think it would be punishment enough for to confine a man there without "Hard Labor." That is generally the sentence of a soldier sent there for punishment.[46]

A second soldier in the regiment, Cpl. Frank R. McGregor of Company H, commented on the "pure white sand," which many believed to be a "heavy fall of snow, the chilly day keeping up the illusion." The military convicts, he learned, were housed in a large wooden barracks, and were employed in several workshops and as laborers on the brick fort. They were guarded by a battalion of blacks.

Among those sent ashore from Alabama were several Union soldiers, who had been convicted of crimes and sentenced to serve time in

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46. "Some of the Boys. . . ." The Civil War Letters of Isaac Jackson, 1862-65, edited by Joseph O. Jackson (Carbondale, Ill., 1960), pp. 231-32.

the Ship Island stockade, and some black women, the wives of soldiers stationed on the bleak island.[47]

Mid-afternoon found Alabama again underway, holding a course north of and parallel to first Ship and then Horn island. At dusk, she put in briefly at Pascagoula, before continuing on Pensacola.[48]

O. Soldiers Improve the Post

During the summer and early autumn of 1865, the soldiers built three barracks and six officers' quarters, with kitchens. These resulted in a marked improvement in the post's quality of life and Colonel Holmstedt urged that the 74th U.S. Colored Infantry be retained and given a role in the peacetime army.[49] Nothing, however, came of his suggestion, which was pigeonholed.

P. Men of the 74th Bid Ship Island Goodbye

1. Troops are Paid off and the Regiment Disbanded

By the autumn of 1865, most of the officers and men of the 74th USCI had been in the Army for three years, and their term of enlistment was about to expire. In addition, the United States, in the five months since the surrender of the Confederate armies, had been rapidly cutting back its military forces to a peacetime establishment in a rush to demobilize.

On October 20, Companies B, D, and E, 78th U.S. Colored Infantry (Maj. Rufus Paten commanding), reached Ship Island from Thidodoux, Louisiana, aboard the steamer Alice Vivian, and relieved the 74th U.S. Colored Infantry. Later in the day, Colonel Holmstedt and his

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47. Frank R. McGregor, Dearest Susie: A Civil War Infantryman's Letters to His Sweet Heart, edited by Carl E. Hatch (New York, 1971), pp. 103-04.

48. Ibid., pp. 104-05.

49. Holmstedt to Canby, Aug. 10, 1865, Holmstedt's Compiled Service Record, NA, RG 94.

officers and men boarded the vessel from which Paten's battalion had disembarked, and sailed for New Orleans. The regiment had been on Ship Island three months less than three years.[50]

Four days later, the War Department ordered the regiment mustered out of Federal service.[51]

2. Holmstedt Gives Some Gratuitous Advice

The officers and men were accordingly paid off and the regiment disbanded.

Four weeks later, on November 26, the New-Orleans Daily Times published a letter addressed by ex-Colonel Holmstedt to those of his former soldiers, who had once been slaves. They were asked to demonstrate that they knew how to appreciate the "freedom extended to you by a wise and liberal government."

After they had confidence in themselves, others would have confidence in them.

If they were to enjoy this freedom, they must not loiter but must "go to work and work hard and faithfully." What they now earned would belong to them, and it was only through their energy they could expect to enjoy its benefits.

They were urged not to loaf about the New Orleans street corners. Instead, they should seek employment, making such engagements with employers that they could abide by. Once they had done so, their word must be that of a man, and not gone back on.

If anyone offered to buy their vote, they were to "knock him down as a man who wishes you harm." They should await any

50. Post Returns for Ship Island, Oct. 1865, NA, Microcopy M-617.

51. Official Records, Series III, Vol. V, p. 158.

"further privileges the U.S. Government may grant you, at proper time," and not permit themselves to be deluded in taking the law into their hands.

The more intelligent and skillful must assist the less gifted in learning to enjoy the fruits and responsibilities of freedom.

All black veterans desirous of earning an honest living were to call on Colonel Holmstedt as a friend. In closing, he wrote, "Now, my good boys, let us shake hands and say adieu."[52]

In mid-December, Holmstedt announced in the Daily Times that he had opened an agency for planters, laborers, and emigrants at 219 Gravier, in association with C. F. Halder.

At the same time, Holmstedt advertised that several Confederate prisoners, while in his charge, had deposited money with him. By presenting themselves or forwarding proper receipts by mail, it would be promptly returned.[53]

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52. Holmstedt to Discharged Soldiers of the 74th USCT, Nov. 22, 1865, found in New-Orleans Daily Times, Nov. 26, 1865.

53. Ibid., Dec. 21, 1865.

IX. WARFARE ON THE SOUND DURING THE FINAL 27 MONTHS OF THE CONFLICT

A. The February 1863 Scare

On February 1, 1863, there was a spate of frantic activity at Ship Island. Early in the day, Kanawha, which had arrived the previous morning for emergency repairs to her boilers, departed the anchorage en route back to her station off Mobile Bay. In the afternoon, John P. Jackson returned from her station off Grant's Pass, towing the schooner Maria A. Wood. The withdrawal of these two vessels from the eastern approaches to Mississippi Sound had been dictated by a mechanical failure aboard Jackson, and an alarming story of a Confederate build-up of naval strength on Mobile Bay.

Reports had reached Commander Madigan aboard Vincennes that two of the ironclads the Rebels were said to be building at Selma had descended the Alabama River and had reinforced the three Mobile Bay gunboats--Morgan, Selma, and Gaines. Working parties were rumored to be removing the obstructions from Grant's Pass. As soon as this was accomplished, the Confederate squadron would debouch through the Pass, navigate Mississippi Sound, and attack New Orleans by way of Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain. To make matters worse, there had been trouble ashore, and Colonel Daniels had placed most of the Maine battalion under arrest.

Admiral Farragut, upon learning of the possible danger, contacted General Banks. To meet the crisis, the general promised to rush a regiment to reinforce the Ship Island garrison, while Farragut sent one or more gunboats into the sound.

Relaying this information to Commander Madigan on February 4, Farragut sought to reassure him by pointing out that there had never been more than 6 feet of water in Grant's Pass. As all the Rebel vessels were said to draw at least 8 feet, Farragut forecast that if they attacked, they would emulate their Galveston success by employing cotton-clads to board and capture John P. Jackson and any other Union vessels then operating in the sound.

Coincidentally, Farragut alerted Commodore Hitchcock that the vessels blockading Mobile Bay "must keep a lookout" for the foe "and follow them down as far as Ship Island to protect that place in case of attack."[1]

On the 5th, Farragut ordered Clifton, then anchored above Baton Rouge, to proceed to Mississippi Sound, where she was to assist J. P. Jackson in patroling those waters and to help defend Ship Island.[2] The next day, Farragut departed New Orleans in Hartford, en route to visit Ship Island, Pensacola, and the vessels blockading Mobile Bay. He wished to evaluate personally the threat and to satisfy himself that his commanders onsite understood the threat and how to cope with it.

Upon reaching the bar at the mouth of South West Pass, Farragut found the water very shoal. After waiting a day and a half, the captain sought to take Hartford across, but she grounded. There she remained for the next 36 hours. Then, just as the ship got over, a message was received from General Banks, stating that, in view of reports from Vicksburg indicating that Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's canal would succeed, Farragut should return to New Orleans. The admiral therefore abandoned his plan to visit Ship Island and ascended the river to New Orleans. Hartford again anchored off the Crescent City on the 12th.[3]

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1. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, pp. 599-601.

2. Ibid., pp. 536, 602. In January, Farragut had been forced to scotch orders for Clifton to reinforce the vessels blockading Galveston, because she was so unseaworthy that it was feared she would founder if compelled to remain at sea for lengthy periods.

3. Ibid., pp. 605-07.

General Banks, upon writing the War Department of plans to attack Port Hudson, had complained that "naval and water transportation here is lamentably deficient." At the same time, fears were expressed for the "safety of Ship Island," which could not be "defended, except as a naval post." The Army had done what it could to mount guns, and Banks hoped "it may be safe."[4]

The War Department voiced the opinion that the efficiency of the masonry fort, then under construction on Ship Island, could be increased by bricking in the embrasures and readying the parapets for defense by small-arms fire. "To take artillery to the island will only increase the temptation for attack by the enemy," the Department cautioned.[5]

By mid-February, Clifton had reached Ship Island, and Farragut was satisfied that she and J. P. Jackson were capable of coping with any Rebel cotton-clads that might sortie into the sound through Grant's Pass.[6]

Aboard Vincinnes, Commander Madigan kept cool and did not panic. All hands were turned out, and measures taken to insure the Rebels a hot reception. Within a few days, he notified Admiral Farragut that, he was confident, the Navy, in cooperation with Colonel Daniels' blacks, could hold Ship Island in face of a Confederate attack. Consequently, General Banks decided not to reinforce the garrison.[7]

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4. Ibid., pp. 610-11.

5. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 690.

6. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 613.

7. Ibid., p. 622.

In late February, Farragut, impressed by the way Commander Madigan had responded to the emergency, assigned him to command Owasco. Commander Adams of J. P. Jackson was to replace Madigan as master of Vincennes. This was an important trust, because it was vital to have an officer in command of Vincennes, "who is well acquainted with military management, so as to prepare for the defense of Ship Island." Acting Master W. D'Oyley would succeed to command of J. P. Jackson, and Lt. Frederick Crocker was to replace Lt. Comdr. R. L. Law as skipper of Clifton. These changes were effected aboard Vincennes and J. P. Jackson on March 6.[8]

Commodore Hitchcock, at this time, to guard against a surprise attack by Rebel gunboats, directed the captains of John P. Jackson and Clifton not "to anchor in the same place two nights in succession, and to move about in the daytime so as to watch" the entire sound "as much as possible." Currently, there were only two naval vessels at Ship Island--Vincennes and Relief. The latter had aboard beef and pork but no other provisions. In addition, there were several coalers and 700 tons of coal.[9]

Early in March, Commodore Hitchcock suggested that Relief be sent to New Orleans to secure a load of provisions to supply the vessels patroling Mississippi Sound and the few that occasionally called at Ship Island. Farragut was agreeable.[10]

Later that month, Commo. Henry W. Morris of Pensacola, whom Farragut had left in command at New Orleans while he attacked Port Hudson, was obliged to recall Clifton from Mississippi Sound. This move was dictated by the need to replace the gunboat Colonel Kinsman snagged

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8. Ibid.; Vincinnes & John P. Jackson Logs, March 1-6, 1863, NA, RG 24.

9. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 19, p. 622.

10. Ibid., p. 648.

and sunk in Berwick Bay. This again reduced the naval force on the sound to Vincennes at Ship Island and John P. Jackson near Grant's Pass.[11]

B. Business Picks up at the Ship Island Shop

1. "Brooklyn" Spends Three Weeks at the Facility

By April 1, 1863, the powerful warship Brooklyn, flagship of the force blockading the Texas coast, required a thorough caulking of her spardeck and hull, and extensive repairs to her boiler and machinery. Consequently, Commodore Bell placed Comdr. J. R. M. Mullany in charge of the vessels off Galveston and sailed for New Orleans. When Brooklyn grounded and was unable to cross the South West Pass bar, she continued on to the Pensacola Navy Yard. The yard, Bell found, would be able to caulk his ship but could not undertake repair of the engines and boilers, because the machine shop was still at Ship Island.[12]

The caulking was completed by the morning of the 22d, and Brooklyn put to sea at 5:30 A.M. She hove to off Mobile Bay at noon to enable Commodore Bell to communicate with the senior officer present--Capt. John R. Goldsborough. She then continued on to Ship Island, dropping anchor in the anchorage at 8 P.M. Moored nearby were Vincennes, John P. Jackson, and Relief.[13]

Because of the small number of machinists (there were only 2 boilermakers) on duty in the shop work dragged. By May 15, when Brooklyn sailed for South West Pass, where she was to rendezvous with a

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11. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 20, p. 131.

12. Ibid., pp. 143-44, 755-56.

13. Ibid., pp. 158, 756. On blockade duty off Mobile Bay, Bell identified: Colorado, Pocahontas, Kanawha, Aroostook, Kennebec, Pinola, Pembina, R. R. Cuyler, and Lackawanna. Goldsborough captained Colorado. Commodore Hitchcock had departed the Gulf Frontier aboard Susquehanna, on April 17, bound for the New York Navy Yard.

supply vessel, only the most pressing repairs had been made to her boilers. Her return to her station off Galveston, however, could not be delayed longer because the gunboats Pinola, Pembina, and Pocahontas required major repairs to their boilers and machinery. If this could not be effected at Ship Island, they must come to New Orleans, which would take them much farther from their station off Mobile Bay.[14]

2. Commander Adams Outfits a Schooner

In late April, Commander Adams of Vincennes, apprised that an extensive trade in contraband was being carried out between New Orleans and the sound villages, fitted out a schooner and sent her to break up this commerce. She soon captured two small craft, both of which had been first abandoned by their crews.[15]

3. Facility Supports the Mobile Bay Blockaders

On May 20, Admiral Farragut, who after an exciting and adventureous ten weeks on the Mississippi between Port Hudson and Vicksburg, authorized Captain Goldsborough to send one vessel at a time from her station off Mobile Bay to Ship Island for necessary repairs. To expedite the work and thereby limit the time the vessels were off station, additional mechanics were sent from New Orleans to beef up the Ship Island machine shop force.[16]

Soon thereafter, Commander Adams established a revised set of rules and regulations for the Ship Island machine shop.[17]

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14. Ibid., pp. 158, 170, 180, 182, 195.

15. Ibid., p. 166.

16. Ibid., p. 202.

17. Ibid., p. 370.

C. Navy Guards the Mississippi and Alabama Gulf Coasts to Prevent Diversions in Favor of the Vicksburg and Port Hudson Garrisons

1. Farragut Alerts the Sound Gunboats and the Mobile Bay Blockaders

Coincidentally, Admiral Farragut issued orders recalling Clifton from Berwick Bay and directing her return to Mississippi Sound, where her captain was to report to Commander Adams.[18] Should the Rebel Mobile Squadron, now commanded by that old sea dog Franklin Buchanan, move against Ship Island by way of Grant's Pass, Captain Goldsborough was to "bag him if he gets out," and not let him return to Mobile Bay.[19]

Subsequently, Farragut reversed himself and authorized Captain Goldsborough to allow the gunboats Pembina, Pocahontas, Kanawha, Kennebec, and R. R. Cuyler to proceed to Atlantic seacoast navy yards for repairs and to permit their crews to enjoy brief rest and recuperation leaves.[20]

In late May, the Federals rejected a request by Admiral Buchanan to send a steamer(s) to Pascagoula, covered by a flag of truce, to bring out from Mobile foreign nationals desirous of being repatriated to their homelands. Farragut suspected that this was a ruse on the Rebels' part to probe the depth of waters in Mississippi Sound beyond Grant's Pass, to see if they could be navigated by Buchanan's ironclads.[21]

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18. Ibid., p. 202.

19. Ibid., p. 206.

20. Ibid., pp. 282, 318-19. R. R. Cuyler was to put in at the Philadelphia Navy Yard and Pembina at the New York facility. In May and June, a number of residents of New Orleans were exiled from that city by the Federal authorities. Most of these people made their way to Mobile by way of East Pascagoula. William M. M. Robinson, The Confederate Privateers (New Haven, 1928); Mrs. John Dimitry," A Woman in the Sixties," MJS, Archives.

21. Official Record--Navies, Series I, Vol. 20, pp. 275, 284.

2. Commander Adams Tightens the Sound Blockade

The Federals, with Port Hudson and Vicksburg under siege, in June and July moved to tightened their blockade of Mississippi Sound. On June 25, a small-boat expedition (two craft each from Vincennes, Relief, and Clifton), accompanied by the schooner Sam Houston, descended on Bay St. Louis in search of two armed launches the Rebels were said to have outfitted. The Yankees returned to Ship Island the next day without sighting their quarry.[22]

In the second week of July, Commander Adams learned from refugees that the two will-o'-the-wisp launches were secreted up the Pascagoula. He accordingly sent Acting-Master J. R. Hamilton and 32 sailors, armed to the teeth, aboard the schooner Emma. Their mission was to surprise and capture the launches. Alerted to the Yankees' plans, the Confederates were gone when the bluejackets arrived. In an effort to track down and destroy the launches, Adams next called for reinforcements to outfit a light-draft schooner.

A small-boat expedition from Clifton, in mid-July, boarded the barge H. McGuin out of New Orleans, when they found her trading with the enemy in Bay St. Louis.[23]

D. Farragut Takes a Five-Month Leave

1. The July 1863 Reorganization

On July 4, Vicksburg surrendered to forces led by General Grant, and, on the 9th, the Port Hudson Confederates laid down their arms, and the last Rebel stronghold on the Mississippi was occupied by General Banks' veterans. Accordingly, at the beginning of the fourth week of July, Admiral Farragut prepared to transfer to Rear Admiral

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22. Vincennes Log, June 24-30, 1863, NA, RG 24.

23. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 20, pp. 387-8, 399, p. 405. Among the Confederate officers posted in the Biloxi area was Commander Adams' brother, C.A. Adams. In August, Commander Adams visited Mississippi on a flag-of-truce mission, having taken passage across the sound on the schooner, Sam Houston. While there he met and chatted with his brother. Ibid., pp. 602-03.

David D. Porter's Mississippi Squadron, based on Mound City and Cairo, Illinois, responsibility for "surveillance" of those reaches of the great river above New Orleans formerly the operating area of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron. Such action would result in withdrawal from the Mississippi of most of the vessels of Farragut's ocean-going squadron. The steamer Commodore, building and outfitting at New Orleans, was to be sent into Lake Pontchartrain and the veteran gunboat Calhoun to Mississippi Sound.

Coal and stores stockpiled at New Orleans were to be transshipped principally to Pensacola and the machinery from the New Orleans shop to Ship Island. Subsequently, Farragut reversed his decision regarding the machinery.[24] It, too, was to go to Pensacola.

2. Farragut's Tour

Preparatory to effecting the necessary transfers and to proceeding to his Hudson River home for a well-earned furlough, Farragut made hurried visits to Ship Island, Pensacola, and the vessels blockading Mobile Bay. He left New Orleans in the fast steamer Tennessee early on the 23d, spent the night in Ship Island Anchorage, and continued to Pensacola. Accompanied by the gunboat Katahdin, Tennessee returned to the anchorage at 4:45 P.M., on the 27th. After boarding and inspecting Vincennes, Farragut returned to Tennessee and sailed for the Crescent City at dusk. Katahdin put to sea, preparatory to resuming her station off Mobile Bay, at midnight.

Farragut, during his rapid tour, found Colorado, Lackawanna, and Vincennes in good order and commended Commander Adams on the "high state of exercise and drill of Vincennes' crew."

Commodore Morris was being invalided home, so Commodore Bell, as next senior officer, would command the squadron during Farragut's absence. Before sailing from New Orleans for New York City aboard Hartford, on August 1, Farragut addressed several communications

24. Ibid., p. 405, 425.

to Bell, briefing him on the situation. Bell, upon reaching the Mississippi from the Texas coast, was to take Pensacola as his flagship. As soon as Commodore as outfitted and manned, Bell was to put two or three boats in the sound and Lake Pontchartrain and break up the smuggling in that quarter.[25]

E. August 1863 Panic

Commodore Bell reached New Orleans aboard Albatross, on August 4. He had barely settled into his quarters aboard Pensacola before he was confronted by a presumed crisis. He was handed a message from General Banks reading, "I hear through many sources that the enemy at Mobile intends making a sudden and vigorous attack on Ship Island." To cope with this threat, Banks had ordered the garrison reinforced by two regiments. The general hoped that the Navy will "lend us such aid in that quarter as may be in your power."[26]

Responding, Bell promised to bolster the vessels guarding the sound, and within two to three days have two small vessels on Lake Pontchartrain. To reassure Banks, Bell added, "We shall meet them in the Sound and defeat them if they come."[27]

To implement his brave words, Bell ordered the gunboats Genesee and Estrella, then at New Orleans, to hasten to Ship Island and report to and cooperate with Commander Adams.[28] Instructions were forwarded to the senior officer off Mobile Bay, briefing him as to what had happened, and "suggesting" that he send into "Mississippi Sound such light-draft steamers" as might be available."[29]

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25. Ibid., pp. 423-26, 775; Vincennes Log, July 15-31, 1863, NA, RG 24. Richmond, like Hartford, a veteran of the arduous river campaign, had sailed for the Brooklyn Navy Yard, on the next to last day of July.

26. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 20, p. 434.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., 435.

29. Ibid., pp. 535-36.

The senior officer off Mobile Bay, Capt. John P. Gillis of Ossipee, responded with alacrity. The 90-day gunboat Kennbec rushed to Ship Island.

Gillis, however, believed the danger exaggerated, because refugees had told him that "Grant's Pass is closed tight," with not more than 3 feet of water over the bar. If there were any substance to the rumored attack, Gillis wrote Bell, it must involve a 25-mile advance by the Mobile Confederates, via the Shell road to East Pascagoula, and then in boats to Ship Island. Even if successful, he added, a Confederate occupation of Ship Island must be brief in face of the North's naval power.[30]

On the 8th, Commodore Bell, not wishing to hazard a setback, ordered Calhoun to proceed immediately to the sound. Upon her arrival from New Orleans, Calhoun, being an efficient ram, was to reinforce John P. Jackson off Grant's Pass. Genesee and Estrella were to cruise the waters of the sound and Lake Pontchartrain, breaking "up the contraband trade and blockade running" by the oyster boats.[31]

Meanwhile, on August 5, General Banks had taken measures to increase the Ship Island garrison. General Emory, now commanding the defenses of New Orleans, was directed to rush two regiments to the point of danger. The 24th Connecticut left New Orleans' Jackson Street wharf the next morning aboard Crescent and landed on Ship Island on the 7th.[32] They were followed within 48 hours by a second regiment.

The naval reinforcements reached the sound ahead of the army. Genesee and Kennebec arrived in the anchorage on the evening of the

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30. Ibid., p. 437. Captain Goldsborough had been sent to Pensacola for hospitalization.

31. Ibid., p. 440.

32. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, pt. I, p. 671; Vincennes Log, Aug. 7, 1863, NA, RG 24.

6th, and Estrella the next morning. Satisfied that he had sufficient force available to meet the crisis, Commander Adams released Kennebec to return to her blockade station. Calhoun appeared in the sound on the 13th, joining John P. Jackson off Grant's Pass. Four days before, on the 9th, the storeship Relief, which had been at Ship Island for nearly a year, hoisted anchor and sailed for the North.[33]

By August 17, Captain Goldsborough, having returned to duty, assured Commodore Bell and General Banks that their fears for the security of Ship Island were groundless. His Mobile sources (refugees and deserters) reported not more than 2,000 troops in the city; that Buchanan did not have enough personnel to man his ironclads; and Grant's Pass was closed up by silt.[34]

Bell was glad to hear this, but, he cautioned Goldsborough, "not to feel too secure, but to keep on the alert both in the sound and off the bar."[35]

Admiral Farragut, then enjoying himself with his family at Hastings-on-the-Hudson, was surprised to learn that General Banks had feared an attack on Ship Island. When Farragut had visited the island, in late July, he had found Commander Adams and his people were prepared and "spoiling for a fight." Vincennes was "in fine order and in perfect drill; in such an attack Buchanan would have everything to lose and nothing to gain."[36]

General Banks, satisfied that he had been hoodwinked, recalled the two regiments rushed to Ship Island as reinforcements for the

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33. Vincennes and John P. Jackson Logs, Aug. 1-15, 1863, NA, RG 24.

34. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 20, pp. 468-69.

35. Ibid., p. 470.

36. Ibid., p. 490.

garrison--the 2d Regiment, Corps de Afrique. On September 9, the 24th Connecticut returned to New Orleans on Zephyr.

By August 26, Commodore had been outfitted and manned, and she sailed from New Orleans for Lake Ponchartrain by way of Ship Island. Upon her arrival on the lake, her captain was to bend his energy toward breaking up blockade running by small craft.

On the 26th, Vincennes got a new captain, her third since her arrival at Ship Island eleven months before. He was Lt. Comdr. Charles H. Greene. Upon being relieved, Commander Adams departed for Philadelphia aboard the first available transportation.[37]

F. Navy Becomes More Aggressive

1. Commander Macomb Takes Command of the Ship Island Station

Comdr. William H. Macomb of Genesee, as senior officer, assumed charge of the Ship Island station. An aggressive man, he stepped up operations on the sound. On August 24, Genesee and John P. Jackson closed with and engaged the Rebel batteries on Shell Bank. Before withdrawing, the Yankees drove off a Rebel steamer anchored east of the spiles. J. P. Jackson was compelled to return to Ship Island at the end of the month to coal and have her boilers repaired.

On September 3, a small-boat expedition aboard the schooner Sally Ann was sent out and returned 48 hours later, having captured a sloop and 9 prisoners. Coincidentally, Calhoun picked up 13 deserters from the Confederate gunboat Selma.[38]

37. Vincennes Log, Aug. 22-Sept. 9, 1863, NA, RG 24.

38. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 20, p. 480; John P. Jackson Log, Aug. 20-31, 1863, NA, RG 24.

2. Yankees Score a Double Success

On September 12, the Federals scored a major success against blockade running in and out of Mobile Bay. As Genesee was returning to the sound by way of Horn Island Pass to communicate with J. P. Jackson and Calhoun, her lookouts sighted a steamer headed east for Pascagoula at forced draft. The trio of gunboats gave chase and pressed the stranger so hard that her captain and crew set her afire and escaped ashore. While the craft burned, J. P. Jackson cast loose one of her guns and opened fire on some Rebel soldiers who had raced to the wharf. Genesee followed suit. On seeing that a number of women and children had gathered on the beach to watch the excitement, the tars ceased fire.

At 9:50 P.M., Commander Macomb sent a party ashore. There, they learned the identity of the vessel which soon burned to the waterline. She was the steamer Fanny (formerly Fox) bound from La Habana with a general cargo. Coincidentally, a second blockade runner, Alabama was pursued and captured by the powerful steam screw frigate San Jacinto off the Chandeleurs.

Maj. Gen. Dabney H. Maury, the Confederate Mobile commander, on reporting the losses, sadly noted, "The two boats deposited in Havana 450 bales of cotton, which sold at 36 cents. They may be regarded as the last of the blockade runners, as they were the best of them."[39]

3. Gunboats Bombard the Shell Bank Fort

Getting underway on the morning of the 13th, Genesee, Calhoun, and J. P. Jackson engaged the Grant's Pass battery in a

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39. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 20, pp. 483-86; Vincennes and John P. Jackson Logs, Sept. 9-14, 1863. San Jacinto and her prize put in at Ship Island on the 13th and sailed the next day. Grant's Pass was named for John Grant, a Gulf Coast businessman. Grant, who had extensive transportation interests, had deepened by dredging the channel connecting Mobile Bay and Mississippi Sound, thus facilitating communication between New Orleans and Mobile by steam packets. Grant was a Unionist.

spirited duel, driving a Confederate steamer from her nearby anchorage. When the bombardment ceased and the gunboats withdrew, Calhoun returned to Ship Island to have two boiler leaks repaired.

On the 15th, Genesee, having followed Calhoun into the Ship Island Anchorage on the 14th, got underway, crossed the sound, and anchored off Biloxi. Several boats were sighted ashore, and Commander Macomb dispatched a small boat party to destroy them. At 4 P.M., the party returned and reported that they had been shot at by Rebel soldiers. Although none of the bluejackets had been injured, Macomb, as a reprisal, had his sailors cast-loose their 100-pounder Parrott and fire six shells at the house from which the sailors had been fired on. Genesee then returned to Ship Island.[40]

Soon thereafter, John P. Jackson was ordered from the sound to Berwick Bay to bolster the blockaders in that area.[41] The transfer of the vessel, which had seen long-service on the sound, was seemingly mandated by capture of the gunboats Clifton and Sachem by the foe at Sabine Pass, on September 8. But, on second thought, Commodore Bell decided to retain J. P. Jackson on the sound, where her people were familiar with every shoal and indentation of the Mississippi coast.

G. Yellow Fever Plagues the Navy

The West Gulf Blockading Squadron now encountered a more fearful foe than any Confederate power afloat--the dreaded yellow jack. In late August, yellow fever appeared aboard Colorado and at Pensacola. The big steam frigate was placed under quarantine and directed to be supplied with provisions and coal while at sea blockading the approaches to Mobile Bay. She was to be victualed and coaled by vessels operating

40. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 20, pp. 584-86.

41. Ibid., p. 589.

from the Ship Island Anchorage. To facilitate this undertaking, Captain Goldsborough ordered the coaler Enterprise to Ship Island.[42]

The Navy Department, upon learning of the outbreak of yellow fever, ordered Richmond, then being refitted at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, to return to the Gulf Coast and relieve Colorado. The latter would then proceed to Portland, Maine.[43]

Meanwhile, yellow jack had appeared aboard three of the vessels (the flagship Pensacola, the tug Hollyhock, and the storeship Fearnot) laying to at New Orleans.[44]

By October 3, the fever aboard Colorado and the vessels lying in the river was seemingly under control. No new cases had been reported for several days. Consequently, there was now no reason to send Colorado to a northern latitude. In addition, Commo. Henry K. Thatcher had arrived from the North and had assumed command of the Mobile blockade. To supply Thatcher's vessels with coal, Commodore Bell had 1,100 tons transshipped from New Orleans to Ship Island.[45]

The reports that the fever was under control were optimistic. Men were stricken on several other vessels, both lying in the river off New Orleans and on blockade off Mobile Bay. It was early November, following the advent of cooler weather, before the situation improved and Commodore Bell lifted the quarantine.[46]

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42. Ibid., pp. 504-05, 582-83. The plague had been introduced to the ship and the Pensacola Navy Yard by the crew of the chartered schooner Enchantress, which had recently delivered stores to both Colorado and the navy yard. Ibid., pp. 509-10.

43. Ibid., pp. 600-01.

44. Ibid., pp. 603-04.

45. Ibid., pp. 609, 617.

46. Ibid., p. 665.

H. Gunboats Continue to Guard Grant's Pass, Patrol the Sound, and Raid Coastal Settlements

Some four weeks before, on October 3, Bell had written Commodore Thatcher, soon after the latter had reported, that Genesee belonged outside the sound and had been sent inside to meet the threat of a raid on Ship Island. It was essential, Bell cautioned, that John P. Jackson and Calhoun be kept in the sound and in sight of Grant's Pass.[47]

Genesee had departed the sound by October 12, when she and other vessels watching the entrance to Mobile Bay participated in the destruction of a blockade runner within range of Fort Morgan's guns.[48]

On October 15, Commodore and Corypheus entered Mississippi Sound from Lake Pontchartrain. Taking position in Bay St. Louis, they sent ashore in small boats a raiding party, which captured and burned a large tannery, working on contracts for the Confederate army. The raiders then reembarked and returned to Fort Pike.[49]

On October 21, Calhoun overhauled, searched, and seized the schooner Syrena out of Biloxi bound for Pascagoula and, on the 24th, John P. Jackson boarded and captured the schooner Alice McGuigin of New Orleans, soon after she debouched from the Pascagoula River. Although the masters of these vessels had passes signed by General Banks, they had not been cosigned by Commadore Bell, as required in the memorandum of understanding reached by Admiral Farragut with the Army before his departure from the Gulf Frontier.[50]

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47. Ibid., p. 610.

48. Ibid., pp. 623-24.

49. Ibid., pp. 630-31.

50. Ibid., 635-36, 639-40.

1. Ship Island Continues to Serve as a Coaling Depot and Secondary Repair Facility

During the autumn of 1863, the Ship Island Anchorage continued to serve as a coaling depot for vessels operating on the sound and, until the end of the Pensacola quarantine, for those blockading Mobile Bay. Although most squadron vessels assigned to guard the approaches to Mobile proceeded to New Orleans, when in need of repairs, a few still put in at Ship Island. Onieda was in the anchorage from October 27 to November 4 and Kanawha from November 6 to 13. Coincidentally, nine vessels (Lackawanna, Genesee, Penguin, Tennessee, Pinola, Aroostook, Antona, Sciota, Princess Royal, and Estrella) were laid-up at New Orleans undergoing repairs. This documents that Farragut's decision to transfer the shops from the Crescent City to Ship Island and Pensacola had not been implemented in the months following his departure from the Gulf Frontier.[51]

Richmond, refitted and her crew recruited, rejoined the West Gulf Blockading Squadron in the first week of the new year. She relieved Colorado off Mobile Bay, and her captain, Thornton A. Jenkins, assumed from Commodore Thatcher responsibility for enforcing the blockade of Mobile Bay and adjacent waters. In addition to the vessels operating in the Gulf, Jenkins would be responsible for the activities of the two Mississippi Sound gunboats--John P. Jackson and Calhoun--and the sloop Vincennes, which continued to guard the Ship Island Anchorage.[52]

Jenkins was to manage the coaling of his vessels, so that no two blockaders would run short of coal at the same time. Two fleet coalers, at heavy expense, were maintained at Ship Island for this purpose, as well as to supply the two gunboats prowling the sound.[53]

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51. Ibid., p. 671; Vincennes Log, Oct. 15-Dec. 1, 1863, NA, RG 24.

52. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 21, pp. 5-6.

53. Ibid., p. 12.

Port Royal, one of the double-enders, lost her smokestack and spent several days in early January at Ship Island, having it reset, where she was joined by Pinola, which put in for coal.[54]

J. Farragut Returns and Resumes Command of the Squadron

Admiral Farragut, who had sailed from the Brooklyn Navy Yard in Hartford, on January 5, arrived in Pensacola Bay on the 17th. There, he was told that Union forces on the Gulf Frontier were alarmed about coping with Tennessee, the latest Confederate effort to build and outfit an invincible warship. According to reports reaching the Federals, Rebel Admiral Buchanan had boasted that Tennessee was superior to Virginia (Merrimack). With Tennessee and the other vessels of his squadron, it was feared that Buchanan would "raise the blockade of Mobile."

To meet this threat, Farragut called upon the Department to reinforce the West Gulf Blockading Squadron with several monitor class vessels. He also planned to visit the Mobile blockaders, touch at Ship Island, and go to New Orleans to make an on-the-spot assessment of the situation and Union capabilities of meeting this challenge.[55]

Off Mobile Bay, on the 20th, Farragut learned from Captain Jenkins that the Confederates had been unable to get Tennessee across Dog River Bar. Their first attempt to do so through employing camels had failed. They were said to be busy enlarging the camels. This made the situation less urgent.

To beat the Confederates to the punch, Farragut again called on the Department for ironclads and the return to his squadron of Brooklyn, then undergoing major repairs at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Indeed, what he had seen on a close-in reconnaissance of the approaches to Mobile Bay led Farragut to conclude that if he had a monitor, he could "destroy their whole force in the bay and reduce the forts at my leisure."[56]

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54. Ibid., pp. 21, 28.

55. Ibid., pp. 39-40, 796.

56. Ibid., pp. 45, 52-53.

On January 22, Hartford reached New Orleans and Farragut formally resumed command of the squadron from Commodore Bell.[57]

K. Fleet Moves Against Fort Powell

1. The Bombardment Opens

Farragut completed his business at the Crescent City and returned to Pensacola Bay in the second week of February. His return to the navy yard was dictated by the need to organize a bombardment of Fort Powell, as the Rebels had designated the Shell Bank work guarding the Grant's Pass entrance into Mobile Bay. This demonstration was calculated to arouse Confederate concerns for the security of Mobile and prevent General Maury from rushing troops up the Mobile & Ohio Railroad to oppose the march eastward from Vicksburg to Meridian of the Union columns commanded by Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman.

Orders were given to ready the six mortar schooners, then laid-up at the Pensacola Yard, for service in Mississippi Sound. Accompanied by Octorara, the schooners entered the sound by way of Horn Island Pass on the 15th.[58] There, they rendezvoused with John P. Jackson, Calhoun, and Sebago. The latter, a sidewheel gunboat, had been sent into the sound the previous afternoon. On the morning of the 16th, the schooners were towed into position, some 4,000 yards from Fort Powell, and at 9:30 the bombardment began. The gunboats, reinforced during the day by, Port Royal, employed their long-range rifled guns, while the schooners' XIII-inch mortars lofted 200-pound projectiles toward the Rebel fort.

2. Farragut Arrives on the Sound

Foul weather closed in early on the 17th, and the Confederates were given a five-day respite, as the Yankees towed the

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57. Ibid., p. 53.

58. The schooners involved were: Sea Foam, John Griffith, Orvetta, Sarah Bruen, Henry Jones, and O. H. Lee.

schooners out of range, and the gunboats J. P. Jackson and Calhoun returned to Ship Island. On the 18th, the flagship Hartford arrived in Ship Island Anchorage. The skies finally cleared, and, on the morning of the 22d, Admiral Farragut and his staff boarded Calhoun. At 9:30, Calhoun hoisted her anchor and, getting underway, proceeded up the sound.[59]

The next morning the bombardment resumed. Capt. Percival Drayton of Hartford, who had accompanied Farragut, was unimpressed. Writing a friend, on the 24th, he noted:

> We are hammering away at the fort here, which minds us about as much as if we did not fire . . . for the men skedaddle as soon as the fire is at all brisk, although they will keep up anything like a fair fight, as they did with me for two hours yesterday in the Orvetta.[60]

Ammunition running short and the weather becoming thick, Farragut suspended the bombarded on the evening of the 26th. Then, late on the afternoon of the 29th, Calhoun returned to Ship Island, and Farragut and his staff reboarded Hartford. On doing so, the admiral dashed off a letter to Secretary of the Navy Welles, reporting that the naval shell fire had made "little impression" on Fort Powell," as they could not approach nearer than 4,000 yards, because of the mud flats. Although she drew less than 9 feet, Calhoun had grounded on the 25th, and it required two steamers and a surging flood tide to refloat her.[61]

The last day of February found Farragut and his suite again on Calhoun and anchored off Dauphin Island. At 10 A.M., the

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59. Ibid., pp. 98, 100, 102; Vincennes Log, Feb. 18-22, 1864, NA, RG 24.

60. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 21, p. 95.

61. Ibid., pp. 81, 96, 100-101. A reserve supply of XIII-inch mortar shells had been sent to Ship Island from New Orleans.

bombardment was resumed. The Confederates replied with five big 100-pounders and scored four hits on John Griffiths, before their guns fell silent. At the 25th round, John P. Jackson's 6-inch Sawyer burst, wounding seven gunners. Admiral Farragut and Captain Drayton boarded the gunboat to inspect the damage and to comfort the injured. At dusk, the guns and mortars were muted, and the six schooners made sail and stood to the westward, anchoring well beyond the range of Fort Powell over which the Rebel flag still flew.[62]

3. Case of Mistaken Identity

Soon after daybreak on March 1, Farragut, as he studied Fort Powell through his glass, made out three gunboats and two ironclads lying nearby. Some 60 minutes later, he saw a powerful vessel, which he assumed to be Tennessee, coming down the bay. The wind freshened and the newcomer anchored. Whereupon, Farragut and his staff transferred from Calhoun to Glasgow and returned to Ship Island. There, they reboarded Hartford. By this hour a gale was blowing.

Farragut promptly communicated this grim news to Captain Jenkins and the Navy Department. The latter was informed that all the vessels engaged in the Fort Powell bombardment, except John P. Jackson and Calhoun, would be withdrawn from the sound. Secretary Welles was advised that it would now be difficult for us "to take Mobile with our wooden vessels."[63]

On the morning of March 3, the wind abated and Hartford departed the anchorage. After communicating with Captain Jenkins off Mobile Bay, Farragut continued on to Pensacola Bay. There, on the 9th, he was delighted to learn that his eyes had been deceived. The vessel

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62. Ibid., pp. 97, 99, 101-103.

63. Ibid., pp. 97-8, 101, 121. Sebago had rejoined the force off Mobile Bay on the 22d, while Port Royal was sent to Pensacola to coal on March 1.

observed on the 1st was not Tennessee, because she was still at a Mobile wharf, the camels alongside, and the Rebels doubtful of when they could get her over Dog River Bar.[64]

L. Utility of the Ship Island Facilities is Challenged

Meanwhile, the Ship Island machine shop had come under fire. On February 14, Captain Jenkins complained to Commander Greene of the "very tardy manner in which orders for work" there have been "executed invariably," resulting in "great inconvenience" to the Mobile blockaders. Greene was to provide Jenkins with a roster of the shop's employees, their trades, and rates of pay. He was also to transmit "an abstract statement of labor and material and cost of each" of the various projects undertaken at the shop since January 8.[65]

If Commander Greene submitted the requested report, the editors of the Official Records-Navies were unable to find it. Our search in pertinent record groups at National Archives was equally unrewarding.[66]

Upon his return to Pensacola Bay from Ship Island, Admiral Farragut inspected the navy yard machine shop. He found some improvement in its operations during the past three weeks, but its ability to perform certain work was handicapped by lack of tools. He could not transfer any more tools from the Ship Island facility, because the few still there were required for repair of the vessels operating on Mississippi Sound.[67]

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64. Ibid., p. 130.

65. Ibid., pp. 81-2.

66. Records of the Bureau of Yards & Docks, NA, RG 71.

67. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 21, pp. 126-27.

Replying, the Bureau of Yards & Docks informed Farragut that with the machine shops at Ship Island, New Orleans, and Pensacola, he should experience no difficulty in promptly effecting necessary repairs to the squadron's vessels.[68]

Farragut, in answering the Bureau's communcation, pointed out that, at the Pensacola yard, we have a "fine depot of everything we need, except the appliances for repair." As for the Ship Island shop, it serviced the vessels that were unable to leave the sound, because of "worn-out machinery, boilers, or hulls." These steamers, which Farragut termed "lame ducks," required constant patching and repairs.

The Ship Island shop was a small but necessary affair. In the near future, its staff would be further reduced by transfer of personnel to Pensacola.

Coaling facilities were likewise necessary at the island for the vessels operating on the sound and in the lakes. Even so, the anchorage was a rough place to lay-to when winds were from the north. During his recent stay there, Farragut had not gone ashore, because he had no desire to get drenched.[69]

M. New Team of Gunboats and Armed Tug Patrol the Sound

In the third week of March, because of damage to their hulls wrought by teredoes, it became necessary to withdraw John P. Jackson and Calhoun from the sound and send them to New Orleans for extensive repairs to their bottoms. To take their places watching the side door to Mobile Bay, the double-ender Metacomet and the sidewheeler Cowslip entered the sound. Lt. Comdr. James E. Jouett of the latter was to arrange for the early return of the six mortar schooners from the sound

68. Chief of Bureau of Yards & Docks to Farragut, Feb. 17, 1864, NA, RG 71, Ltrs. Sent, Y & D.

69. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 21, pp. 147-48.

to Pensacola Bay. Since suspension of the Fort Powell bombardment, the schooners had been moored near Horn Island Pass.[70]

Metacomet did not remain in the sound more than several days. A gale came up, on the 23d, and Commander Jouett, fearing for the safety of his double-ender, abandoned his station off Grant's Pass and took his vessel to sea. Incensed by what he deemed a dereliction of duty, Captain Jenkins sent Genesee into the storm-tossed sound.[71]

In mid-April, the armed tug Narcissus and the gunboat Sebago joined Cowslip in the sound, Genesee having been recalled. During one six-day period, Cowslip overhauled and captured a sloop bound from Mobile to Biloxi with a cargo of corn and meal; captured a sailboat off Pascagoula manned by 5 Confederates, 3 of whom were soldiers; sought to capture 4 mules on the beach but had to shoot them; received on board from Sebago 3 Rebel soldiers and 4 civilians intercepted while attempting to run the blockade; made fast to the Mississippi City wharf to enable the captain to communicate with the enemy under a flag of truce; and put in at Ship Island to send the prisoners aboard Vincennes.[72]

On May 2, Admiral Farragut, learning that Cowslip and Narcissus were communicating with the Rebels and firing upon "harmless people on the shores," expressed dismay. Their captains were advised that "there are a great many Union people on that coast, and you should have good reasons for firing upon those who do not fire upon you."[73]

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70. Ibid., pp. 137, 142, 146, 152. Metacomet and Cowslip were new arrivals on the Gulf Frontier. The mortar schooners departed the sound on the 26th.

71. Ibid., pp. 153-55.

72. Ibid., pp. 188, 791-92. Two of Admiral Farragut's sisters--Mrs. Nancy Farragut Gurlie and Mrs. Elizabeth Farragut DuPont--lived at Pasagoula. They had written their brother, telling of the hardships and suffering caused by the blockaders.

73. Ibid., p. 238.

N. Farragut Campaigns for an Early Attack on Mobile Bay and Buchanan's Squadron

1. "Tennessee" Finally Crosses Dog River Bar

The Confederates finally succeeded in floating Tennessee across Dog River Bar at the end of the third week of May. And, on the 24th, Admiral Farragut from Metacomet, which took him close inshore, got a "good look" at her. She flew Admiral Buchanan's blue flag and was armed, according to deserters, with four 7-inch Brooke rifles and two 10-inch columbiads.

Forwarding this news to Secretary of the Navy Welles, Farragut boldly announced that, if given 3,000 soldiers to put ashore on Mobile Point and Dauphin Island and one or two ironclads, he would enter Mobile Bay with his squadron and attack Buchanan's fleet.[74]

2. Farragut Reinforces His Force on the Sound

In May, the Federals increased their force on the sound. The tug Buckthorn arrived from New York City and was sent into the inland waterway, while Port Royal and Sebago alternated stations between the Mobile blockade and the sound. To provide coal, the bark Bohio joined Vincennes in Ship Island Anchorage.

On June 1, a small-boat expedition led by Lt. Comdr. William E. Fitzhugh of Sebago entered Biloxi Bay. During the next 72 hours, the bluejackets destroyed 4 salt works, 6 large sloop boats and 3 flatboats, and captured 5 sloop-yachts. A rapidly falling tide, on the evening of the 2d, left Cowslip aground off the Back Bay boatyard. She was refloated the next morning with the assistance of Narcissus. Ill-fortune continued to haunt Cowslip, and she grounded during a thunder and lightning storm off Ocean Springs. She drifted free on the 4th, and the expedition returned to Ship Island with their prizes and prisoners.[75]

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74. Ibid., pp. 291, 298.

75. Ibid., pp. 327-28, 792-93; New Orleans Weekly Times, June 18, 1864. Two of the vessels--Cowslip and Narcissus--having taken aboard local pilots ascended the Tchouticabouf River more than 25 miles. Ltr. Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

By mid-June, Admiral Farragut had withdrawn Cowslip and Narcissus from the sound to Pensacola Bay. They were replaced by the tinclad Elk, transferred from the Mississippi River Squadron. On the 10th, the newcomer scored a success. She boarded and captured the sloop Yankee Doodle, as she emerged from the Pearl River.[76]

Elk was a questionable addition. By the 27th, Farragut was complaining that she is "completely broken down," her boilers being "very old and utterly worthless." If she could be replaced, there was the possibility she could be turned into a hospital boat.[77]

On the 26th, Sebago left the sound. She was replaced by the double-ender Conemaugh (Lt. Comdr. J. D. P. de Krafft). Writing Farragut, on the last day of June, De Krafft reported that, refugees had told him, the Rebels had several armed launches near Fort Powell, awaiting the opportunity to slip through Grant's Pass and get to Pascagoula, where there were two companies of cavalry. To intercept the launches, De Krafft had only one vessel, Buckthorn, and at nights she took position off Point Aux Pins. Elk was currently at Petit Bois Island, "ostensibly watching both passes, but in reality is patching her boilers."

If there were any truth to the story that the Confederates had outfitted cotton-clads to come through Grant's Pass, De Krafft trusted he would soon be reinforced by that veteran of warfare on the sound, John P. Jackson.

At present, there were four schooners on sound, their masters protected by passes signed by the New Orleans authorities.[78]

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76. Official Records--Navies, Series 1, Vol. 21, pp. 329-31, 342.

77. Ibid., p. 348.

78. Ibid., pp. 352-53, 849.

3. Plans for an Attack on Mobile Bay Move Ahead

During June, the Union finally began pushing preparations for an attack on the fortifications guarding the approaches to Mobile Bay and for the destruction of Admiral Buchanan's squadron. Several factors had galvanized the War Department into action. General Sherman, whose "Army Group" was battling the Confederates in northwestern Georgia had called for a diversion in his favor; the thousands of troops committed to the Red River Expedition, following its failure, were now unemployed; and a reorganization of the command system in the region had, for the first time, placed a professional soldier--Maj. Gen. Edward R. S. Canby--in charge. As commander of the newly constituted Military Division of West Mississippi, Canby would oversee operations in the Department of the Gulf.

Coincidentally, the Navy Department now found itself in position to reinforce the West Gulf Blockading Squadron with ironclads. The light-draft river monitors--Chickasaw and Winnebago--were ordered detached from the Mississippi Squadron and outfitted for service on Mississippi Sound; and , in late June, the sea-going monitors Manhattan and Tecumseh were ordered to the Gulf Frontier. In addition, the Department sent a large draft of recruits from Atlantic seaboard receiving ships to fill empty billet in Farragut's squadron. This proved as mixed blessing, because Union, with 436 men and boys, stopped in Key West and when she reached Pensacola, there was fever aboard.[79]

On July 8, Cowslip returned to the sound, her captain reporting to Commander De Krafft. Soon thereafter, she intercepted a skiff and took aboard two refugees. Narcissus also was back in the sound by mid-July, and De Krafft's flotilla now included Conemaugh, Buckthorn, Cowslip, Elk, and Narcissus prowling the sound and guarding the Grant's Pass entrance into Mobile Bay, and Vincennes at Ship Island watching the anchorage. To insure a supply a coal to the sound

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79. Ibid., pp. 343-44, 348. After the war, Chickasaw was decommissioned and sold at New Orleans in September 1874. Converted into a railroad ferry, her hull continued in this use at New Orleans until the 1970s. Ltr., Stevens to Bearss, Jan. 6, 1981.

gunboats, the fleet coaler Bohio was sent to Petit Bois Pass from Pensacola. Then, to further strengthen this force, the tinclad Elk and the sidewheel gunboat Stockdale changed stations. Elk arrived in Lake Pontchartrain on the 25th and Stockdale reported to De Krafft on the 29th. Coincidentally, John P. Jackson, after three months in a New Orleans shipyard, had returned to her old cruising grounds.[80]

4. Farragut Outlines His Battle Plan

By mid-July, Admiral Farragut had outlined his plans for the attack on the Mobile Bay forts. He would boldly enter the bay "with fourteen vessels, two and two, as at Port Hudson; low steam; flood tide in the morning, with a light southwest wind; ironclads on the eastern side to attack Tennessee, and gunboats to attack rebel gunboats as soon as past the forts." Seven vessels laying-to outside the bay were to cover the army's landing on Mobile Point and five or six on Mississippi sound to assist and support the amphibious assault on Dauphin Island.[81]

A call on General Canby by the War Department to rush the XIX Corps to tidewater Virginia complicated the army's preparations. Even so, Canby hoped to commit 4,000 soldiers to the joint-operation. He believed they would be ready to embark before repairs were completed to the monitors Chickasaw and Winnebago.[82]

5. Farragut Calls for Celerity

On the 25th, Farragut, from the flagship Hartford, off Mobile Bay, wrote General Canby. As the winds during the previous 72 hours gave promise of an early autumn and advent of the hurricane season, he urged the general to bring all his forces up into Mississippi Sound and to put them ashore on Dauphin Island in rear of Fort Gaines.

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80. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 21, pp. 376, 381, 384-85, 781, 854.

81. Ibid., p. 378.

82. Ibid., p. 379, 780.

Once inside the bay, Farragut's ships would be able to close to within three-quarters of a mile of that fort.[83]

Replying, Canby announced that about 2,000 soldiers would sail from New Orleans coincident with departure of the river monitors. To confuse Confederate spies as to their destination, the soldiers were to embark on ocean-going ships. Additional troops would be prepared to land on Mobile Point by the time Fort Gaines was secured.[84]

Upon being apprised of the Army's intentions, Farragut alerted Commander De Krafft to standby to render the soldiers "every assistance in your power." He was to arrange his vessels "to the best advantage for covering the landing and collect all the boats that you can, so as to enable as large a body of men as possible to be landed at once."[85]

6. Troops Embark and Sail

On July 29, at New Orleans, 1,500 infantry, two heavy batteries, and a battalion of pioneers began embarking. Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger, a tested and successful combat commander, would lead this force. As soon as the troops and their gear were aboard, the vessels cast-off and steamed down the Mississippi en route to the Gulf[86]

O. Battle of Mobile Bay

1. General Granger's Troops Land on Dauphin Island

There was to be an anxious and exciting time at Ship Island. On the last day of July, the steamer Tennessee arrived from New Orleans towing the river monitor Chickasaw. The next day, the troop-crowded

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83. Ibid., p. 386.

84. Ibid., p. 388.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid., 390.

transports Battle, James Brown, Tamaulipas, Laura, and St. Charles, the latter towing a barge, entered the anchorage. Before the last of the steamboats had put in at the rendezvous, Tennessee and Chickasaw had departed.

On the morning of the 2d, the army transports also weighed anchor and followed the monitor and her consort up the sound to Petit Bois Pass, where they rendezvoused with Conemaugh, Commander De Krafft's flagship. That afternoon, Farragut, Granger and De Krafft met to perfect plans.

Next morning (August 3) the armed tug Narcissus stood up the sound to reconnoiter and buoy the beach across which Granger was to land his troops. She returned at 1:35 P.M., and 65 minutes later the transports got underway. They were escorted by Conemaugh, John P. Jackson, Estrella, Stockdale, Narcissus, and the fleet coaler Bohio. Some two hours later, the steamers lay-to parallel to the beach, and the soldiers went ashore in small boats. The landing, two and a half miles west of the Fort Gaines, was unopposed.

As soon as the first troops hit the beach, a column was pushed out to cover the approaches to the beachhead. Their advance was supported by the gunboat Jackson shelling the woods. By midnight, the last of the soldiers and their gear was ashore. General Granger now reported the beachhead secured, and the boats used in landing the Army returned to naval control.[87]

2. Farragut's Fleet Fights Its Way Into the Bay and the Confederates Evacuate Fort Powell

On August 4, Granger's troops advanced eastward and invested Fort Gaines. By midnight, light artillery had been emplaced

87. Ibid., pp. 400, 789, 854; Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXXIX, pt. II, pp. 216, 222; Vincennes Log, July 30-Aug. 2, 1864, NA, RG 24.

within 1,400 yards of the fort's gorge. Farragut's fleet, on the morning of the 5th, in a venture far more fraught with danger than the passage of the New Orleans forts or running the Vicksburg batteries, fought its way past Fort Morgan and routed Admiral Buchanan's squadron, capturing the ram Tennessee and the gunboat Selma. Coincidentally, Granger's guns opened fire on Fort Gaines, while Conemaugh, John P. Jackson, Estrella, Naricssus, and Stockdale got underway. Taking position to the westward of Fort Powell, they opened fire on the Rebel work guarding Grant's Pass. The Confederates replied, but ceased firing at 10 A.M., when they saw that Farragut's fleet was inside Mobile Bay. Soon afterwards, the bluejackets saw men abandoning the fort and wading across to Cedar Point. At noon, De Krafft signaled cease fire, and at 11 P.M. there was a terrific explosion in the fort. The next morning, a landing party from Estrella went ashore, took possession of Shell Bank, raised the stars and stripes over the fort, and inventoried the abandoned artillery--7 big guns and 6 field pieces.[88]

3. Fort Gaines Surrenders

On the 5th, the steamer Alliance, towing a barge with the siege guns, reached Dauphin Island from New Orleans by way of Ship Island. She ran close inshore, near Pelican Island Spit, and the 30-pounder Parrotts were landed. Although getting the guns through the deep sand was back breaking labor, they had been placed in battery by the morning of the 6th. The garrison isolated and the fort bombarded from its land front by the Army and shelled by Chickasaw and the sound flotilla, the officer in command of the more than 800 Confederates holed-up in Fort Gaines surrendered unconditionally on the morning of August 8.[89]

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88. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol 21, pp. 502-05, 789-90, 854; Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXXIX, pt. II, p. 226.

89. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXXIX, pt. II. pp. 226-27; Official Records-Navies, Series I, Vol. 21, p. 414.

4. Fort Morgan Falls

On the morning of the 9th, General Granger, having been reinforced, sent his troops ashore on Mobile Point. Advancing westward, the soldiers closed in on and invested Fort Morgan. Breeching batteries were established, and, at daybreak, on the 22d, the bombardment began from the land guns, while the monitors and ships inside and outside the bay closed on the fort and opened fire. At 6:30, the next morning, the garrison raised the white flag and was formally surrendered at 2 P.M., on the 23d.

P. Capture of the Mobile Bay Forts Alters the Mission of the Sound Gunboats

1. Farragut Cuts His Force on the Sound

In the days following the capitulation of Fort Morgan, Admiral Farragut slashed the force operating on Mississippi Sound to the steamers John P. Jackson and Narcissus. Conemaugh and Estrella proceeded to New Orleans, Bohio to Pensacola, and Stockdale joined the squadron inside Mobile Bay. Before leaving the sound, Stockdale, on August 19 and 20, had visited Ship Island, shelled Deer Island, and reconnoitered Biloxi Bay. On the 24th, bluejackets from Narcissus had boarded, searched, and captured a schooner in Biloxi Bay. Her papers were found not to be in order, and she was sent to New Orleans for adjudication by a prize court. Vincennes continued to guard Ship Island Anchorage.[90]

In September, Naricssus was transferred into Mobile Bay. Her replacement on the sound patrol was the armed tug Rose, formerly assigned to the Mobile flotilla. The coaler Bohio returned from Pensacola and was moored in the Ship Island Anchorage near Vincennes.[91]

90. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 21, pp. 624, 662, 791, 855.

91. Ibid., p. 667.

More and more of the repair work on the vessels of the squadron off Mobile Bay, took place at the Pensacola Navy Yard. The Ship Island shop was all but closed down, and, in mid-October, a yellow fever outbreak at New Orleans all but shutdown the Crescent City facilities. Forwarding his news to the Department, Admiral Farragut wrote, "Pensacola is being daily better prepared" to make us independent of New Orleans. He hoped that east coast navy yard commandants would send to Pensacola 20 to 30 boilermakers and machinists, one half of each, under contract to remain for the duration.[92]

2. Grant's Pass is Reopened to Navigation

With Fort Powell in Union hands and the spiles removed from Grant's Pass, it was now possible for light-draft vessels to enter and leave Mobile Bay from Mississippi Sound. And, in November, on several occasions Stockdale entered the sound by way of Grant's Pass and joined John P. Jackson and Rose in sending ashore landing parties at Biloxi, Back Bay, Round Island, Handsboro, etc. Refugees were taken aboard, in some cases bringing along part of their household possessions; lumber was seized and landed; and intelligence regarding the situation ashore and Rebel troop movements gathered. Refugees were sent first to Ship Island for processing.[93]

3. Admiral Farragut Turns Over Command to Commodore Palmer

On the last day of November, Admiral Farragut, having received an extended leave, transferred command of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron to Commo. James S. Palmer and sailed from Pensacola Bay for the Brooklyn Navy Yard aboard Hartford. Yellow fever having disappeared following the first frost, Commodore Palmer, pending the organization of a campaign aimed at the capture at Mobile, would maintain his headquarters in New Orleans, visiting occasionally the

92. Ibid., pp. 683, 692.

93. Ibid., pp. 855-86.

blockading forces and Pensacola. His reasons for so doing were because the principal squadron repairs and refitments were done in New Orleans and it was General Canby's headquarters.[94]

Q. The Pascagoula Beachhead

1. Warfare in the Confederate Heartland Has Repercussions on the Gulf Coast

At the end of November, Union forces on the sound and in Mobile Bay were called upon to be on the alert for army columns that might be striking from far inland for the Gulf Coast. The first, and most important, of these was General Sherman's "Army Group" that had evacuated Atlanta on the 16th and had disappeared into the bowels of the Confederacy. To confuse the Rebels, Sherman had purposely spread reports that he was striking for the Gulf. Then, on the 27th, a 4,000-man cavalry column led by Brig. Gen. John W. Davidson had struck eastward from Baton Rouge. Its mission was to cut the vital Mobile & Ohio Railroad, then being employed to send supplies to depots in northeast Mississippi and northwest Alabama to support Gen. John B. Hood's advance into Middle Tennessee.

Reports reaching General Granger and Captain Drayton, the naval officer in charge of the Mobile Bay flotilla, told that the Rebels had sent to Fowl River 1,000 sailors and were preparing a fleet of launches with which to capture and destroy the steamboats plying Mississippi Sound between New Orleans and Mobile Bay. The steam transports were alerted to this danger and supplied with signal rockets to warn the warships patroling these waters if they were attacked.[95]

2. Gunboats Capture Two Blockade Runners

On the evening of December 8, however, it was the bluejackets who scored a coup. The gunboats John P. Jackson and

94. Ibid., pp. 743, 754, 803.

95. Ibid., p. 745.

Stockdale encountered the suspected blockade runner Medora aground on Pascagoula Bar. She had aboard 105 bales of cotton and a pass signed by Admiral Farragut, dated September 6, 1864. After being refloated, the schooner was placed in charge of a prize crew and sent to New Orleans. Several days later, the armed tug Rose boarded and captured a small vessel carrying turpentine.[96]

3. Davidson's Raiders Reach West Pascagoula

On the 10th, General Granger became concerned about the security of Ship Island as a prisoner of war camp. He feared that the Rebels, said to be building a fleet of launches and flats on the north shore of the sound, between East Pascagoula and Cedar Point, would employ these craft to raid Ship Island, overwhelm the 240-man garrison, and release the more than 800 prisoners.[97]

Before General Canby could respond to Granger's concerns, a detachment from General Davidson's column appeared on the coast at West Pascagoula and contacted John P. Jackson. The officer in command asked that the supply- and provision-laden steamer, then laying at Ship Island, be sent to the north shore of the sound and the supplies put ashore.[98] Consequently, by the 13th, when Davidson, himself, reached West Pascagoula, he was delighted to find several vessels riding at anchor offshore with rations and forage for his hungry troopers and broken-down horses.

4. Army Lands at East Pascagoula

To make a diverson in favor of the column sent up the Alabama & Florida Railroad from Barrancas; to strike for the Mobile & Ohio; and cover the retreat of Davidson's column, General Granger with

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96. Ibid., pp. 756-58.

97. Ibid., p. 758.

98. Ibid., p. 759.

3,000 infantry aboard the transports Laura, J. M. Brown, A. G. Brown, Swain, and Tamaulipas sailed from Dauphin Island, and landed at East Pascagoula early on the December 15. There was no opposition, as the Confederates had evacuated the village some 72 hours earlier. As the soldiers thronged ashore, via the long wharf, the gunboats John P. Jackson, Stockdale, and Rodolph stood by, their guns trained on the shore. After a beachhead had been established, a strong column was pushed 12 miles up the Mobile road to Franklin Creek.[99]

At Good's Mill, on Dog River, one mile beyond, the Federals captured more than 2,000,000 feet of timber and some valuable machinery. The advance column was joined at Good's Mill, on the evening of the 17th, by the tinclad Rodolph.[100]

On the evening of the 21st, a cavalry detachment sought to push around the head of Franklin Creek, under orders to strike the Mobile road in rear of the enemy's camp. The horse soldiers encountered Confederates and recoiled. Reinforced by infantry, the next morning, the Yanks routed the Rebels, capturing nine, at a loss of 8 wounded and 5 missing.[101]

The raiding force sent up the railroad from Barrancas to threaten Pollard had returned and it having been determined to withdraw Davidson's command from West Pascagoula, General Granger, fearful that the foe would concentrate against his column, resolved to abandon his effort to raid the Mobile & Ohio and return to East Pascagoula.[102] On

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99. Ibid.; pp. 758, 61; Official Records, Series I, Vol. XLI, pt. IV, pp. 853, 862.

100. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 21, p. 743; Official Records, Series I, Vol. XLI, pt. IV, p. 876. On the 20th, General Davidson reinforced General Granger with 250 horse soldiers of the 14th New York Cavalry.

101. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XLV, pt. I, p. 843.

102. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XLI, pt. IV, p. 913.

the day after Christmas, the Federals evacuated their Franklin Creek line and retired to Fivemile Run. Assisted by the tinclad Rodolph, they floated 800,000 feet of lumber down Dog River.[103]

5. Supplying the Beachheads

To supply and support the East and West Pascagoula beachheads, the Navy by New Year's Day 1865 had increased its force operating on the sound to seven vessels (the gunboats John P. Jackson, Cowslip and Stockdale; the tinclads Rodolph and Tallahatchie; and the armed tugs Althea and Rose). By mid-January, this force had been pared to John P. Jackson, Rodolph, and Rose. Vincennes continued to guard the Ship Island Anchorage and Bohio to provide the sound flotilla with coal.[104]

R. The Final Campaign

1. Mobile Falls

General Granger's troops evacuated the Pascagoula beachheads on January 24 and were transported to the Barrancas enclave on the marge of Pensacola Bay. Then, on February 20, Admiral Thatcher arrived on Mobile Bay from New York City aboard Circassian, and two days later formally assumed command of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron.[105]

During the second week of March, General Canby, in cooperation with the Navy, undertook a campaign aimed at capture of Mobile and destruction of the forces assigned to the city's defense. The fortifications guarding the eastern approaches to the city were stormed on April 8-10 and thousands of Confederate prisoners taken. On the 11th, General Maury pulled his troops out of Mobile, which was surrendered by Mayor R. H. Slough on the 12th.

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103. Ibid., p. 941; Official Record--Navies, Series I. Vol. 21, pp. 770-71.

104. Official Records--Navies, Series I, Vol. 22, pp. 3-4, 11-12.

105. Ibid., p. 47.

2. Gunboats Supply a Destitute People

During the Mobile Campaign, the naval force on the sound was reduced to John P. Jackson and Vincennes at Ship Island Anchorage. The quality of life for the people living on the Gulf Coast became increasingly grim in the final months of the war. More and more, they had to look to the Union Navy to provide the bare essentials for survival. By the end of the third week of March, the only organized Confederate force on the north shore of the sound was a 6-man picket at East Pascagoula. Edwin Mix of Mississippi City contacted the captain of John P. Jackson on behalf of 60 families living there. Of these, all but ten were "in a starving condition." Many of these people had not "tasted meat for months," and were subsisting "on roots and fish."[106]

3. Rebel Ram "William H. Webb" Dashes by New Orleans

Escape of the Rebel ram William H. Webb from Red River and her dash by New Orleans about noon on April 24 resulted in a barrage of messages warning various Union commanders to be on the alert. Col. Ernest W. Holmstedt at Ship Island was informed that Webb was a "small vessel, painted white, one smokestack, two upright engines, and one small foremast."[107]

Webb, however, never reached the sea. She encountered Richmond and Hollyhock at McCall's Point, 25 miles below New Orleans, and she was run aground, set afire, and abandoned by her crew.[108]

5. Peace Returns to Ship Island and the Sound

The May 4 surrender of Confederate forces in the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Mississippi at Citronelle, Alabama, followed by those in the vast Trans-Mississippi Department, on

106. Ibid., pp. 113-15.

107. Ibid., p. 146.

108. Ibid., p. 147. The commander of William H. Webb was Lt. Charles W. Read, born near Brownsville, Miss., who as a 21-year-old midshipman, had fired the first shot in the July 9, 1861, engagement between the Ship Island Confederates and Massachusetts.

May 26, signaled the end of the Confederacy and of Civil War military operations. During the ensuing weeks, there was a rapid reduction in strength of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron to 6 tugs, 15 steamers, 1 monitor, and 1 Mississippi-class ironclad. Surplus ironclads were to be laid-up near New Orleans, while other vessels scheduled to be decommissioned were either to be sold at New Orleans or sent North before mid-July--one-half to New York City, one-quarter to Philadelphia, and the balance to Charlestown.[109]

To meet this schedule, Vincennes, which had been stationed at Ship Island for 33 months, made sail on July 6 and put to sea. She was bound for the Charlestown Navy Yard. The steam gunboat John P. Jackson was taken to New Orleans, the crew paid off, and the vessel sold.[110]

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109. Ibid., pp. 210-11.

110. Ibid., pp. 238, 256; Vincennes Log, July 1-31, 1865,. NA, RG 24.

X. THE SHIP ISLAND PRISONER OF WAR CAMP

A. Its Establishment

1. Decision is Made

Ship Island, during the Civil War, served as a place of detention for political prisoners, military convicts, and Confederate prisoners of war. The last of the political prisoners, whom General Butler began sending to the island in June 1862, were released in the summer of 1863. The island was used coincidentally as a place of confinement for military convicts under sentence for various crimes ranging from disobedience of orders to murder. Ship Island continued to be used by the United States War Department as a place of confinement for military convicts until April 1870. Finally, in the months between October 1864 and June 1865, the barrier island became a camp for Confederate prisoners of war.

The decision to send the first Rebel prisoners of war to Ship Island originated not in the Washington office of the Commissary-General of Prisoners but in New Orleans. On October 3, 1864, taking cognizance of a recent rash of escapes, orders were issued by Maj. Gen. Edward R. S. Canby's headquarters that "all prisoners of war, now confined in the city [of] New Orleans, with the exception of those who are too sick to be moved, and those for whose immediate exchange arrangements have already been made, will be transferred, with as little delay as possible, to Ship Island, Mississippi." Until such time as suitable barracks could be erected, the prisoners were to be sheltered in tents to be issued to them. Different classes of prisoners, as heretofore, were to be segregated.

As many of the troops currently guarding the prisoners, as required, were to escort them to Ship Island. After the prisoners were delivered to the post commander, these soldiers would return to New Orleans by the first available transportation.

Commissary of Prisoners Capt. Matthew R. Marston was to hasten to Ship Island and oversee the arrangements made for reception and safekeeping of the Confederates. Before returning to New Orleans,

Marston was to surrender to the post commander responsibility for the prisoners.[1]

2. Snafus Mar Receipt of the First 200 Prisoners

Captain Marston responded to the challenge with alacrity. Arrangements were made and by afternoon of the 5th, 200 Rebel prisoners had been transferred from the Union Press Building and 28 Carondelet Street and, accompanied by a guard detail, had arrived at Lakeport and boarded the steamer Warrior.

Several officers of the Quartermaster Department were much less efficient. Lt. Col. Charles G. Sawtelle, Canby's Chief Quartermaster, to provide shelter for the prisoners, ordered 50 "common tents," with requisite number of poles and pins, sent to Ship Island aboard Warrior.[2]

This order reached Col. Samuel B. Holabird's office early on the afternoon of the 5th. Upon its receipt, Holabird directed that the necessary forms be prepared. A fire on New Levee Street caused a delay, and it was about 3:30 before a wagon with the tents, poles, and pins left the Gravier Street Quartermaster Warehouses for Lakeport.[3]

The tents, poles, and pins reached the landing after Warrior had sailed. Not being apprised that this camp equipage was intended to provide shelter for the prisoners, the Lakeport transportation

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1. Special Order, No. 146, Hq., Mil. Div. of West Miss., Oct. 3, 1864, NA, RG 94, Orders and Circulars, Vol. 168, Mil. Div. of West Miss.

2. Sawtelle to Holabird, Oct. 5, 1864, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Quartermaster, Dept. of the Gulf.

3. Norcorss to Holabird, Oct. 18, 1864, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Quartermaster, Dept. of the Gulf. Colonel Holabird was Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Gulf.

officer saw no need for its immediate shipment and it was unloaded and stockpiled.[4]

Meanwhile, Warrior had stopped briefly at Ship Island and responsibility for the 200 prisoners was transferred to Colonel Holmstedt by Captain Marston. Since there were no surplus tents on the island, the Confederates were quartered in the open. This situation worsened, when that very night (October 7) a norther blew in. Being "stretched on the lone sandy beach," the prisoners spent a miserable night. The next day, Colonel Holmstedt, as a temporary expedient, housed about 20 of the frailer prisoners in a roofless barracks, and Surg. John H. Gihon warned that many of the prisoners would soon sicken and die if not better provided for.

Communicating this news to General Canby's headquarters, Colonel Holmstedt noted that there was not a log on Ship Island, and his men were housed in "very imperfect quarters." Although Colonel Holabird had sent to the island a sawyer and an engineer, each commanding a wage of $4 per diem, no logs had been provided by the Department of the Gulf Quartermaster. A detail had been sent to chop firewood on Cat Island, but if they were to get out logs he must have use of a tug for two months.[5]

Captain Marston, upon returning to New Orleans, called on Colonel Sawtelle and complained about this situation. Whereupon, Sawtelle wrote Colonel Holabird a sharp note, directing him to "please cause the tents . . . to be sent at once and report to this office why they were not shipped by the steamer that took the prisoners"

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4. Atwood to Holabird, Oct. 18, & Perkins to Holabird, Oct. 18, 1864, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Quartermaster, Dept. of the Gulf. Capt. G. E. Atwood was AAQM in Colonel Holabird's office, and Capt. F. W. Perkins was a staff officer in the Dept. of the Gulf.

5. Holmstedt to Christensen, Oct. 9, 1864, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Quartermaster, Dept. of the Gulf; Vincennes Log, Oct. 7, 1964, NA, RG 24.

In addition, Holabird was to see that three hospital tents were sent to Ship Island.[6]

This letter brought action. On the 12th, the 50 "common tents" that had been in storage at Lakeport, along with three hospital tents, were placed aboard the steamer Alice Vivian. They were delivered to the Ship Island Quartermaster, Lt. Charles L. Sauvinet, the next afternoon, and promptly issued to the prisoners. By nightfall on October 13, the tents had been pitched and for the first time in a week most of the prisoners slept under canvas.[7]

Upon investigating to determine what had gone wrong, Colonel Sawtelle found that each officer involved had acted on the supposition that the others had been properly alerted. He also learned that Captain Marston was also "culpable" in having started off with the prisoners before the tents were sent aboard Warrior. Had he waited a few minutes longer, the tents would have been loaded.[8]

3. Camp's Population Zooms to 1,292 by October 31

On October 21 and 23d more Confederate prisoners (817 noncommissioned officers and privates) reached the island from New Orleans. Then, on the 25th and 28th, there arrived from the Crescent City 53 noncommissioned officers and privates and 159 petty officers and seamen.[9]

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6. Sawtelle to Holabird, Oct. 11, 1864, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Quartermaster, Dept. of the Gulf.

7. Atwood to Sawtelle, Oct. 12, 1864, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Quartermaster, Dept. of the Gulf.

8. Sawtelle to Canby, Oct. 20, 1864, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Quartermaster, Dept. of the Gulf.

9. Ahlefeldt to Commissary-General, Undated Rolls; Hartz to Marston, Dec. 3, 1864, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Sent; Vincennes Log, Oct. 20-27, 1864, NA, RG 24.

The October 31 return for the prison camp read:

On hand September 30, 1864	0
Joined	1,299
Total	1,299
Transferred to other stations	2
Delivered or exchanged	0
Died	5
Escaped	0
Released	0
Total loss	7
Sick	49
Citizens	4[10]

B. Rules and Regulations Governing the Camp's Administration

1. Required Reports and Forms

On November 18, 1864, the Commissary-General of Prisoners forwarded for Colonel Holmstedt's guidance copies of General Orders No. 286 for 1863 and No. 190 for 1864, and Circulars Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 issued by the Commissary-General's Office in 1864.[11]

Of particular interest to Holmstedt was the mandate requiring that, whenever prisoners were transferred to another station, the number of officers and men involved was to be promptly reported to Washington, to be followed by a muster roll with as little delay as possible.

An end of the month return was required. This item must document the number of prisoners present, as well as all changes that had taken place during the month. In all cases, when reporting prisoners joined, Holmstedt was to indicate where from, or if transferred whereto. Upon listing prisoners released, he was to cite by whose authority.

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10. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 998.

11. The subject circulars were dated respectively: April 20, June 1, June 13, and August 4. Copies of these general orders and circulars are found in Appendix B.

Whenever prisoners were discharged on taking the Oath of Allegiance, a roster would be transmitted to Washington.

Also required was a semi-monthly report, listing the deceased for that period.[12]

2. Rationing the Prisoners

The difference between the prisoners' rations as established by the Commissary-General and those allowed by law to United States soldiers consisted of the "difference between the ration issued and that actually used," i.e., the "saving made by the Bake House from flour issued to prisoners," constituted "the 'savings' from which is formed the 'Prison Fund.'"

In addition, all monies left by deceased prisoners, or occurring from the sale of their property; all money clandestinely forwarded to prisoners or found concealed by them; and all money accruing to the Prison Fund from any other source was to be turned over to the commissary and be accounted for on his statement of the Prison Fund.

Tea and sugar for the sick, when the ration allowed was insufficient, could be purchased upon a certificate from the camp surgeon. This expense could be charged against the Prison Fund, whenever the Hospital Fund was too limited to meet this obligation.[13]

3. Clothing the Inmates

No clothing of any kind was to be issued to the prisoners, except in case of necessity, as long as the prisoners had clothing sufficient and suitable for their "present wants."[14]

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12. Hartz to Holmstedt, Nov. 18, 1864, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Sent.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

4. Maintenance of Discipline

The guard must have a full complement of officers, and guard duty "must be performed in the strictest manner." Care would be exercised in schooling the sentinels before and after they were posted. Instructions for the sentinels were to be posted in the guardhouse.

Whenever a prisoner escaped or was shot by a guard, Colonel Holmstedt was to conduct an investigation and submit a report. In event of an escape, he was to advise the Commissary-General as to what had been done to punish the sentries through whose negligence it had been effected.

Although the prisoners were subject to strict discipline, great care must be exercised so that "no wanton excesses or cruelties are committed under the plea of enforcing orders."[15]

5. Attending to the Prisoners' Spiritual Needs

Homstedt was authorized to employ detectives to ferret out information from the prisoners of benefit to the United States or himself.

Prisoners were to be allowed to purchase religious tracts or light reading matter. Loyal ministers could be permitted to hold Sunday services within the compound, provided the prisoners desired it. Prisoners seriously ill in the hospital could, if they requested, be visited by a clergyman.[16]

6. Looking After the Prisoners' Creature Comforts

A sutler might sell to the prisoners items listed in the August 4, 1864, circular. It was anticipated that the store would not occupy much space, because the sutler should not stock more than

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15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

several days' supply of goods. No sales were to be made before 8 A.M. or later than half an hour before sunset.

As prisoners were not allowed to have money in their possession, all sales were to be made on order of the commandant or an officer in whose hands the prisoners' funds were to be deposited.[17]

7. Exchanges, Releases, etc.

Colonel Holmstedt was to advise the prisoners that, for the time being, no discharges were allowed. Those not wishing to be exchanged were to submit their names, and these would be entered on a roll to be forwarded, along with their rank, unit, and date and place of capture, to Washington semi-monthly.

No prisoner would be sent for exchange, who had or planned to make application for release on taking the Oath of Allegiance.[18]

8. Mandatory Weekly Reports of Camp Conditions

A weekly report would be made to the Commissary-General of Prisoners, detailing the condition of the prisoners and camp in every particular of personal cleanliness, clothing, bedding, quarters, kitchen, messing, sinks, police of grounds, drainage, etc., and the hospital. For this duty, Holmstedt was to designate an officer from his command as inspector, whose duty it would be to daily inspect the camp and to give all necessary orders for its police and to submit a written report every Sunday morning.[19]

9. February 1, 1865, Ration

During the final winter of the war, the Commissary-General of Prisoners revised downward the authorized ration. As of

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17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

February 1, 1865, the daily ration allowed Confederate prisoners was to become: pork or bacon, ten ounces (in lieu of beef); salt or fresh beef, 14 ounces; flour or soft bread, 16 ounces; hard bread, ten ounces (in lieu of flour or soft bread); cornmeal, 16 ounces (in lieu of flour or bread); beans or peas, 12 pounds and a half to 100 rations, or rice or hominy, eight pounds to 100 rations; soap, two pounds to 100 rations; vinegar, two quarts to 100 rations; and salt, two pounds to 100 rations.

Sugar and coffee or tea were to be issued only to sick or wounded, on recommendation of the surgeon in charge, at the rate of 12 pounds of sugar and five pounds of ground or seven pounds of green coffee or one pound of tea to 100 rations. This ration to be allowed every other day.

Desiccated compressed potatoes or desiccated mixed vegetables, in quantities allowed by existing regulations, could be substituted for beans, peas, rice, or hominy. The soap, salt, and vinegar rations could be increased by the post commander if he found it insufficient.[20]

C. Official Reports on Camp Facilities and Condition of Prisoners

1. Surgeon Getty's October 29, 1864, Report

In the late summer and autumn of 1864, Surg. F.M. Getty, Acting Medical Inspector for the Commissary-General of Prisoners, traveled extensively throughout the western threatre of the war, visiting facilities where Confederate prisoners were confined. Getty spent October 29 on Ship Island. His report of conditions at the Ship Island Military Prison read:

> Camp: name and geographical location--Military Prison. Ship Island, Mississippi.
> Topography of surrounding country--Level.
> Topography of locality; soil, drainage--Level, Sandy, Surface.
> Water; source, supply, quality, effects--Well, Abundant, Good.

20. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 62.

Fuel; whence obtained, kind, supply--From the island. Pine wood. Abundant.
Camp; how arranged, how long occupied--Tents in sixteen parallel lines. Since Oct. 13.
Camp; previous use of ground--Never used before.
Tents; kinds, quality, condition--Canvas. Bad. Much worn.
Tents; warming, ventilation, change of position--no means of warming. Good. Every ten days.
Tents; sufficiency, number of men to each--Sufficient. Five.
Sinks & cesspools; construction, position, management--A new sink is made every day. Two hundred yards from the camp.
Removal of offal and rubbish; police of camp--Daily. Good.
Rations; quality, quantity, variety--Prison rations. Good. Abundant.
Vegetables and pickles; kinds, amt., how obtained--none.
Rations; how cooked, how inspected; messing--In the open air. Daily. Bad.
Clothing; condition, deficiencies--One half well clothed. Shoes, stocking and blankets.
Men; morale, sanitary condition, personal cleanliness--Not good. Not clean.[21]

Turning next to the camp's hospital and facilities for caring for sick prisoners, Surgeon Getty noted:

Surgeons--None.
Assistant Surgeons--One, Asst. Surgeon, John H. Gihon, 74th U.S. Col. Inft. One actg. Asst. Surgeon is under orders for Ship Island.
Chaplain--None.
Hospital Stewards--None.
Cooks and nurses--Four prisoners.
Sick; ratio of to strength of command--36 in Hosp. 235 in quarters, 1,426 prisoners.
*Sick; condition, cleanliness--Not good. Not clean.
Medical and surgical treatment--Good.
Surgical operations; how performed--None.
*Nursing; how performed--Indifferent.
*Diseases; prevalent--Diarrhea, Intermittent Fever, Scurvy.
Recoveries from diseases, wounds; rapid or tardy--Tardy.
Mortality from diseases, wounds; per cent--Four deaths since Oct. 13.
*Vaccination--Not vaccinated.
Interments; how conducted and recorded--By the Company of Prisoners, Properly.

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21. Getty's Oct. 29, 1864, "Report of a Medical Inspection," NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

Hospital; topography of locality, soil, drainage--Three hospital tents. Level, Sandy, Surface.
Hospital warming, ventilation, lighting--Not heated, good, candles.
Hospital water-closets and sinks--One sink immediately in the rear, cleaned daily.
*Hospital discipline, police--Bad. Bad.
Water; source, supply, quality, effects--Well. Abundant. Good.
Fuel; whence obtained, kind, supply--Pine wood. From the island. Abundant
Diet; quality, quantity, and variety--Prison Ration. Good. Abundant.
Diet; how cooked, how inspected , messing--In the open air. Daily. Bad.
Med. & Hosp. supplies, quantity, condition, deficiencies--Good. Good. No deficiencies.
Instruments; hospital, personal, condition, deficiencies--Good. No deficiencies.
Commissary stores, med. comforts, condition, deficiencies--Good. No deficiencies.
Hospital records and accounts--Properly kept.
Hospital muster and pay rolls--None.
Reports of S. of W., and of operations--Properly kept.
Requisitions and returns--Properly kept.
Morning reports, provision returns--Properly kept.
Hospit. fund; how expended, accounted for, condition--Properly. Properly. Good.
*Hospital washing; how performed, how paid for--Not attended to.[22]

Surgeon Getty informed his superiors that Ship Island was intended to be a depot for prisoners, from where they were to be sent to prison pens in the North, as soon as practicable. Nevertheless, General Canby was rumored to have issued orders for construction of suitable barracks.

Colonel Homstedt had called on Division Quartermaster Sawtelle to provide the camp with more hospital tents.

As yet, there was no hospital fund, the camp having been in operation only 23 days.[23]

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22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

After reviewing Surgeon Getty's report, the War Department transmitted a copy to Colonel Holmstedt for comments. His particular attention was called to the appearance of scurvy among the prisoners, and he was to detail the measures taken to bring this disease under control.[24]

2. Colonel Homstedt's and Assistant Surgeon Gihon's Rebuttal

Colonel Holmstedt was understandably upset by receipt of the letter from the Adjutant General, dated November 21, enclosing an extract from Surgeon Getty's report. In an effort to shift blame for the adverse conditions described, Colonel Holmstedt and Assistant Surgeon Gihon pointed out that Dr. Getty had landed on Ship Island shortly after receipt of a large number of prisoners. The first Confederate contingent had arrived unannounced, and no measures had been previously taken for their reception and proper care. They had disembarked without tents and none could be provided by Post Quartermaster Sauvinet. Until recently, the prisoners' rations had been cooked outdoors, because "not a board of lumber, not even for coffins," could be procured.

The prisoners had to carry their firewood, stick by stick, on their shoulders some three and one-half miles. On pleasant days, this was good exercise, but at times only about ten percent of them were physically fit to perform this necessary fatigue detail.

Some provision, Colonel Holmstedt wrote, must be made to supply the prison camp with wood. To provide firewood for the 74th U.S. Colored Infantry, he kept a wood chopping detail on Cat Island.[25]

Surgeon Gihon was without necessary means for establishing a prison hospital. There were no cots, bedding, nor blankets. The prisoners, themselves, were filthy--"all regard to

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24. Hartz to Holmstedt, Nov. 21, 1864, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Sent.

25. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VII, pp. 1258-59.

cleanliness, either of clothing or person, having been for a long time entirely neglected."

Only about 300 of the 1500 were in good health. The prevailing complaints were measles, smallpox, diarrhea, dysentery, typhoid and intermittent fevers, and rheumatism. Many of the prisoners had been limited duty men, assigned by the manpower strapped Confederacy, to garrisoning coastal forts. There were lads from 11 to 15 and greybeards from 50 to 75. "Many of them were so feeble and emaciated that it was necessary to carry them from the boats to the encampment, and it did not require the judgment of a medical officer to foresee a large amount of mortality."

In the three weeks since Dr. Getty's inspection, Surgeon Gihon reassured Washington, measures had been taken to provide the sick with beds and blankets. Women had been employed to keep the wards, and they would be paid from the prisoners' fund.

Scurvy, which had afflicted many of the prisoners on arrival, had been alleviated by a vegetable and acid diet.

Most of the deaths that had occurred in the prison hospital resulted from chronic diarrhea, dysentery, pneumonia, consumption, typhoid, and malarial fevers.

The cooks and nurses were detailed prisoners, and were provided with the same rations to prepare and serve as those issued by the assistant commissary to the 74th U.S. Colored Infantry's messes.[26]

3. Weekly Reports of Camp Conditions

a. For the Week of December 25-31, 1864

Although weekly reports of conditions in the camps were required by the Commissary-General of Prisoners, only a limited

26. Ibid., pp. 1259-60. The prison camp was within a few feet of "one of the finest bathing" beaches "in the world."

number of those received and filed for the Ship Island facility can be located. These reports cover various weeks between December 31, 1864, and March 20, 1865.

On December 31, 1864, Lt. John Ahlefeldt, named by Colonel Holmstedt as assistant commissary of prisoners and inspecting officer, submitted a report describing the condition of the camp and prisoners during the previous week. It read:

Conduct--good.
Cleanliness--with some few exceptions - good.
Clothing--good, a few destitute.
Bedding--straw.
State of quarters--in good condition.
State of mess-houses--none.
State of kitchen--clean and good.
Food, quality of--good and well cooked.
Food, quantity of--plenty.
Water--as good as any on the island.
Sinks--in good order.
Police of ground--well attended to.
Attendance of sick--good.
Hospital diet--good.
General health of prisoners--improving very much.
Vigilance of guards--admirable.

Remarks and suggestions.--Blankets for prisoners of war at this post are very much needed. I would respectfully state that the exposed position of this post, and the destitute condition of the prisoners makes the articles specified above necessary.[27]

b. For the Week of January 1-7, 1865

Assistant Commissary Ahlefeldt's report for the week of January 1-7, 1865, noted:

Conduct--good.
Cleanliness--good.
Clothing--good.
Bedding--straw.
State of quarters--in good condition (tents).
State of mess-houses--none.
State of kitchen--good and clean.

27. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VII, p. 1302.

Food, quality of--good.
Food, quantity of--plenty.
Water--good.
Sinks--in good condition.
Police of grounds--well attended to.
Drainage--good.
Police of hospital--good.
Attendance of sick--good.
Hospital diet--good.
General health of prisoners--excellent.
Vigilance of guard--good.

Remarks and suggestions.--Five hundred sets of clothing have been sent to this post from the military authorities New Orleans for distribution to prisoners of war in confinement at this post. Blankets are needed very much.[28]

Commissary-General of Prisoners William Hoffman, upon reviewing the report, cautioned Colonel Holmstedt against any future issue to the prisoners of clothing received from the New Orleans Quartermaster Depot. There was an agreement between the belligerents, he explained, that each was to provide its soldiers held by the foe with necessary quartermaster supplies.[29]

In mid-January, Lieutenant Ahlefeldt was relieved of his duties as acting assistant commissary of prisoners and rejoined his company. Because the post commander was "held responsible" for every thing, Colonel Holmstedt assumed the duties relinquished by Ahlefeldt.

c. For the Week of January 23-29, 1865

Consequently, Holmstedt prepared the requisite report for the week ending January 29. He entered under appropriate headings this data:

28. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 36.

29. Ibid., p. 201.

Conduct--very good indeed.
Cleanliness--strict orders are generally attended to.
Clothing--scanty; the U.S. government has, however, furnished some lately.
Bedding--straw.
State of quarters--second-hand A tents.
State of mess-houses--none.
State of kitchen--good.
Food, quality of--good.
Food, quantity of--plenty.
Water--good.
Sinks--well attended to.
Police of grounds--good.
Drainage--good.
Police of hospital--good.
Attendance of sick--good.
Hospital diet--attended to.
General health of prisoners--good at present.
Vigilance of guard--admirable.

Blankets and better tents or some means of securing lumber to build barracks were much needed. There was, Holmstedt reported, 200,000 feet of lumber and more than 300 cords of wood on Cat Island, but he needed a light-draft steamer to transport them across Ship Island Pass.[30]

d. For the Week of February 20-26, 1865

The reports for the next three weeks are missing from the files. When he submitted his account for the last week of February, Colonel Holmstedt wrote:

Conduct--good.
Cleanliness--good.
Clothing--good, considering the cold weather [has] abated.
Bedding--straw.
State of quarters--tents rotten.
State of mess-houses--none.
State of kitchen--good.
Food, quality of--good.
Food, quantity of--plenty.
Water--good.
Sinks--good.

30. Ibid., p. 145.

Police of grounds--good.
Drainage--good.
Police of hospital--good.
Attendance of sick--good.
Hospital diet--good.
General health of prisoners--good.
Vigilance of guard--excellent.

The tents occupied by the prisoners, Holmstedt informed Commissary-General Hoffman, were so "rotten that a norther tears them down by the dozen." Can the prison fund, he inquired, be drawn on for purchase of lumber and construction of barracks?[31]

Hoffman's office, on reviewing the subject, called Colonel Holmstedt's attention to a circular dated April 20, 1864. After he had studied this document, he was to prepare and submit without delay plans and estimates for barracks.[32]

A copy of the subject circular is found in Appendix B.[33]

After examining the circular, Holmstedt explained that Commissary of Prisoners Marston had been at Ship Island on November 24, 1864, and had presented plans for construction of barracks. Whereupon, Holmstedt had asked for and had been granted permission to submit a plan of his own. This had been done, and he had been told to await further orders, which had not been forthcoming.[34]

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31. Ibid., p. 323.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., Series II, Vol. VII, pp. 72-5.

34. Ibid.

This long-distance debate regarding construction of barracks to house the prisoners soon became academic, because of the surrender of the Confederate armies and the coincident parole and release of the prisoners.

e. For the Period March 10-20, 1865

Meanwhile, Colonel Holmstedt had prepared and transmitted a report detailing conditions at the prison camp during the period March 10-20. It read:

> Conduct--excellent.
> Cleanliness--good.
> Clothing--sufficient.
> Bedding--straw.
> State of quarters--tents--nearly unserviceable.
> State of mess-houses--none.
> State of kitchen--good.
> Food, quality of--good.
> Food, quantity of--no complaints.
> Water--good.
> Sinks--good.
> Police of grounds--good.
> Drainage--good.
> Attendance of sick--good.
> Hospital diet--attended to.
> General health of prisoners--good.
> Vigilance of guard--excellent.

If the prisoners were to be kept at Ship Island, Holmstedt added, barracks must be erected, because tents deteriorated rapidly on the barrier islands. Those in use were "nearly worthless," and if allowed to continue to deteriorate, without "providing other means to house them, the prisoners will be forced to lie on the bare sand beach."[35]

35. Ibid., pp. 416-17.

D. An Inspector-General's View of the Garrison and Facilities

1. Garrison and Its Duties

a. In Mid-October

In mid-October 1864, Lt. Col. W. D. Smith of the 110th New York Infantry inspected the post. At this time Ship Island was garrisoned by Companies F, G, H, I, and K, 74th U. S. Colored Infantry. Colonel Smith pronounced the men's drill, discipline, arms, accoutrements, clothing, etc., good.

The officers were "generally efficient, excepting Capt. F. S. Draper of Company I and Lts. J. R. Teague and Michael J. Tobin. Draper neither understood infantry drill nor the management of a company. Moreover, he took no interest in his duties. The two lieutenants, beside being slovenly in appearance, were guilty of neglect of duty.[36]

Colonel Smith was complimentary of the manner in which the battalion handled its guard and picket duties. Daily, two guards were mounted, while one picket was turned out.

An officer and 38 enlisted men were detailed to guard the 200 Rebel prisoners of war, who had been received on October 7. The same number, Colonel Smith believed, might guard 1,000.

One officer and 43 enlisted men watched the military convicts, the commissary and quartermaster depots, and the two wharves.

At the east end of the island, a picket post manned by a sergeant, three corporals, and nine privates was maintained. The pickets were relieved weekly. Signals were arranged to enable the outpost to communicate with regimental headquarters.[37]

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36. Special Inspection Report of Ship Island Garrison, Oct. 19, 1864, NA, RG 94.

37. Ibid.

b. At the End of the Year

When Colonel Smith returned ten weeks later, he found the island still garrisoned by five companies of the 74th USCT, numbering 15 officers present and 405 enlisted men. Out of this number, there was an average of one officer and 60 men on daily detail as cooks, harbor crew, carpenters, blacksmiths, and teamsters. According to Colonel Holmstedt, it was impossible to further pare this figure. The average daily number on sick call was two officers and 40 enlisted men. This left 12 officers and about 300 men for duty.

From this total, the daily guard detail of one officer and 59 enlisted men was mounted to watch over more than 1,100 Confederate prisoners. Divided into three reliefs, the privates were posted: five inside the prison pen, four on each end, two on the seaside, one at the hospital, and one watching the arms in the guard quarters. There was an officer-of-the-day, two sergeants-of-the-guard, a corporal in charge of each relief, and 3 supernumaries.

The camp and picket guard consisted of one officer and 55 enlisted men. They were called on to man eleven posts: No. 1, the guardhouse; No. 2, the quartermaster wharf; No. 3, the magazine; No. 4, Battery G; No. 5, the commissary and quartermaster storehouse; No. 6, Battery F; No. 7, Battery E; No. 8, Battery D; No. 9, service magazines; No. 10, post headquarters; and No. 11, the military convicts. After deducting the officer-of-the-day, the sergeant-of-the-guard, three corporals-of-the-guard, and supernumaries, the remainder of this guard manned a picket line about a mile east of the prison pen and a mile and one-half from post headquarters.

In addition to these guard detachments, Colonel Holmstedt had to provide fatigue details for loading and unloading ships.[38]

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38. Special Report of Ship Island Inspection by Lt. Col. W. D. Smith, Jan. 3, 1865, NA, RG 94.

Colonel Smith saw that the battalion was well drilled as infantry, but as artillerists there had been no improvement since his mid-October inspection.

Captain Draper and Lieutenants Teague and Tobin had made a marked improvement in their military efficiency and bearing. This would have little long-range effect, because Captain Draper was lame and Lieutenant Tobin was to be given a medical discharge.[39]

2. He Finds Prison Camp Security Lax

Colonel Smith, on reviewing the returns, found that, at the time of his end of the year visit, there were 1,130 Confederate prisoners, including about 200 officers confined on the island. In his opinion, the prisoners had too much liberty. Ten to 12 officers were paroled daily with the "privilege of the middle portion of the Island which embraces their own camp officers' quarters and as far as the Sutler establishment." In addition, squads of 10 to 12 privates were sent to visit the sutler and, in this manner, the Rebels had become familiar with the island's defenses.

Several of the Confederate enlisted men were employed at post headquarters as clerks. Although they handled only papers pertaining to prisoners of war, they had an opportunity to "become acquainted with everything relating to the Post."

Upon being exchanged, Smith feared, these men, formerly detailed as clerks, would be able to draw plans of the island pinpointing weak points in its defenses.

At the prison guardhouse, Smith found five Rebel prisoners laying floorng. They were so near the stacks of arms that, if so inclined, they could have overpowered the guards. Smith did not

39. Ibid.

foresee such an attempt, because, unless they captured a ship, escape to the mainland would be impossible. Even if they seized a transport lying at the wharf, there would be Vincennes to reckon with.[40]

3. He Recommends that Additional Military Convicts be Sent to the Island

As of January 1, 1865, there were 39 military convicts serving time at hard labor in the Ship Island stockade. They were employed loading and unloading vessels and coaling gunboats and transports.

Colonel Smith believed that another 60 to 100 convicts could be usefully employed on the island, and he recommended that this number be sent there by the Division Provost-Marshal instead of to Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas.[41]

4. Situation of the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments

a. In Mid-October

On his mid-October 1864 inspection, Colonel Smith saw that a number of single-story frame barracks had been commenced several months before and had been partially completed. A steam sawmill had been sent to the island, and a small steamboat promised by the Quartermaster Department to tow logs over from Cat Island. These logs could then be sawed into lumber, enabling the troops to complete the barracks. This had not been done, and, consequently, the soldiers were housed in "barracks without roofs" and substandard flooring. The officers' quarters were little better.[42]

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40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Special Inspection Report of Ship Island Garrison, Oct. 19, 1864, NA, RG 94.

Capt. J. W. Morrison's commissary department had on hand 63,000 rations of bread, flour, and meal, and 45,000 rations of meat and other provisions. A storehouse for these items and the Quartermaster property had been erected, but more lumber was needed to finish it out.[43]

An engineer and sawyer had been employed to operate a sawmill, but as the mill had not been assembled they were sitting around doing nothing beyond collecting their pay. Given a small steamboat to transport the mill to Cat Island and tow logs, lumber could be sent to Ship Island, as well as the posts at Forts Macomb and Pike.

The steamboat, besides being useful in supplying lumber and logs, was needed for transporting firewood. At present, there were about 1,500 men on the island (garrison, engineer employees, naval personnel, military convicts, and prisoners of war), and they required a minimum of 100 cords of firewood per month. What little wood there was on the island was six miles east of the cantonment; the route to and from leading through dry sand in which wagon wheels sank halfway to the hub when carrying half a cord of wood. Because of the hard pulling, a team was limited to one trip per day.

Steamboats, on the Mobile Point-New Orleans run, stopped at Ship Island infrequently, and Colonel Holmstedt had difficulty communicating with General Canby's headquarters. A tug would also rectify this situation.[44]

b. At the End of the Year

Upon his return to the island on January 3, 1864, Colonel Smith learned that two officers and 60 men had been sent to Cat Island by Colonel Holmstedt. One officer and 15 men were on outpost

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43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

duty there while the remainder were cutting timber and getting out wood. All that he saw and heard satisfied Smith that this was an expensive operation, costing the United States $250 for each cord of wood got out.

He accordingly recommended that it be abandoned.[45]

Smith also recommended that repairs be made to the quartermaster wharf to make if safe for ships to come alongside to land supplies. In addition, a "side rail track should be positioned from the wharf to the commissary-quartermaster storehouse.

He also suggested construction of a small building in which to store solid shot and unfilled shells. At present, these were piled up near the sand batteries, where they were being continually covered by drifting sand.[46]

The commissary supplies, he found, were in good order, but, on reviewing the books, he was amazed at the quantity of whiskey being sold or issued.[47]

5. Condition of the Island's Defenses

a. In Mid-October

Colonel Smith, at the time of his mid-October 1864 inspection, observed that the Ship Island defenses consisted of eight sand batteries armed with two 100-pounder Parrotts and five IX-inch Dahlgrens. The big Parrotts could be loaded, aimed, and fired with ease, but the Dahlgrens were a problem. They were mounted on a bastard carriage--a cross between a naval truck and barbette. The recoil was taken up by breechings and the guns trained by block and tackle.

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45. Special Report of Ship Island Inspection by Lt. Col. W. D. Smith, Jan. 3, 1865, NA, RG 94.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

The traverse circles were wood, and there were no traverse plates. It took 16 men to fire each of the Dahlgrens.

The batteries, being of sand, were buffeted by winds. Working parties were forever clearing up about the guns. To remedy this situation. Colonel Smith recommended that the slopes and embrasures be revetted with a few loads of shell earth or clay. He also urged that the Dahlgrens be dismounted and returned to the Navy.

Smith found that the masonry fort's magazine had been completed and was in use. The service magazines, near the sand batteries, were worthless, because of lack of maintenance. A show of initiative, along with some lumber, a few loads of shells, earth, and manure could have preserved them.[48]

Colonel Smith watched as Capt. L. L. Hawes put his gunners of Company K through a drill, employing live ammunition. Seven shots were fired from one the 100-pounder Parrotts, at a range of 1,740 yards. They all struck or narrowly missed the target--"an old wreck."[49]

b. At the End of the Year

Colonel Smith returned to Ship Island at the beginning of 1865. This time his report concerning the sand batteries and their armament was more detailed. Batteries A and B, he observed, each mounted a 100-pounder Parrott. They were positioned as pivot guns and could be brought to bear on any part of the island or its approaches. Drifting sand continued to be a problem.

Battery C emplaced an IX-inch Dahlgren. The platform was rotten, the eyebolts gone, and the shoe rode on the rail.

48. Special Inspection Report of Ship Island Garrison, Oct. 19, 1864, NA, RG 94.

49. Ibid.

Consequently, the gun could not be run in and out of battery without reinforcing the crew. The first shot, fired for Smith's benefit, moved the pintle-plate half an inch, while the second broke the pintle-bed and middle transom.

Battery D, also mounting a big Dahlgren, was in similar condition. The second shot fractured the pintle cross and middle transom.

Battery E was armed with an IX-inch Dahlgren. The eyebolts were pulled loose from the platform, the traverse wheels bedded into a rotten traverse circle, and the shoe rested on the rail. The first shot broke the middle and front transom and the breechings.

Battery F also mounted an IX-inch Dahlgren. The eyebots and rings were missing. The carriage brokedown on the second shot.

Battery G, an IX-inch Dahlgren, had its pintle bed fractured on the second shot. When the smoke cleared, the gun was resting on its muzzle.

There were two IX-inch Dahlgrens positioned on platforms near the fort. The platforms had rotted, and the guns had "tipped up side wise."[50]

E. Reinforcing the Garrison

On December 10, 1864, Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger, commander of the District of South Alabama, had complained to Canby's headquarters about the "insecurity of Ship Island with its present garrison and insufficient means of defense as a rendezvous for prisoners." He had

50. Special Report of Ship Island Inspection by Lt. Col. W. D. Smith, Jan. 3, 1865, NA, RG 94.

been told by Commo. James Palmer that more than 800 prisoners were

> guarded by a daily detail from an aggregate force of 240 colored soldiers, without a field battery, with an unfinished fort mounting two heavy guns pointing seaward, and with an old sloop of war [Vincennes] in the harbor scarcely available for immediate defense.

Moreover, reports had reached Granger's Fort Gaines headquarters that the Rebels were building a large number of flatboats and launches along the mainland coast, between Cedar Point and East Pascagoula. Confederate plans were said to envision use of these craft in an amphibious attack designed to liberate the Ship Island prisoners.[51]

General Canby responded by calling upon his commander at New Orleans, Maj. Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut, to reinforce the Ship Island garrison. Hurlbut had the slows. On December 27, upon learning that nothing had been done, Canby's chief-of-staff called Hurlbut's attention to the need to reinforce promptly the Ship Island garrison.[52]

This time Hurlbut reacted. On January 4, 1865, orders were issued for the 2d Battery, Ohio Light Artillery, "to proceed as soon as possible with its guns and a full supply of ammunition" to Ship Island and report to Colonel Holmstedt.

Capt. Augustus Beach and his Ohioans broke camp at Greenville, Louisiana, on the 7th, and boarded a steamboat. The next day the battery landed and went into camp on the island.[53]

In early July, 1865, the war over, the prison camp deactivated, and the men's three-year enlistments about to expire, it was determined by General Canby's headquarters to relieve the 2d Ohio Battery, and

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51. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XLI, pt. IV, pp. 819-20.

52. Ibid., p. 942.

53. Company Books, 2d Ohio Battery, NA, RG 94.

bring the unit to New Orleans. On the 14th, the Ohioans, having spent six months on the island, boarded a steamboat. They left one of their comrades behind. Pvt. Norman Vanorden had died in the post hospital, on May 15, of inflamation of the stomach and intestines.[54]

F. Trouble Between the Guards and Prisoners

1. Two Inmates are Shot to Death

Although the enlisted guards were blacks and the prisoners were whites, only two incidents resulted in the shooting to death of prisoners. The first of these occurred on December 15 and the second on April 23. For the first of these there are two accounts--Colonel Holmstedt's report to the Commissary-General of Prisoners and the story as told to Confederate Nurse Kate Cumming by an exchanged soldier.

Colonel Holmstedt stated that the prison camp cooks had repeatedly complained to the officer-of-the-day that they could not attend to their duties unless "protected from the annoyances of other prisoners of war, who crowded around the cook-houses in violation of existing orders." On December 19, Pvt. J. C. Dunklin of Lockhart's Alabama Battalion and a number of others, despite repeated warnings from Pvt. George Rice of Company K, 74th USCI, persisted in cooking rations for themselves at the cooks' stove. Whereupon, Private Rice called for Corporal-of-the-Guard Robert Perkins. Perkins succeeded in restoring order and compelled the troublemakers to leave. They soon returned, however.

Private Rice now left his post, and told the Rebels he would "waste no more time telling them to leave." He then returned to his post, from where he repeated his order to get out. Private Dunklin refused to budge. Rice then threw his rifle-musket to his shoulder and fired, killing Dunklin.

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54. Ibid.

Colonel Holmstedt, upon investigating the tragedy, exonerated Private Rice, who had merely carried out the orders of his superiors in not allowing any resistance to the performance of his duties. The shooting of Dunklin, Holmstedt noted, "has had a good effect on the surviving, undisciplined crew."[55]

According to Kate Cumming's informant, the 16-year-old Dunklin had been ill but was recouperating. Several bushels of sweet potatoes had been sent to the prisoners by Mobileans, and Dunklin had asked permission of the sentry on duty at the galley to roast a potatoe on the stove. It was granted.

Soon afterwards, the guard was relieved. When Dunklin asked the cook to given him the potatoe, Private Rice was unaware of what had transpired on the previous relief. As the cook picked up the potatoe, he saw that Rice had cocked his piece and was aiming it at Dunklin. The cook shouted, "Look out, he is going to shoot!"

It was too late, because Rice had already squeezed the trigger, shooting Dunklin through the heart. Private Rice then reloaded his rifle-musket, remarking, "I have killed one of the damned rebels, and I'll kill another if I can get a chance!"

Dr. W. R. Robinson, a contract surgeon, was sent for, and, upon dashing up, declared, "This boy has been brutally murdered, and he intended to report it immediately." He then entered the death in the hospital record book.

When questioned by Colonel Holmstedt, Private Rice explained that he had been ordered by Officer-of-the-Day William C. Abbe "to allow no one to go to the stove but the cook."

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55. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VII, p. 1246.

Col. Charles D. Anderson, the senior ranking prisoner, called on Commandant Holmstedt, asking for an investigation. Holmstedt replied that this was a right "prisoners of war could not demand!"[56]

The other killing of a prisoner by a guard, happening as it did in the fourth week of April, when the camp was crowded by more than 4,000 prisoners and the war all but over, caused no official comment, beyond an entry in the morning returns for that date, listing the deceased's name and cause of death. Colonel Holmstedt even neglected to file the prerequisite report required by the Commissary-General of Prisoners.[57]

2. A Confederate Nurse's View

Kate Cumming chronicled additional information concerning the hardships faced by the prisoners. On January 7, while in Mobile, she learned that soldiers of the 21st Alabama Infantry, captured at Fort Gaines, had been exchanged three days before and had returned to their homes. She was told that, while confined on Ship Island, they had "received shocking treatment at the hands of their jailer."

The next day, she visited one of these prisoners, Sgt. L. Henry Griffing. She was shocked by what she saw. "Never had she seen such an emaciated frame." He was completely "prostrated from disease and starvation."

From Griffing, Kate heard of how, on their arrival at Ship Island,

> they were placed under negro guards, and every possible indignity heaped upon them. They had to walk miles for every stick of wood they used, and if they showed the least

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56. Kate Cumming, Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse by Kate Cumming, edited by Richard B. Harwell (Baton Rouge, 1959), pp. 250-51.

57. Morning Reports of Prisoners of War at Ship Island, Miss., Dec. 1864-June 1856, NA, Microcopy M-598.

disposition to lay down their load, they had a bayonet stuck into them by the guard.

When they were sick, Griffing continued, "they were put on straw right on the ground," and the slightest pressure caused water to seep upward through the sand.

Griffing's tale of woe caused Kate to feel "confident that in time our wrongs will be redressed. . . . In listening to all these tales of wrong and insult, I cannot but think that our sins must have been great to have deserved this."[58]

G. State of Alabama Takes Measures to Improve the Lot of Alabamans Confined on Ship Island

On December 17, 1864, Duff C. Green, Quartermaster-General for the State of Alabama, wrote General Granger that a recent called session of the state legislature had appropriated $50,000, "or so much thereof as shall be necessary," to provide rations, clothing and necessary comforts for Alabamans confined on Ship Island. He had been directed by Governor Thomas H. Watts to proceed to the barrier island and to determine personally the Alabamans' needs, provided he could secure permission to do so from Federal authorities. In addition, he wished authority to ship through the blockade into New Orleans and there to sell 200 bales of cotton, the proceeds from which would be employed to purchase such supplies and provision as the troops required.[59]

General Canby's headquarters, to whom General Granger referred Green's communication, was agreeable to this arrangement.

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58. Cumming, Journal of a Confederate Nurse, pp. 250-51.

59. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VII, p. 1227; Acts of the Called Session, 1864, and of the Regular Annual Session of the General Assembly of Alabama . . . (Montgomery, 1864), p. 65.

Details would be worked out by Col. Charles C. Dwight and the commanding officers of the District of West Florida and South Alabama.[60]

H. Month-by-Month Changes in the Camp's Population

1. Situation in November

During November, the population of the camp was slashed by nearly one-third from 1,299 to 866.[61] On the 6th, 367 prisoners boarded a steamer, which was to transport them to New York City, where they were to be exchanged.[62]

Coincidentally, there were received at the prison camp by transfer from New Orleans 71 prisoners, 70 officers and 1 enlisted man. Another draft of 29 prisoners reached the island from New Orleans on the 9th.[63]

Assistant Surgeon Gihon was required to submit semi-monthly returns listing the deaths occurring among the prisoners of war. The return for November 1-15 read:

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60. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VII, p. 1238.

61. Ahlefeldt to Commissary-General, undated letters Nos. A-468, A-469, A-470, NA, RG 249, Register of Ltrs. Recd., Commissary-General; Register of Prisoners, Ship Island, NA, Microcopy M-598.

62. Ibid.

63. Ahlefeldt to Commissary-General, undated letter A-467, NA, RG 249, Register of Ltrs. Recd., Commissary-General.

No.	Name	Rank	Command	Where Captured	When Captured	Death	Cause	Remarks
1	Merrill, R. B.	Pvt.	Lockhart's Bn.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 1, 1864	Chro. Diarrhea	Grave No. 7
2	Davis, J. C.	Cpl.	Lockhart's Bn.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 3, 1864	Rubeola	Grave No. 8
3	Slaughter, J. C.	Pvt.	Lockhart's Bn.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 3, 1864	Rubeola	Grave No. 9
4	Holley, A.	Pvt.	Lockhart's Bn.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 3, 1864	Rubeola	Grave No. 10
5	Abercrombie, J. A.	Pvt.	Fla. Home Guard	Marianna, Fla.	Sept. 27, 1864	Nov. 4, 1864	Diarrhea	Grave No. 11
6	Adcock, J.	Pvt.	21st Ala. Inft.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 6, 1864	Diarrhea	Grave No. 12
7	Duvio O.	Pvt.	1st La.	Plaquemine, La.	Sept. 11, 1864	Nov. 8, 1864	Rubeola	Grave No. 13
8	Hinson, Edward	Pvt.	1st Ala. Arty.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 9, 1864	Pneumonia	Grave No. 14
9	Goodloe, Charles	Sgt.	Lockhart's Bn.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 10, 1864	Carditas	Grave No. 15
10	Seawell, Charles	Pvt.	Lockhart's Bn.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 10, 1864	Typhoid	Grave No. 16
11	Tate, Geo. W.	Pvt.	21st Ala. Inft.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 12, 1864	Typhoid	Grave No. 17
12	Linville, W. W.	Pvt.	Lockhart's Bn.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 14, 1864	Diarrhea	Grave No. 18
13	Adams, Jesse R.	Pvt.	1st Ala. Arty.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 14, 1864	Dysentery	Grave No. 19
14	Talbert, James M.	Pvt.	21st Ala. Inft.	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 15, 1864	Dysentery	Grave No. 20
15	Robinson, M. E.	Pvt.	Pelham Cadets	Ft. Gaines	Aug. 8, 1864	Nov. 15, 1864	Typhoid	Grave No. 21[64]

64. Gihon to Holmstedt, Nov. 16, 1864, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

The incomplete monthly return for November, submitted by Colonel Holmstedt, revealed:

On hand October 31, 1864	1,299
Joined	100
Total	1,399
Transferred to other stations	
Delivered or exchanged	
Died	48
Escaped	
Released	
Total loss	
Sick	
Citizens[65]	

2. Situation in December

The December 1, 1864, morning report for the prisoner of war facility prepared by Colonel Holmstedt read:

65. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VII, p. 999.

	Duty						Hospital							
No. of Mess	Army Officers	Naval Officers	NCOs	Privates	Petty Officers & Seamen	Total	Army Officers	Naval Officers	NCOs	Privates	Petty Officers & Seamen	Total	Aggregate	Aggregate Yesterday
1			13	59		72				12		12	84	84
2			13	52		65			1	5		6	71	71
3			10	58		68			2	5		7	75	75
4			15	67		82			1	3		4	86	86
5			7	62		69			1	4		5	74	75
6			9	55		64				5		5	69	69
7			11	59		70				8		8	78	78
8			11	57		68				11		11	79	79
9			6	20		26				6		6	32	32
10					82	82					18	18	100	101
11					52	52					12	12	64	64
12	39	12				51	1					1	52	52
Total	39	12	95	489	134	769	1		5	59	30	95	864	866

Remarks: J. M. Heard, Pvt., Co. C, 21st Alabama Infantry, captured at Fort Gaines, Ala., died Nov. 30, 1864; and Oliver Staff, Messenger, Ram Tennessee, captured Aug. 5, 1864, died Nov. 30.[66]

66. Morning Reports for Prisoners of War, Ship Island, Miss. Dec. 1, 1864, NA, RG 249.

The morning report transmitted to the Commissary-General of Prisoners for December 15 provides additional data, as it accounts for the prisoners on detail. Also it shows the organizational assignment of the 285 prisoners received from New Orleans on the 13th into mess Nos. 13-17. The report read:

	In Camp						In Camp Hospital					
No. of Mess	Army Officers	Naval Officers	NCOs	Privates	Petty Officers & Seamen	Total	Army Officers	Naval Officers	NCOs	Privates	Petty Officers & Seamen	Total
1			12	54		66				10		10
2			11	44		55			2	6		8
3			10	51		61			1	6		9
4			14	60		74			2	6		8
5			6	54		60			1	9		10
6			9	44		53				11		11
7			11	56		67			1	7		8
8			10	52		62			1	10		11
9			6	17		23				6		6
10					81	81					18	18
11					50	50					13	13
12			3	59		62						
13			5	64		69				1		1
14			11	56		67				1		1
15			4	37		41				1		1
16			2	26		28				12		12
17	39	12				51						
Total	39	12	114	674	131	970			8	88	31	127

In Garrison Hospital as Nurses, Clerks, & Stewards

Army Officers	Naval Officers	NCOs	Privates	Petty Officers & Seamen	Total	Aggregate	Aggregate Yesterday	Remarks
		1	3		4	80	80	Pvt. John Pitts, Co. G, 21st Alabama, captured at Fort Gaines on Aug. 8, died on Dec. 15.
			4		4	67	67	
		1			1	71	71	
						82	82	
		2			2	72	72	
			1		1	65	65	
						75	75	
			2		2	75	75	
			2		2	31	31	
				3	3	102	99	
						63	63	
						62	52	
						70		
						68		
						42		
						40		
1		4	12	3	1	52		
1		4	12	3	1	1117	833[67]	

67. Morning Reports for Prisoners of War, Ship Island, Miss., Dec. 19, 1864, NA, RG 249.

In December, the number of prisoners increased from 866 to 1,181. On the 19th, Colonel Holmstedt forwarded to Inspector & Commissary of Prisoners Henry W. Wessells a corrected muster roll of the 285 Rebel prisoners received from New Orleans on the 13th[68] Six days later, on the 19th, another 30 prisoners arrived from New Orleans.[69]

The cold, damp December weather caused a marked rise in the death rate. During this 31-day period, 69 Confederates died and were buried. Of these, the causes of death were entered as: dysentery, 55; diarrhea, 4; pneumonia, 2; smallpox, 2; typhoid, 2; phthisis, 1; gunshot wounds, 1; and ascites, 1.[70]

The December return filed by Colonel Holmstedt listed:

On hand November 30, 1864	866
joined	315
Total	1,181
Transferred to other stations	1
Delivered or exchanged	0
Died	70
Escaped	0
Released	0
Total loss	71
Sick	73
Citizens	0[71]

3. Situation in January

The number of Confederate prisoners confined on the island was slashed by more than 50 percent in January. One hundred and forty-two prisoners were received from New Orleans (141 on the 25th

68. Holmstedt to Wessells, Dec. 19, 1864, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

69. Register of Arrival of Prisoners at Ship Island, NA, Microcopy M-598, Ship Island.

70. Register of Deaths, Prisoners of War, Ship Island, NA, RG 490, Ship Island.

71. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 999. The death and burial register for the camp lists 69 deaths, rather than 70 for the month.

and 1 on the 27th) and 1 from East Pascagoula on the 12th, while 620 (601 on the 4th and 16 on the 13th) were either transferred to New Orleans or released. The number of deaths declined to nine.[72]

Among those released were 12 sailors and marines. On December 6, Colonel Holmstedt had forwarded to the Commissary-General of Prisoners a letter listing 12 Confederates captured either at Mobile Bay on August 5 or at Fort Gaines three days later, who desired to take the oath of allegiance and enlist in the Union navy.[73]

Secretary of War Stanton rejected the prisoners' application.[74]

Slow and infrequent communications between Washington and the Gulf Frontier, however, nullified Stanton's decision.

On December 28, General Canby, recognizing that the sailors had been captured by the United States Navy, not the Army, directed Colonel Holmstedt to transfer to Commodore Palmer of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron such of those naval prisoners as desire to enlist in the Navy and are vouched for by the captain of Vincennes.[75] Holmstedt accordingly turned over to Commander Greene of Vincennes 16 Confederate sailors and marines who took the Oath of Allegiance and became galvanized Confederates.[76]

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72. Holmstedt to Wessells, undated & Jan. 28, 1865, NA, RG 249, Register of Ltrs. Recd., Commissary-General.

73. Homstedt to Wessells, Dec. 6, 1864, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd. The prisoners making this request were: William Bateman, Henry Beckman, Peter Elden, John Gilleland, Charles Viler, John Kennedy, John Dorgan, John Reynolds, Michael McLaughlin, Michael Dunn, James O'Keefe, and M. McNamara. The first four had been sailors aboard Tennessee or Selma, and the others were Confederate marines surrendered at Fort Gaines.

74. Hitchcock to Wessells, Jan. 3, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Sent.

75. Christensen to Wood, Dec. 28, 1864, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

76. Greene to Holmstedt, Jan. 3, 1865, & Holmstedt to Wessells, Jan. 12, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

The return for the first month of 1865 listed:

On hand December 31, 1864	1,111
Joined	143
Total	1,254
Transferred to other stations	19
Delivered or exchanged	601
Died	9
Escaped	1
Released on taking oath	16
Total loss	630
Sick	22
Citizens	18[77]

4. Situation in February

The population of the camp was stable in February. Only one new prisoner was received--William Rogers, 3d assistant engineer, captured on Mobile Bay. He was turned over to Colonel Holmstedt on the 27th. Coincidentally, three inmates had been transferred to other stations.

The health of the prisoners had improved, and there were only five deaths during the 28 days.

The consolidated report for the 28th reflected this situation:

77. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 1000.

	Fit for Duty					In Hospital								
	Officers	Noncommissioned Officers	Privates	Petty Officers & Seamen	Citizens	Officers	Noncommissioned Officers	Privates	Petty Officers & Seamen	Citizens	Aggregate	Aggregate 2/27	Joined	Died
Army Officers	27	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	27	27	X	X
Naval Officers	14	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	14	13	1	X
Soldiers	X	44	358	X	X	X	X	6	X	X	408	408	X	1
Seamen	X	X	X	144	X	X	X	X	7	X	151	152	X	1
Citizens	X	X	X	X	16	X	X	X	X	X	61	16	X	X
											616	617	1	2

Died -- A. R. Libbey, Pvt., 3d Louisiana Cavalry, captured Adams County, Miss., Nov. 2, 1864, died Feb. 26, 1865; J. W. Smith, Landsman, captured Ram Tennessee, Mobile Bay, Aug. 5, 1864, died Feb. 27, 1865.[78]

78. Consolidated Morning Reports of Prisoners of War at Ship Island, NA, Microcopy M-598, Ship Island.

According to the return for February, these changes in strength had occurred:

On hand January 31, 1865	624
Joined	0
Total	624
Transferred to other stations	3
Delivered or exchanged	0
Died	5
Escaped	0
Released	0
Total loss	8
Sick	13
Citizens	18[79]

5. Situation in March

In March the number of prisoners was reduced from 616 to 410. On the 2d, 161 Confederates were declared exchanged and sent to New Orleans. Of these, 13 army officers and 18 noncommissioned officers were to be exchanged for Yankee soldiers held by the Rebels.[80]

This exchange had been instigated by several letters addressed by Maj. James R. Curell, Confederate Agent of Exchange at Mobile, to Col. Charles C. Dwight, the Union Agent of Exchange at New Orleans. On February 10, Curell had urged a prompt exchange of the remaining Confederates surrendered at Fort Gaines, some six months earlier.[81]

Then, on the 20th, Curell apprised Dwight that there were at Curell's disposal 56 prisoners from General Canby's command, whom he desired to exchange for a like number of Confederates held at Ship Island or in New Orleans.

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79. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 1000. The consolidated daily report contradicts the monthly return by documenting that one prisoner should be listed under the entry, "Joined."

80. Holmstedt to Hoffman, March 7, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

81. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VII, pp. 203-04.

Curell had been informed that the Yankees held these people whom he wished embraced in the cartel: Capt. Henry Pope, assistant quartermaster, captured near Pollard, Alabama; Lt. Hugh L. Davis, aide-de-camp to Brig. Gen. George B. Hodge, captured by Union forces led by Brig. Gen. Albert Lee, and now on Ship Island; Capt. J. E. Mooney, Company C, Weatherly's Sharpshooters, captured in East Louisiana, and said to be confined on Ship Island; Pvt. Paul W. Collen, also on Ship Island; E. Montgomery, a citizen, captured near the Mississippi River; Pvts. F. M. Hash, B. C. Wood, A. B. Bruce, and T. J. Stevens of Company F, Lay's Cavalry Regiment, captured in East Louisiana; Pvt. R. F. Burion of Captain Amos' Cavalry Company and a Mr. Manuel Parker, a civilian, both of whom had been captured at Pollard.

He would also like to exchange the officers and men captured by the Federals on raids into the Florida panhandle.[82]

During the month, there had been eight deaths, up three from February, while 37 prisoners had been transferred to other stations.

The return filed by Colonel Holmstedt for March listed:

On hand February 28, 1865	616
Joined	0
Total	616
Transferred to other stations	37
Delivered or exchanged	161
Died	8
Escaped	0
Released	0
Total loss	206
Sick	15
Citizens	16[83]

82. Ibid., p. 274.

83. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 1001.

6. Situation in April

a. Coping With Prisoners Who Refuse to be Exchanged

April was a hectic month on the island. On Saturday, the 1st, Colonel Homstedt sent 34 prisoners (5 officers and 29 enlisted men) to New Orleans, reducing the camp's population to 376.[84]

Holmstedt was now confronted by how to cope administratively with certain of his prisoners. These men had refused to be exchanged and asked to be allowed to take the oath of allegiance. Eleven of them were soldiers surrendered at Fort Gaines, who had remained in the prison pen, when the other troops captured there were exchanged on January 4.

The others falling into this category were naval personnel from the captured ram Tennessee. They had chosen to stay on Ship Island when their shipmates were exchanged on April 1.

Most of these people, Holmstedt advised Washington, were conscripts, whose families lived within the Union lines in dependent and destitute circumstances.[85]

Before Commissary-General Hoffman had an opportunity to resolve the issue, the defeat of the Confederacy made it academic.

b. Newcomers Flood the Camp

During the first half of April, thousands of prisoners were sent to Ship Island. This came as a result of the campaign launched by General Canby, on March 17, and aimed at the early capture of Mobile by Union columns advancing out of the Mobile Point and Barrancas enclaves.

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84. Holmstedt to Hoffman, April 1, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

85. Holmstedt to Hoffman, April 3, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

On the 2d, Holmstedt receipted for 8 prisoners arriving from Fort Gaines. This was but a preview of what to expect. On the 3d, 281 Rebels captured by Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele's Pensacola column in fighting on its thrust toward Pollard landed on the island. On Wednesday, the 5th, four prisoners (G. M. Martin, J. W. Martin, W. Rainey, and E. Muse) secured a small boat and escaped the island.

The next day, a boat arrived from Mobile Point and landed another 37 prisoners.[86]

On the 8th, soldiers of the XIII and XVI Corps stormed Spanish Fort, capturing hundreds of prisoners from Bryan Thomas' Alabama and Randal Gibson's Louisiana brigades. Col. Henry Bertram was named by General Granger to take charge of these people, make arrangements for their safekeeping, and prompt transfer to Ship Island. Bertram accomplished this task with celerity, and, on the 10th, Colonel Holmstedt receipted for and logged into the camp 562 prisoners.[87]

Meanwhile, on the 9th, soldiers from Steele's column and the XIII and XVI Corps carried the Confederate position at Blakely, capturing 206 officers and 2,850 enlisted men. Orders were accordingly forthcoming for Colonel Bertram to take charge of these people, and for Chief Engineer Joseph Bailey to ready a sufficient number of seagoing vessels to transport them to Ship Island.[88]

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86. New-Orleans Times, April 9, 1865; Morning Report of Prisoners at Ship Island, Miss., Dec. 1864-June 1865, NA, Microcopy M-598; Vincennes Log, April 1-5, 1865, NA, RG 24.

87. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LXI, pt. I, pp. 207-08; Holmstedt to Hoffman, April 15, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

88. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LXI, pt. I, pp. 207-08; Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 490; Holmstedt to Hoffman, April 18, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

Among the Confederates captured at Blakely was Lt. Alden McLellan of the 1st Missouri Brigade. The next morning, he recalled, the prisoners, numbering more than 3,000 soldiers from the Missouri Brigade, the Alabama Reserves, and Holtzclaw's Alabama and Barry's Mississippi Brigades, were started for Greenwood, on the east side of Mobile Bay. After marching about three miles, the provost guards turned the head of the column into Spanish Fort. This was an uncomfortable situation, because the fort was being shelled by Battery Gladden. Lieutenant McLellan and his comrades were held at the fort for several hours before they were hurried on to Greenwood.

On the 14th, the Confederates were marched to Starke's Wharf, where they boarded steamboats. Provost Marshal Howard Vandagrift and troops detailed by Colonel Bertram accompanied the Rebels. The next day, the prisoners landed across the Ship Island wharf, and Vandagrift turned them over to Colonel Holmstedt.

In accordance with orders from Holmstedt, the officers and enlisted men were immediately segregated. As the rank and file moved out, a tall Arkansan held up his hand and called to his captain, "The bottom rail is on top." Whereupon, a soldier of the 74th USCI pricked the Arkansan with his bayonet in the rump.

McLellan and the officers were "corralled" on the sand east of the lighthouse and the men nearby. The deadline was a low ridge made by scraping up sand. Many of the enlisted men had no shelter from the sun and rain, while the officers had small A tents. Our rations, McLellan recalled:

> were bad and the water bad, as we got only the seepage from barrels sunk in the sand three-fourths of their length. The wood we had to bring two and a half miles from the east end of the island.[89]

89. Alden McLellan, "Vivid Reminiscences of War Times," Confederate Veteran, Vol. XIV, No. 6, pp. 264-65; Official Records, Series I, Vol. (Continued)

On April 5, before most of these people flooded in, Colonel Holmstedt had written the Commissary-General of Prisoners, "How am I to provide for shelter of prisoners" now arriving.[90] No reply was received, because most of the prisoners had been released by the time Holmstedt's communication reached the War Department.

Among the more than 3,000 men arriving at Ship Island, in mid-April, were 34 blacks captured at Blakely. They were promptly transferred to New Orleans for processing by General Canby's provost marshal.[91]

3. Discipline Tightens

News of President Lincoln's assassination reached the island on April 17. This caused the guards to crack down on the prisoners. On the evening of the 23d, Sgt. Edward H. Inzer of the 9th Texas Cavalry (Dismounted) stood up to shake sand from his blanket, and was shot and killed.

More typical was an incident involving Lieutenant McLellan and Capt. J. W. Barklay of the 1st Missouri Cavalry (Dismounted). One day, while they were preparing their rations, Barklay, in telling a story, used the word "nigger." A guard overheard and began abusing them for calling them niggers. He caused such an uproar that the officer-of-the-day and several other sentries rushed over. McLellan and

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89. (Continued) LXI, pt. I, pp. 207-08. On April 11, Colonel Bertram reported that his brigade numbered 1,512 effectives. Of this number, 200 had gone to Ship Island, on the 9th, aboard Alice Vivian with the more than 550 Spanish Fort prisoners; two regiments were guarding the more than 3,000 Blakely prisoners; and 400 men were with Colonel Bailey at Starke's Landing. Official Records, Series I, Vol. LXI, pt. II, p. 328; Vincennes Log, April 6-15, 1865, NA, RG 24.

90. Holmstedt to Commissary-General, April 5, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

91. Holmstedt to Commissary-General, undated, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

Barklay then slipped into their tents and "lay down until the fuss was over."[92]

4. The Monthly Return

When he prepared his monthly returns for April, Colonel Holmstedt noted the camp's changes in strength:

On hand March 31, 1865	410
Joined	3,046
Total	4,356
Transferred to other stations	277
Delivered or exhanged	0
Died	5
Escaped	4
Released	0
Total loss	286
Sick	44
Citizens	74[93]

The deaths, in addition to Sergeant Inzer's, were: April 16, Pvt. S. A. Busby, 62d Alabama Infantry, diarrhea, and Pvt. David Hendricks, 8th Alabama Cavalry, diarrhea; April 23, Pvt. Robert French, Cage's regiment, cancer; and Pvt. James Rogers, 19th Louisiana Infantry, dysentery.[94]

I. Nearly all the Prisoners of War are Transferred and Exchanged

In mid-April, Lt. Gen. Richard Taylor, Confederate commander of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, & East Louisiana, sent Major Curell to confer with an agent to be named by General Canby. Through

92. McLellan, "Vivid Reminiscences of War Times," Confederate Veteran, p. 265; Morning Reports of Prisoners of War at Ship Island, Miss., Dec. 1864-June 1865, NA, Microcopy M-498. Colonel Holmstedt, as required by regulations, failed to make an investigation and submit to the Commissary-General of Prisoners a report of the details of Sergeant Inzer's death.

93. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 1001. On April 20, 3 prisoners were received at the camp from the gunboat John P. Jackson.

94. Register of Burials at Ship Island Prison Camp, NA, Microcopy M-598, Ship Island.

this action, Taylor hoped to expedite an early exchange for his thousands of men captured in the fighting on the approaches to Mobile, for a like number of Union prisoners paroled by the Confederacy at Vicksburg.[95]

After meeting with Major Curell, General Canby assured General Taylor that measures have been taken to provide for exchange of all Confederates captured by troops under Canby's command. There would be no delay, he promised, in sending to Vicksburg the Rebels captured in and around Mobile, beyond that of the paperwork occasioned by preparation of requisite rolls. Canby was certain that the number of Confederates to be delivered at Vicksburg would be in excess of the Federals currently held by General Taylor's command.[96]

To implement Canby's decision, Provost Marshal Brig. Gen. George L. Andrews notified Colonel Holmstedt that all Ship Island prisoners of war were to be "transferred with as little delay as possible to Vicksburg." Four Companies of the 18th New York Cavalry were en route to the barrier island to serve as the prisoners' guards while in transit.

Upon arrival of necessary transportation, the prisoners were to be sent off under suitable guard. The Rebel officers were to be segregated from the enlisted men.

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95. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, pp. 490-91. As of April 14, about 4,700 Union prisoners had crossed the Big Black, 14 miles east of Vicksburg. About 1,100 of these men were found by medical personnel at Camp Fisk to be ill. Some 400 of these had been sent north by steamboat to Benton Barracks, and the remainder were to follow as soon as hospital steamers were ready to receive them. The rest of the returnees were in "excellent health," particularly the Cahaba prisoners. Ibid., pp. 492-93.

96. Ibid., p. 499.

Holmstedt was to forward proper rolls with each detachment. To prevent unnecessary delays, he was to have the rolls prepared before arrival of the transportation.[97]

General Canby, to accelerate the movement of the prisoners to New Orleans, directed his chief quartermaster to have all transports returning from Mobile Bay call at the barrier island, and "take as many men aboard as their respective capacities allow." Guards would be requisitioned from Colonel Bertram.[98]

Colonel Holmstedt moved with alacrity. On April 29, 267 prisoners (264 army officers, 1 naval officer, 1 petty officer, and 1 civilian) were processed, released from confinement, and sent aboard a steamboat. The vessel sailed for New Orleans that evening, and, before daybreak on the 30th, they landed at Milneburg. The Confederates were then taken to Elysian Fields Street Depot by train and marched to the Picayune Cotton Press on Press Street. There, they were held until May 4, when 200 of them were marched to the levee and boarded the steamer Mollie Able. She soon cast off for Vicksburg, where they were to be exchanged.[99]

On Thursday, May 2, 487 noncommissioned officers, 35 petty officers, 3,376 privates and musicians, and 42 civilians marched aboard ships tied-up at the Ship Island wharf. The vessels then proceeded to New Orleans, some by way of the lakes and others up the

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97. Andrews to Holmstedt, April 23, 1865, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Provost Marshal, Mil. Div. West Miss.

98. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, pp. 156, 518.

99. McLellan, "Vivid Reminiscences of War Times," Confederate Veteran, p. 265; Charles B. Cleveland, "With the Third Missouri Regiment," Confederate Veteran, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, p. 20; New-Orleans Times, April 30, 1865; Morning Reports of Prisoners of War at Ship Island, Miss., Dec. 1864-June 1865, NA, Microcopy M-598. The officers ranged in rank from colonels to 2d lieutenants.

Mississippi. At New Orleans, they were landed and reembarked on river steamers for the run up the Mississippi to Vicksburg.

The departure of these men left 29 people in the prison camp--27 citizens and two soldiers.[100]

On May 6, Mollie Able reached Vicksburg with the 200 officers. Lieutenant McLellan and his comrades went ashore, and soon found themselves on a train en route to Big Black Bridge, where their guards released them and returned to Vicksburg. At Vicksburg, the exchange officer had sent aboard the cars a ration of sugar and coffee for each Confederate. McLellan and his fellow officers, as the railroad was not operating east of the Big Black, walked to Jackson.[101]

On the 9th, five days after General Taylor had surrendered the troops in his Department, General Canby directed his commander at Vicksburg, Maj. Gen. Napoleon J. T. Dana, to parole the prisoners reaching Vicksburg by way of New Orleans from Ship Island. These people, except those from Missouri and Kentucky, would then be sent to their homes. Those from the two border states were to be held at Vicksburg until the War Department decided their disposition.[102]

Acknowledging Canby's communication, General Dana reported that, previous to its receipt, all Ship Island prisoners had been turned over to the Confederate agent of exchange "on parole in lieu of prisoners delivered by him."[103]

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100. Holmstedt to Hoffman, May 1, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.; Morning Reports of Prisoners of War at Ship Island, Miss., Dec. 1864-June 1865, NA, Microcopy M-498; W. A. Buster, "Experiences in Escaping Prison Life," Confederate Veteran, Vol. XV, No. 8, p. 378.

101. McLellan, "Vivid Reminiscences of War Times," Confederate Veteran, p. 265; Cleveland, "With the Third Missouri Regiment," Confederate Veteran, p. 20.

102. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 549.

102. Ibid., p. 551.

On May 14, General Dana explained that he had presumed the Ship Island prisoners were an offset for the men delivered to us on parole by the Confederates. They had accordingly been paroled and this notation made on the rolls:

> The officer signing this parole does so in behalf of all the men above his signature and all described on this roll are not to perform any military or constabulary duty until regularly exchanged.

It had been agreed that these men were to return to their homes, and that they were not to be disturbed so long as they obeyed the laws and honored their paroles.[104]

On May 7, the number of prisoners in Colonel Holmstedt's custody was reduced to four (three civilians and a soldier) when 24 citizens were released and departed the island en route to Vicksburg by way of New Orleans. The other soldier left behind on the 2d, Pvt. Frank Bryant of the 1st Alabama Reserves, had died that day of typhoid. This was the 153d and last death to be recorded among the Confederate prisoners confined in the Ship Island prison pen.

Four days later, on the 11th, the number of prisoners on the camp rolls was increased to 10 by arrival of an officer and 5 enlisted men from Mobile.[105]

The monthly return filed by Colonel Holmstedt for May detailed:

On hand April 30, 1865	4,070
Joined	6
Total	4,076
Transferred to other stations	4,065

104. Ibid., p. 556.

105. Morning Reports of Prisoners of War at Ship Island, Miss., Dec. 1864-June 1865, Microcopy M-598.

Delivered or exchanged		1
Died		0
Exchanged		0
Released		4,066
Total loss		0
Sick		70[106]
Citizens		

J. The War Ends and the Camp Closes

The prisoner of war camp, four years of bloody conflict ended, was closed in early June. On the 1st, a soldier and 3 citizens were sent to New Orleans. And, on the 8th, the last of the Rebel prisoners (an officer and five enlisted men) boarded a New Orleans-bound ship.[107]

Relaying this information to Commissary-General of Prisoners Hoffman, Holmstedt noted that, hereinafter, no more prisoner of war returns would be filed. His last monthly return read:

On hand May 31, 1865	10
Joined	0
Total	10
Transferred to other stations	10
Delivered or exchanged	0
Died	0
Exchanged	0
Released	0
Total loss	10
Sick	0
Citizens	3[108]

106. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 1002. Two prisoners (Pvt. R. H. McDonald of the 2d Alabama Infantry and Pvt. W. J. Vernon of the 8th Alabama Cavalry) who died on April 30 were listed in neither the April nor the May returns.

107. Holmstedt to Hoffman, June 10 & 14, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd. The six prisoners were: G. L. C. Davis, ____ Max, M. Hornberger, J. M. Carr, C. F. Robinson, and _____. They had been retained, in accordance with orders from Capt. W. H. Sterling. Holmstedt to Hoffman, May 24 & June 8, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs Recd.

108. Official Records, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 1002.

XI. THE ARMY'S LAST ISLAND YEARS

A. Garrisoning Ship Island: October 1865-November 1870

1. 10th USCHA Relieves the 78th USCT

Maj. Rufus Paten's three-company battalion from the 78th USCT spent two months on Ship Island. On December 21, 1865, it was relieved by Capt. Jesse Fettus and Companies F and K, 10th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery. The soldiers of the 78th USCT, having already packed their gear, left immediately for Greenville, Louisiana.

Five months later Company L, 10th USCHA, reached the island from Fort Pike and reinforced the garrison. Capt. Edwin F. Barstow of Company L ranked Captain .Fettus, and, as senior officer, he assumed command of the three-company post.[1]

2. Act of July 1866 and the Expansion of the Number of Regular Infantry Regiments to 45

The Civil War and the huge army build-up during that terrible fratricidal conflict conditioned the Nation in 1866 to the biggest increase in its regular infantry force since the War of 1812. The Act of July 28, 1866, provided a postwar military establishment of 26 more regular regiments of footsoldiers than had fought for the Union. The number was 45. All regiments were formed in accordance with the prewar tables of organization of ten companies, and with the regiment and battalions identical. The new companies were strong in noncommissioned officers and specialists having 19, and privates totaled between 50 and 100 at the discretion of the President.

The 1st through 10th Infantry retained their numbers. The first battalions of the 11th through the 19th expanded into regiments of the same respective numbers, and the second battalions into the 20th through the 28th Infantry. The 1st through the 10th needed no

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1. Returns from U.S. Military Posts: 1800-1916: Ship Island, NA, Microcopy M-617.

expansion, but the converted and redesignated first and second battalions, being composed of only eight companies, each required two more companies. The 29th through the 37th Infantry were supposed to be reorganized from the third battalions of the Civil War units, but, because these had never been raised for the 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, and 19th regiments, and only partially for the other four, the postwar units had to be recruited. "Eight new regiments of ten companies each, four regiments of which shall be composed of colored men," to be commanded by white officers, were organized. The 38th through the 41st became the black infantry regiments and the 42d through the 45th were composed of men from the Veteran Reserve Corps.[2]

During the second five months of 1866, 26 of the 45 regiments remained on garrison duty in the former states of the Confederacy, while 12 marched westward into Indian country. To the soldiers who campaigned and garrisoned frontier forts during the Indian campaigns of the late 1860s, there never seemed to be enough men, but 45 infantry regiments were more than the Nation was willing to afford, when there was no threat to its security. Recruiting soon stopped, and, in 1867, the companies were directed not to replace their losses until their strength fell to 50 privates.[3]

3. Two Companies of 20th Infantry Guard Ship Island

The 10th USCHA, in accordance with the act of July 28, 1866, was scheduled to be mustered out soon after the beginning of the new year. The War Department accordingly issued orders transferring the 20th Infantry from Richmond, Virginia, to the Department of the Gulf, with its headquarters to be at Baton Rouge. The regiment proceeded to Norfolk and was embarked on the steamship Missouri, on January 14, 1867. The ship sailed for New Orleans the next day,

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2. John K. Mahon & Romana Danysh, Army Lineage Series, Infantry, Part I: Regular Army (Washington, 1972), p. 31.

3. Ibid.

and the troops disembarked in the Crescent City on the 27th. Next day, the companies were given their assignments. Lt. Col. Louis D. Watkins with headquarters and Companies A and E proceeded to Baton Rouge; Companies F and I to Ship Island; Company B to Alexandria, Louisiana; Company C to Marshall, Texas; Company D to Jefferson, Texas; Company G to Fort Jackson, Louisiana; Company H to Shreveport, Louisiana; and Company K to Fort St. Philip, Louisiana.

Before nightfall on the 30th, Companies F and I, Capt. John J. Huff commanding, landed on Ship Island and relieved companies F, K, and L, 10th USCHA. The battalion of blacks remained on the island until February 1, when they sailed for Baton Rouge to be mustered out.[4]

4. 39th U.S. Infantry Assumes Responsibility for the Post

Captain Huff's battalion spent only ten weeks on the island. On April 6, orders were received from Headquarters, Fifth Military District, to relieve the two Ship Island companies of the 20th Infantry with a similar number from the 39th Infantry.[5]

The Army moved rapidly. Four days later, on the 10th, Companies B and E, 39th U.S. Infantry (Capt. Thomas H. Reeves commanding), reached Ship Island from Greenville, Louisiana, and took over from Huff's battalion. Huff and his people left the island on the 13th, reached New Orleans the next morning, from where they preceded to Monroe, in northeast Louisiana.

The 39th Infantry, one of the Army's four regiments of black footsoldiers, had been organized on August 22, 1866, with Col.

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4. Returns from U.S. Military Posts: 1800-1916: Ship Island, NA, Microcopy M-617; Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments: June 1821-Dec. 1916, NA, Microcopy M-665.

5. Hqrs., Fifth District, to Hqrs., Dept. of Louisiana, April 6, 1867, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Dist of Louisiana.

Joseph A. Mower as its commanding officer. Mower had had a distinguished Civil War career, and as a major general of volunteers had led a corps under Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman on the march through the Carolinas. The regiment had consisted of five detachments until March 25, 1867, when it was reorganized into ten companies.[6]

The two Ship Island companies were reinforced by Company H, which arrived from Greenville on July 24 and by Company I which was transferred from Greenville on January 18, 1868. Coincidentally, on the latter date, Colonel Mower and his staff reached Ship Island, and the post became headquarters for the 39th United States Infantry.

Ship Island continued as a four-company post until June 23, 1868, when Company I was transferred to Fort Pike. Within 48 hours the post returned to its former strength, when Company A arrived from Fort Pike.

On January 24, 1869, General Mower and regimental headquarters were transferred to New Orleans. Upon Mower's departure, Capt. D. A. Ward, senior officer present, became post commander. Then, six days later, the garrison was increased to five companies by arrival of Company I from Fort Pike. On February 15, Maj. Zenas Bliss landed on the wharf and relieved Captain Ward.

Some five weeks later, the garrison was reduced to three companies--B, E, and H--when Companies A and I were sent to Jackson Barracks, Louisiana.[7]

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6. John H. Nankwell, History of the Twenty-fifth U. S. Infantry, 1869-1926 (Denver, 1927), pp. 6-7. On March 25, Companies C, D, and F proceeded from Greenville to Forts Pike St. Philip, and Jackson respectively; on April 14, Company K to Donaldsonville; and May 7, Company A, to New Iberia and Company G to Brashear City.

7. Ibid., pp. 7-8; Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments: June 1821-Dec. 1916, NA, Microcopy M-665.

Some seven months before regimental headquarters were transferred to New Orleans, Colonel Mower had been alerted to take action to prevent filibusters from using the Ship Island Anchorage to outfit an expedition for an invasion of Mexico. Mower, however, was unable to control anything beyond the range of the fort's guns. To cope with this situation, he asked that the Revenue Cutter Wilderness or a vessel similar to Ella armed with a field gun be rushed to the anchorage to enforce the neutrality laws.[8]

5. Implementing the Act of March 3, 1869

On March 3, 1869, Congress passed additional legislation reorganizing the Army. The new act provided for consolidation of the 45 infantry regiments into 25, and that the "enlisted men of two regiments of infantry shall be composed of colored men."

General Orders No. 17, March 15, issued by Army Headquarters to implement this legislation, directed that the twenty-fifth infantry (Colored) . . . be composed of the 39th and 40th Regiments." It also ordered that the 39th, currently stationed in North Carolina, be relieved as soon as possible and then to proceed to New Orleans, there to be consolidated with the 40th, now in the Department of Louisiana. The field officers of the newly constituted regiment, which with the 24th, would carry on the traditions of the black Civil War regiments, were to be: Joseph A. Mower, colonel; Edward W. Hincks, lieutenant colonel; and Zenas R. Bliss, major.

To effect the reorganization, Companies A, E, H, and K, 40th U. S. Infantry, reached Ship Island from Goldsboro, on April 19. The next day, Company E, 39th, was consolidated with Company K, 40th,

8. Mower to Comd. Officer, Dept. of the Gulf, June 16, 1868, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Gulf, 1868-70.

to form Company F, 25th U. S. Infantry; Company H, 39th, was consolidated with Company H, 40th, to form Company I, 25th; Company K, 39th, was consolidated with Company E, 40th, to form Company E, 25th; and Company B, 39th, was consolidated with Company A, 40th, to form Company G, 25th.

Company G, 25th U. S. Infantry, remained on the island only four days, leaving for Fort Jackson on April 25.

By April 30, the reorganization of the 39th and 40th into the 25th U. S. Infantry had been completed, and a special return listed a full compliment of officers and men numbering 1045. Regimental headquarters were at Jackson Barracks, Louisiana, and the companies were distributed:

Company A, Fort Pike	Company F, Ship Island
Company B, Fort Jackson	Company G, Jackson Barracks
Company C, Fort St. Philip	Company H, Fort Jackson
Company D, Jackson Barracks	Company I, Ship Island
Company E, Ship Island	Company K, Jackson Barracks

Colonel Mower was currently in command of the Department of Louisiana, so Colonel Hincks was in charge of the regiment at its organization.[9]

On February 5, 1870, the garrison again became a four-company post, when Company A, 25th U. S. Infantry, was brought over from Fort Pike. The company returned to Fort Pike on March 28.[10]

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9. Returns from U. S. Military Posts: 1800-1916: Ship Island, NA, Microcopy M-617; Mahon & Danysh, Army Linage: Infantry, pp. 31-2; Nankwell, History of the 25th U. S. Infantry, pp. 11-14; General Orders No. 25, Dept. of Louisiana, April 13, 1869, NA, RG 393.

10. Returns from U. S. Military Posts: 1800-1916: Ship Island, NA, Microcopy M-617.

6. Army Abandons Ship Island Post

On December 14, 1869, Colonel Mower requested authority from the War Department "to break up the Ship Island military post and prison," and to distribute the garrison to such other posts in the Department of Louisiana as may be deemed best for the interest of the service. The military convicts would be sent to Forts Jackson and St. Philip, where they could be "profitably employed erecting barracks."[11]

Before the War Department could make a decision, Colonel Mower died, succumbing to pneumonia in his Magazine Street home on the evening of January 6, 1870. He was succeeded as commander of the Department of Louisiana by Col. Charles H. Smith. Upon examining the files, Smith discovered that Mower's intent had been to transfer one of the three Ship Island companies to Jackson Barracks and the other two to Forts Jackson and St. Philip. The latter action would mandate construction near the two forts of a stockade and barracks for confinement of the military convicts and quarters for the two companies.[12]

By January 31, the number of enlisted men present for duty with the Ship Island garrison had shrunk to 115, while the military convicts in the stockade had increased to 124. To reinforce the garrison,

Colonel Smith temporarily discontinued the post at Fort Pike and transferred its garrison, Company A, 25th Infantry, to Ship Island.[13]

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11. Mower to Adj. Gen., Dec., 14, 1869, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. of Louisiana.

12. Smith to Headquarters, Military Division of the South, Jan. 24, 1870, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. of Louisiana.

13. Smith to Headquarters, Military Division of the South, Feb. 4, 1870, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. of Louisiana. Company A reached Ship Island on February 5.

Because of the necessity of limiting expenditures, Colonel Smith agreed that the Ship Island post must be abandoned, in view of the difficulty and expense encountered by the Quartermaster Department in supplying the garrison and the need to concentrate the 25th U. S. Infantry. Colonel Smith recommended that the military prisoners be divided. The number to be sent to Forts Jackson and St. Philip should be limited to those that could be guarded and worked by the present garrison at those posts and the rest sent to Fort Pike. Prisoners serving time for heinous crimes should be segregated and transferred either to the state penitentiary at Little Rock or Baton Rouge.[14]

Finally, on March 19, a communication reached New Orleans from Headquarters, Department of the South, approving Smith's scheme for breaking up and abandoning the Ship Island post. To implement this decision, Colonel Smith called on the department quartermaster to provide Major Bliss, the officer in charge of the garrison, with "suitable shackles and chains" for 100 prisoners, "to be chained in gangs of from two to five men." He would also supply transportation for three companies of infantry and 114 prisoners from Ship Island to New Orleans, and take steps to have a stockade and barracks erected at Fort Jackson to serve as a place of confinement for 40 military convicts scheduled to be transferred from Ship Island. Coincidentally, plans were made to send 35 prisoners to the Arkansas State Penitentiary.[15]

Some 48 hours later, Colonel Smith notified Major Bliss that the Ship Island garrison was to be discontinued, and the quartermaster

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14. Smith to Headquarters, Military Division of the South, Feb. 16, 1870, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. of Louisiana.

15. Smith to Frederick, March 19, 1870, & Smith to Warden, State Penitentiary, Little Rock, March 19, 1870, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. of Louisiana. Bvt. Brig. Gen. Calvin H. Frederick was Chief Quartermaster, Dept. of Louisiana.

people were sending a steamer for the purpose of transporting the garrison and military convicts to New Orleans.[16]

Smith was disturbed to learn that Company A had returned to Fort Pike prior to transfer of the convicts, because the only reason for sending it to Ship Island had been to provide "greater security in guarding the prisoners."[17]

On April 5, Companies E, F, and I, 25th Infantry, along with the military convicts, evacuated Ship Island and embarked on the steamboat chartered to take them to New Orleans.[18] Landing in New Orleans the next day, Major Bliss and his battalion marched the prisoners to Jackson Barracks. From there the convicts were sent to their new places of confinement--27 to Fort Jackson, 55 to the Arkansas State Penitentiary, while the remainder were held at the barracks.

The 25th Infantry's time in the Department of Louisiana was about over. On April 21, orders were received, directing the regiment to proceed to San Antonio, Texas, by way of Indianola, as soon as relieved by the 19th U. S. Infantry. The movement to the Texas frontier began in late May, and was completed by arrival of all the companies at San Antonio on June 9.[19]

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16. Smith to Bliss, March 21, 1870, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. Of Louisiana.

17. Smith to Bliss, March 29, 1870, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. of Louisiana.

18. Smith to Hincks, April 5, 1870, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. of Louisiana.

19. Nankwell, History of the 25th U. S. Infantry, p. 15; Post Returns for Ship Island, 1869-70, NA, Microcopy M-617.

7. 19th Infantry Spends the Sickly Season on Ship Island

In mid-September 1870, to escape the New Orleans sickly season, regimental headquarters, the band, and Companies C, D, and E, 19th Infantry, were transferred from Jackson Barracks to Ship Island. The soldiers remained on the island until November 6, when they returned to the New Orleans area aboard the steamer Sarah. Next morning, Col. C. D. Smith deployed his men to keep order at the ballot-boxes as Louisianans thronged to the polls.[20]

The 19th Infantry was the last Army combat unit to be stationed on Ship Island, thus closing an era, commencing in 1861, which had seen thousands of soldiers come and go as the barrier island served successively as a Confederate outpost, key Union staging area for the capture of New Orleans, naval repair base and blockading station, camp for Confederate prisoners and stockade for military convicts, and a cantonment for soldiers on standby during the early reconstruction years.

B. Brief History of Ship Island Stockade Compiled from Register of Prisoners

1. Confederate Sympathizers and Parole Violators

The Ship Island Military Prison was an operating facility for eight years, from mid-April 1862 until April 5, 1870. Although the first prisoners were Union military convicts, most of the people confined in the stockade from June 30 through mid-December 1862 were Confederate sympathizers or Rebel soldiers found guilty of violating their paroles.

According to the "Register of Prisoners Confined" in the Ship Island Stockade, the people falling into these categories were:

Name	Reason or Crime	When Received	Sentence
Andrews, John W.	By order of Gen Butler	6/30/62	2 years
Biggs, James	By order of Gen Butler	6/7/62	to 12/30/62
Batchelder, James C.	Offensive language	8/7/62	to 12/30/62

20. Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments: June 1821-Dec. 1916, NA, Microcopy M-665.

Name	Reason or Crime	When Received	Sentence
Breckle, John		9/18/62	2 mos
Beckimen, Fred		9/18/62	1 mo
Boyer, Ernest		9/18/62	to 10/5/62
Bloom, Joseph		11/11/62	to 12/30/62
Brown, J. M.	Betraying official business	12/5/62	Sent to NO 8/15/63
Cogan, James		8/21/62	6 mos
Campbell, Arch		9/18/62	6 mos
Chappothine, Charles		10/5/62	3 mos
Casey, Patrick	Shipping Rebels as steamboat hands & landing them behind Confederate lines.	10/5/62	6 mos
Cooney, John	Vending liquor to soldiers	8/22/62	to 11/22/63
Doyle, Daniel	Violation of parole	6/16/62	to 8/15/63
Durand, Joseph		9/6/62	2 mos
Duchine, Loran		9/6/62	2 mos
Dale, Aaron H.		9/24/62	to 12/30/62
Dubois, Henry		9/24/62	to 12/6/62
De Ferat, G.	Authoring & publishing seditious articles	10/16/62	3 mos
Dodge, L. J.		11/8/62	to 12/30/62
Easten, Edward R.	Refusal to take oath	9/18/62	to 12/21/62
Gillis, Marcellus		8/14/62	
Grount, William	Carrying contraband through the lines	10/28/62	to 8/15/63
Gaspard, Eugene		10/31/62	to 5/1/63
Graves, George H.		11/25/62	to 2/25/63
Hebard, B. W.		10/16/62	to 11/16/63
Horr, John P.		10/28/62	to 7/31/63
Howard, Charles		9/18/63	To Tortugas 10/31/63
Israel, Max			10/1/62
Johnston, Samuel		12/5/62	to 4/5/63
Joseph, Joseph		1/31/63	to 7/31/63
Kane, Patrick	Violation of parole & conspiracy	6/16/62	to 7/31/63
Keller, Fidel	Exhibiting skeleton	6/30/62	
Keller, A. J.		10/5/62	to 1/5/63
Kane, Thomas		2/6/63	to 3/16/63
Lieb, Theodore	Robbery	7/3/62	To Tortugas 10/31/63
Losberg, Fred		8/7/62	to 12/30/62
Lee, Charles H.			10/5/62
McLane, Abram	Violation of parole & conspiracy	6/16/62	to 8/15/63
Minnett, Thomas	Robbery	7/3/62	to Tortugas 10/31/63
Moore, F. W.		9/4/62	to 3/4/63
McLane, William F.	Violation of parole	9/4/62	to 9/4/63

Name	Reason or Crime	When Received	Sentence
Murphy, Michael	Rebel officer & spy	9/18/62	to 12/10/62
Mensmen, George		9/24/62	
Morris, Eugene	Shipping Rebels as steamboat hands & landing them behind the lines	10/5/62	to 12/30/62
Malley T. O.	Vending liquor	10/6/62	
Marshall, Wm. H.	Trading with the enemy	10/26/62	to 7/31/63
O'Brien, John M.	Boasting that he had not taken oath	9/18/62	to 12/21/62
O'Connor, Smyth	Assault & battery	12/24/62	to 8/24/63
Penvett, Alonzo A.			10/5/62
Perry, B. F.		11/4/62	to 12/30/62
Patterson, William		12/30/62	to 6/30/63
Royal, Edward		9/18/62	to 7/31/63
Stanley, William	Violation of parole & conspiracy	6/16/62	to 8/15/63
Smith, Edward C.	Violation of parole & conspiracy	6/16/62	to 7/31/63
Sykes, George		8/29/62	to 2/28/63
Shepphard, Wm. H.	Hard labor until he produces a box	9/29/62	to 12/30/62
Santen, A.	For circulating a false story	9/18/62	to 12/21/62
Trephagen, H. S.	While on parole inciting people to take up arms	9/18/62	
Taylor, Fred A.		10/5/62	to 4/5/63
Tablon, Charles E.		11/25/62	to 2/25/63
Ure, James H.		9/24/62	to 12/28/62
Williams, George W.	Violation of parole	6/16/62	to 8/15/63
Wattingham, Ulysses	Attacking John Williams for taking oath	9/18/62	to 8/15/63
Wright, H. M.		10/15/62	to 12/25/62
Weltz, P. E.		10/28/62	to 12/30/62
Weltz, P. E., Jr.		10/28/62	to 12/30/62
Williams, W.		11/22/62	to 3/12/63[21]

2. Statistical Profile of Military Convicts (1862-63)

Random samples have been compiled to provide profiles of the military convicts confined in the stockade. During the ten months

21. Register of Prisoners Confined at Ship Island, 1862-70, NA, RG 393. For details on the "political crimes" of a number of these people, the reader is referred to Chapter VII, "Ship Island as a Prison, Naval Depot, and Rendezvous."

between December 9, 1862, and October 14, 1863, five Union soldiers, whose surname began with A, were sentenced to serve time on Ship Island for various military crimes. Two of the men were to be confined for 6 months, and the others for the remainder of their enlistments. One of the latter--John Andrews of Company C, 161st New York Infantry--died and was buried on the island on May 14, 1863. The other two men falling in this category in the Ship Island stockade were transferred to Fort Jefferson, in the Dry Tortugas, on October 31, 1863.[22]

The first military convict to be sent to Ship Island, whose surname began with a B, was Pvt. Frank Burst of the 14th Maine Volunteer Infantry. He arrived on December 20, 1862. Between that date and February 12, 1864, another 30 people with surnames commencing with "B" were confined in the Ship Island stockade. One of these men, Pvt. Charles Balcom of the 174th New York Volunteer Infantry, died on May 27, 1863. By October 7, 1864, all these men, excepting six, had either been released upon serving their sentences or had been transferred to the Dry Tortugas on October 31, 1863.

A review of the records discloses that the crimes for which these men had been convicted and sentenced fell into these categories:

Desertion	3	Drunk on guard	1
Larceny	3	Violation of article 50	1
Bad conduct	2	Violation of orders	1
Stealing government property	1	Cowardice	1
Disobedience of orders	1	Drunkeness & desertion	1
Cattle rustling	1	Highway robbery	1
Horse stealing	1	Counterfeiting	1
Burglary	1	Reenlisting without benefit of discharge	1[23]
AWOL	1		

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

During the 12 months--January 31, 1863, to January 15, 1864--30 soldiers were sent to Ship Island as military convicts. Of these, all but 3 had been released or transferred to Fort Jefferson by October 7, 1864. Their records document this breakdown of the offenses and crimes for which they were convicted:

Desertion	6	Bad conduct	1
Larceny	2	Cowardice	1
Threatening an officer	1	Robbery	1
Sleeping on post	1	Embezzlement	1
Selling government property	1	Armed marauder	1
Burglary	1	Disobedience of orders	1
AWOL	1	Attempting to swindle	1
Cutting with intent to kill	1	Obtaining goods with forged order	1
Reenlisting without benefit of discharge	1		

The maximum sentence was ten years meted out to one of the six men serving time for desertion. The knifing earned the assailant a two-year sentence.[24]

In the months prior to arrival of the first draft of Confederate prisoners of war on October 7, 1864, five Union soldiers and one civilian had been convicted of murders or rapes and sent to Ship Island to serve their time in the stockade. These men were:

Name	Unit	Crime	Sentence	Date Received
Durant, Owen	9th Conn. Inft.	Rape	6 mos.	
Dillon, Miles	175th NY. Inft.	Murder	Balance of enlistment	
Exodus	black civilian	Murder	Life	11/16/63
*Johnson, Peter	14th USCT	Murder	2 years	10/31/63
Murphy, Jeremiah	9th Conn. Inft.	Rape	6 mos.	9/8/63
*Vickwain, Joseph		Murder	1 year	10/17/63

*Transferred to the Dry Tortugas on October 31, 1863, in accordance with Special Order No. 138, Series of 1863, Defenses of New Orleans.[25]

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24. Ibid.

3. Death Takes More Than a Score of Convicts

Twenty-three military convicts died and were buried on Ship Island while serving time in the stockade. In addition, one prisoner drowned attempting to escape. The deceased were:

Name	Unit	Date of Arrival	Date of Death
Anderson, Harrison	10th U.S. Colored H.A.	6/30/66	9/13/66
Andrews, John	161st New York Inf.		5/14/63
Balcom, Charles	174th New York Inf.	5/13/63	5/27/63
Dorgan, James	159th New York Inf.	10/20/63	12/22/64
Ellis, Quiller	4th U.S. Cavalry	9/22/66	12/28/68
Fuller, Levett	black	12/7/63	June 1864
Goff, Patrick	17th U.S. Inf.	2/25/68	6/13/68
Haerle, Francis	17th U.S. Inf.	9/6/66	10/1/67
Jones, Madison	black	12/5/63	1/7/63
James, William	20th U.S. Colored Inf.	7/5/65	5/19/66
Lewis, Charles H.	39th U.S. Inf.	5/16/68	5/29/68
Maroney, Thomas	38th Mass. Inf.	2/13/63	7/31/63
McGrath, Thomas	20th U.S. Inf.	6/29/67	8/5/67
O'Donnell, Jeremiah	90th New York Inf.	10/9/63	8/17/64
O'Breen, William	131th New York Inf.	12/16/63	June 1864
O'Hara, Denis	142d New York Inf.	6/17/65	12/13/65
O'Brien, John	white	4/13/66	7/11/66
Prince, Mathew	1st U.S. Inf.	6/7/66	10/9/66
Pritchard, William	175th U.S. Inf.	4/23/68	10/13/68
Robinson, James	163d New York Inf.	6/17/65	11/13/65
*Ross, Stewart	9th U.S. Cavalry	3/23/69	11/30/69
Smith, Alfred H.	26th Mass. Inf.	11/25/63	9/13/64
Schwartz, Lewis	17th U.S. Inf.	6/29/67	9/4/67
Weiser, Charles	20th U.S. Inf.	10/8/67	12/3/67

*Drowned attempting to escape.[26]

4. Statistical Profile of Military Convicts (1865-70)

Few military convicts were sent to and confined in the Ship Island stockade during the months the island served as a camp for

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

Confederate prisoners of war, consequently the stockade's population did not exceed a handful between October 1863 and the summer of 1865. To provide data on the type of military convicts incarcerated in the stockade in the years from January 1865 to April 1870, we have reviewed the records of the inmates whose surnames begin with the letters A and H.

In the subject period, 16 men with a surname starting with an A were sent to and confined in the Ship Island prison. First to arrive was Peter Alpino of Company F, 1st New Orleans Volunteers, under a three months' sentence for being drunk on duty. He was released in October 1865 at the expiration of his sentence.

Of the other 15 men in this category imprisoned during these months, 7 stood convicted of desertion, 1 of desertion and theft, 1 of violation of the 38th Article of War (assault with intent to kill), 1 of violation of the 53d Article of War, 1 of violation of the 9th Article of War, 1 of absent without leave, and 3 of conduct prejudicial to good discipline. One of the 15, Harrison Anderson of Company M, 10th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery, died in the post hospital on September 13, 1866, 9 others had been released, and 1 had been transferred to the Louisiana State Penitentiary by April 5, 1870. The remaining 3 (Henry Allen of Company H, 9th U. S. Cavalry; John Allen of Company I, 25th U. S. Infantry; and Edward Abbott of Company C, 6th U. S. Cavalry) were sent to the Arkansas State Penitentiary to complete their sentences when the post was abandoned.

During the time frame from January 24, 1865, to April 5 1870, 68 soldiers, whose surname began with the letter H, served time in the stockade. Pvt. Thomas Hawkins of Company H, 94th Illinois Infantry, was locked up on January 24, 1865, charged with drunkeness and disobedience of orders. He spent ten days in the prison, being released on February 4. The last of the 68 to enter the stockade was Pvt. Adam Hushaw of Company K, 25th U. S. Infantry, who entered the lockup on November 25, 1869. The warden failed to enter in the register his crime, but his sentence was for the remainder of his enlistment. A statistical profile of the other 66 inmates in this sample reveals:

Crimes

Sleeping on post	2
Conduct prejudicial to good discipline	9
Violation of 9th Article of War	3
Desertion	24
Drawing weapon on superior officer	1
Mutiny	4
Contempt/disrespect	1
Highway robbery	1
Absence without leave	1
Theft	1
Violation of 6th Article of War	1
Desertion/larceny	2
Violation of 50th Article of War	3
Guerrilla (assault with intend to kill)	1
Drunk on duty	1
Absenting himself from guard	1
Violation of 45th Article of War	2
Violation of 38th Article of War	1
Violation of 46th Article of War	2
Violation of 23d Article of War	1
Not listed	1
Larceny	1
Neglect of duty	1

Units Represented

77th U. S. Colored Infantry	2	19th Pennsylvania Cavalry	2
10th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery	3	51st U. S. Colored Infantry	1
87th U. S. Colored Infantry	1	65th U. S. Colored Infantry	1
20th U. S. Colored Infantry	2	81st U. S. Colored Infantry	1
4th Missouri Cavalry	1	4th U. S. Cavalry	3
56th Ohio Infantry	1	7th U. S. Colored Infantry	1
3d Rhode Island Cavalry	3	Guerrilla	1
61st U. S. Colored Infantry	2	17th U. S. Infantry	10
1st U. S. Infantry	5	9th U. S. Cavalry	3
20th U. S. Infantry	9	39th U. S. Infantry	3
1st U. S. Artillery	3	41st U. S. Infantry	3
6th U. S. Cavalry	4	19th U. S. Infantry	1

Length of Sentence

1 to 3 months	9
4 to 6 months	20
7 to 12 months	6
1 year	7
1 to 2 years	7
2 to 3 years	6
3 to 5 years	5

More than 5 years	1
Indefinite	3
Balance of enlistment	1

Five of these men were still doing time when the stockade and post were abandoned in April 1870. Three of these men (Aaron Hardman, Henry Hofer [Hoover], and Christian Hale [Heil]) were transferred to the Arkansas State Penitentiary and two (John C. Hender and Adam Hushaw) to Fort Jackson.

According to the prison register, 1,132 inmates served time in the stockade during the eight years it was in operation. This included military convicts, parole violators, and Confederate sympathizers.[27]

C. Maintenance and Repair of Quartermaster Structures: 1867-70

1. Number and Condition of Post Buildings: October 1867-April 1868

As of October 31, 1867, there were at Ship Island these structures for which the post quartermaster was responsible:

27. Ibid.

Name of Post	Location	No. of Buildings	Dimensions	Construction Materials	Companies	Remarks
Ship Island	West end of Ship Island	5	78' x 20'	5 wood	3	barracks for troops
	15 miles south of	2	50' x 22'	2 wood	1	barracks for convicts
	Mississippi City	5	24' x 16'	5 wood		quarters for officers
		1	100' x 42'	1 wood		QM & Commissary storehouse
		1	60' x 20'	1 wood		hospital
		1	60' x 20'	1 wood		carpenter shop
		2	24' x 16'	2 wood		guardhouse
Total		17		17		

The report for November 30 "listed no alterations to buildings since October report."

On January 31, 1868, all 17 buildings were reported in bad condition. The hospital was being repaired.

During February, the troops again occupied four of the five soldiers' barracks. No changes were listed by the post quartermaster in his reports submitted on March 31 and April 30.[28]

2. General Grant Vetoes a Proposal to Replace the Temporary Structures with Permanent Post Buildings

On January 29, 1868, a board of survey (Capts. Richard Robins and E. C. Adams and 2d Lt. Ernest Crawford) convened to report on the condition of the post buildings. Touring the area, the trio noted that there were seven buildings used as officers' quarters. Three of these were "sectional buildings." Five structures were occupied by the enlisted men--four as barracks and one as a messhall. These structures, excepting the "sectional" buildings, had been erected in 1864-65.

These nine post buildings were of only one thickness of planking; the doors and window badly fitted, causing the wind to whistle through and sand to drift in; and the shingled roofs leaked badly. The pine pile foundations were rotten. When buffeted by winds, the buildings shook, and the occupants momentarily expected them to collapse.

Next, the board examined the hospital, prison quarters, and guardhouse. Constructed in 1863-64, the hospital consisted of rough "pine boards." The shingled roof leaked badly; the sides and floor were full of interstices; and "in stormy weather it is impossible to keep the building warm."

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28. "List of Military Posts . . . or in the process of construction at Ship Island" for Nov. 1867 to April 1868, NA, RG 92, Consolidated Correspondence File.

The prison quarters included two structures, erected on "pier piles, the roofs being only covered with boards, the sides & floors being full of openings, no glass nor sash in the windows, & no doors upon hinges."

The guardhouse had been relocated to its present site in the summer of 1867. It consisted of two old sectional buildings. Its roof was covered with shingles and leaked badly. In cold weather, the winds cut through the cracks.[29]

Post Surgeon B. Gesner likewise called the War Department's attention to the rapid deterioration of the quarters and barracks. At present, they were unfit for occupation, being in "a wretchedly leaky condition, admitting within from floor to roof every change in wind and weather."

During the previous 60 hours, on January 28-30, more than four inches of rain had fallen. The temperature being near freezing, the men's beds and clothing had been soaked the greater portion of this time.

The condition of the military convicts was equally grim, because of lack of proper shelter.

Although efforts had been made to repair the hospital, it was "open to the winds and rain that have prevailed, and is altogether unfit for occupation."[30]

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29. Proceedings of Board of Survey held at Ship Island, Jan. 29, 1868, NA, RG 92. Consolidated Correspondence File.

30. Gesner to O'Reilly, Jan. 30, 1868, NA, RG 92, Consolidated Correspondence File.

Consequently, plans and estimates were prepared by the District Quartermaster for construction of permanent quarters for 15 officers, barracks for four companies of infantry, guardhouse, hospital, and prison.[31]

Although the proposal was endorsed by Fifth District Headquarters, it was vetoed by Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. He held it unlikely that troops would be retained at Ship Island "a sufficient length of time to warrant the erection of new buildings.[32]

3. Plans to Extend the Post Wharf are Quashed

On November 10, 1868, District Quartermaster Charles H. Tompkins proposed to construct a 100- by 30-foot extension to the post wharf. Besides serving as a breakwater, the extension would facilitate docking of steamboats during foul weather. The extension, estimated to cost $2,500, was to be supported on palmetto piles.[33]

Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs recommended against this expenditure, arguing that there was no necessity to go to the expense of maintaining a "regular steamboat line of communication to all the detached military posts." This had not been done before the war and he saw no reason why post commanders could not continue to utilize small sailing vessels to make the run across the Sound to Mississippi City. Such a vessel could be manned by men on detail.[34]

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31. Tompkins to Rucker, May 22, 1868, NA, RG 92, Consolidated Correspondence File. Charles H. Tompkins was Fifth Military District Quartermaster.

32. Grant to Meigs, June 9, 1868, NA, RG 92, Consolidated Correspondence File.

33. Tompkins to Neill, Nov. 10, 1868, NA, RG 92, Consolidated Correspondence File.

34. Meigs to Grant, Jan. 7, 1869, NA, RG 92, Consolidated Correspondence File.

General of the Army Grant agreed with Meigs, and the proposal to extend the wharf was scotched.[35]

4. Reconstruction of and Enlargement of the Stockade

On May 12, 1869, the officer in charge of the military prison requested authority to take down and rebuild the stockade surrounding the prison. To justify this expenditure, he pointed out that the posts forming the pen were rotten, having been exposed to wind and weather since being put up in the autumn of 1862. During severe storms, it was not uncommon for several posts to be blown down.

Moreover, as the facility on occasion had held as many as 160 convicts, it was mandatory that the stockade be enlarged from its present 193 feet by 76 feet. Coincidentally, the kitchen, because of lack of space in the compound, was outside it, "which makes it almost impossible to have a thorough control over the prisoners."

The new stockade, the commandant recommended, should be built of boards and enlarged to 250 by 250 feet to enclose the kitchen, etc.[36]

This request was approved by Colonel Mower, and Post Commander David Schooley authorized to employ two carpenters to assist with the work.[37]

When the stockade was rebuilt, it was given a length of 250 feet and a width of 135 feet.

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35. Grant to Meigs, Jan. 13, 1869, NA, RG 92, Consolidated Correspondence File.

36. Commandant, Military Prison, to Adj. Gen., Dept. of Louisiana, May 12, 1869, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of Louisiana.

37. Mower to Schooley, July 4, 1869, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. of Louisiana.

5. Repair of the Storehouse

Then, in the autumn of 1869, Captain Schooley turned a crew to making major repairs to the commissary & quartermaster storehouse.[38]

6. October 1870 Condition of the Post Buildings

Early in October 1870, three weeks after the 19th U. S. Infantry arrived on Ship Island, Lt. John G. Keefe submitted a report on the condition of the 31 extant structures for which the Quartermaster Department was responsible. It read:

No. 1. Commanding Officer's Quarters--This single-story frame structure was 40 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 12 feet in height. It was surrounded by an 8-foot porch. There was a hall through the center of the quarters, dividing it into four 14- x 15-foot rooms. The hipped, shingled roof had a cupola. The building was painted inside and out, the floor was tongue and groove, and the walls and ceiling dressed timber. It was heated by open fireplaces.

To the rear of this quarters was a 20- x 10-foot kitchen built of rough lumber.

The quarters was old and in need of repair, particulary the roof.

Repair of the structure would involve expenditure of these materials:

1,000 feet lumber	@ $17.50	$17.50
5,000 shingles	@ 5.00	25.00
150 lbs. nails	@ .06	9.00
1 doz. doorlocks	@ 9.00	9.00
Paint, etc.		25.00
Total		$85.00

38. Mower to Schooley, Sept. 27, 1869, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Sent, Dept. of Louisiana.

No. 2. Adjutant's Office--A one-story frame structure, 24 feet long, 15 feet wide, and 11 feet in height, it was surrounded by a porch 7 feet in width. This building, which housed two 14- x 11-foot rooms, had been "made in panels." Though it was painted, both inside and out, it was very ricketty. The cost of materials for its repair, Lieutenant Keefe placed at:

500 feet lumber @ $17.50	$ 8.75
500 shingles @ 5.00	2.50
50 lbs. nails @ .06¢	3.00
Paint, etc.	4.00
Total	$18.25

No. 3. Officers' Quarters--A structure that was similar in character and dimensions to the adjutant's office.

No. 4. Kitchen--This unpainted, 20- x 10- x 9-foot structure, was built of rough upright boards, and had been battened. Keefe estimated the cost of materials for its repair at $18.75.

Nos. 5-10. Six Officers' Quarters--Built of boards and battens, these structures were 36 feet long, 22 feet wide, and 10 feet in height. They had front porches 36 feet in length and 8 feet in height at the eaves. The roofs were shingled and 16 feet in height at the gable. Each quarters was painted and contained four rooms (14 x 10 feet), a pair on opposite sides of the 7-foot hallway, running through the center of the quarters.

The front rooms each had three windows and each back room two windows. These windows had sashes and blinds. The floors were tongue and groove, while the walls and ceilings were painted dressed lumber. Instead of fireplaces, there were brick half chimneys leading from holes in the ceilings of the front rooms through the roofs. Built of green lumber by Colonel Holmstedt's command, these structures were "frail affairs." They, however, were well adapted for their present purpose, and at a slight expenditure could be preserved for a number of years.

Lieutenant Keefe placed the cost of materials for accomplishing this at:

4,000 shingles @ $5	$20.00
200 lbs. nails @ .06¢	6.00
paint, etc.	25.00
26 door locks @ $9 per dozen	19.50
Total	$70.50

Nos. 11-16. Six Kitchens--To the rear of each of the six officers' quarters was a kitchen similar to No. 4.

No. 17. Prison Barracks--A single-story board and batten structure, this building was 172 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 10 feet high at the sides. The rough boards were unpainted, and the roof was shingled. It housed four rooms--a 100- by 20-foot dormitory, a 50- by 20-foot messhall, a 10- by 20-foot kitchen, and a 10- by 20-foot storeroom.

The barracks was enclosed by a 2-inch plank stockade--the planks separated by 4-inch interstices. The stockade was 245 feet long, 135 feet wide, and 12 feet high. The lumber in the stockade measured:

2-inch planks	13,600
48 posts, 6 x 6s	1,728
sills, 3 x 6s	2,280
	17,608 board feet

No. 18. Sally Port--Ingress and egress to the stockade was through an arched building, forming a 10- by 10-foot room on either side. The sally port was of board and batten construction.

If the stockade were dismantled, now that the military convicts had been transferred, the lumber could be used advantageously for repair of the plank walks and causeways.

Cost of materials for repair of the prison barracks, Quartermaster Keefe placed at:

four boxes glass @	$5.00	$22.00
1 dozen doorlocks @	9.00	9.00
1000 shingles @	5.00	5.00
25 lbs. nails @	.06¢	1.50
1 gross screws		.50
6 bbls. of lime @	3.00	18.00
Total		$56.00

No. 19. Hospital--This single-story, board and batten, shingle-roofed structure was 92 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 10 feet in height at the gables. The front porch was 9 feet across. The hospital was painted, its flooring was rough lumber, and there was neither ceiling nor paneling. It housed a ward and three smaller rooms--a dispensary, an office, and quarters for the steward. Housed in an adjoining building was a combination kitchen-messhall.

Nos. 20-22. Soldiers' Barracks--These three structures, used as company quarters, were of the same materials and character as the hospital. Their dimensions were 85 feet by 20 feet by 10 feet. They were fronted by 85- by 9-foot porches.

Nos. 23-25. Messhalls--These one-story board and batten structures were currently occupied by the 19th Infantry's band. Although they did not have front porches, their construction was similar to that of the barracks. The dimensions measured: 55 feet in length, 20 feet in width, and 9 feet in height at the gables.

Lieutenant Keefe estimated that materials for repair of structures Nos. 19-24 would cost:

2,000 feet lumber @	$17.50	$35.
2,000 shingles @	5.00	10.
100 lbs. nails @	.06	6.
Total		$51.

No. 25. Guardhouse--This small, single-story building was 35 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 8 feet at the gables. It was of board and batten construction, with shingled roof. Keefe placed the cost of materials for its repair at:

500 feet lumber @	$17.59	$ 8.75
500 shingles @	5.00	2.50
25 lbs. nails @	.06	1.50 Total
		$12.75

No. 26. Bakehouse--A one-story frame board and batten, shingled roof structure, this building's dimensions were: 38 feet in length, 25 feet in width, and 9 feet in height at the gables.

No. 27. Office--This single-story structure of board and batten construction was 52 feet by 20 feet by 9 feet. It was fronted by a 52- by 9-foot porch. The structure contained three rooms--one 40- by 20-foot employed as an office by Post Quartermaster Keefe; and two, each 12 by 6 feet, used by the noncommissioned staff as quarters.

No. 28. Carpenters' Shop--A one-story board and batten structure, with shingled roof, its dimensions were 52 feet long, 26 feet wide, and 12 feet high at the gables. This shop was no longer serviceable and "could not be made so with economy." It would, Lieutenant Keefe noted, be as cheap to erect a new one as to repair this shop which was "apparently very old."

No. 29. Commissary & Quartermaster Storehouse--This structure of board and batten construction was 70 feet in length, 24 feet in width, and 12 feet in height at the gables. It had been recently repaired and made watertight, but it remained an "old and ricketty" building.

No. 30. Slaughter House--Crudely constructed of rough, unpainted horizontal boards, this unpainted structure was 104 feet long, 42 feet wide, and 8 feet at the gables. It had been formerly employed, Keefe was told, as a storehouse for firewood.

No. 31. Stable--Built of upright boards, this structure was 120 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 10 feet in height at the gables. It contained stalls for 14 animals and space for storage of a three-month supply of forage. Materials for its repair would cost:

1,000 feet of lumber @	$17.50	$17.50
3,000 shingles @	5.00	15.00
150 pounds nails @	.06	9.00
Total		$41.50[39]

All 31 buildings, Lieutenant Keefe reported, were positioned on piles, and only one, the post commander's quarters, was heated by open fireplaces. All the other structures could be heated by stoves.

Keefe recommended that all the structures, except Nos. 29 and 30, be repaired and kept in good order, because as long as troops continued to garrison the New Orleans area, it might be necessary to transfer them to Ship Island for several months during the sickly season. Building No. 30 should be rebuilt, and the activities of the commissary and quartermaster departments consolidated therein. Building No. 26 could then be turned into shops.[40]

In the weeks since the troops' September 19 arrival from Jackson Barracks, slight repairs had been made to make the quarters and barracks habitable.[41]

In view of the troops early November return to Jackson Barracks, the Quartermaster General decided against underwriting the cost of rehabilitating the Ship Island structures.

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39. Keefe to Fredberg, Oct. 6, 1870, NA, RG 92, Consolidated Correspondence File. 1st Lt. A. Fredberg was the 19th U.S. Infantry's adjutant.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

D. Ordnance-Sergeants Represent the Army's Presence

1. Two Years and Three Ordnance-Sergeants

From April 5, 1870, except for the months that the post was used as a camp for the Jackson Barracks garrison to escape the Louisiana sickly season, until the spring, of 1903, an ordnance-sergeant represented the presence of the United States Army on Ship Island.

During the summer of 1869, Post Commander Schooley recommended to Headquarters, Department of Louisiana, that an ordnance-sergeant be sent to Ship Island to maintain the 13 10-inch Rodman guns emplaced in the fort's casemates. The sergeant's services were also needed to look after the four dismounted guns and their carriages (two 15-inch Rodmans and two 100-pounder Parrotts) and a large supply of shot and shell.[42]

Consequently, Chief of Ordnance Alexander B. Dyer, upon securing the War Department's approval, ordered Ord.-Sgt. John Lewis Lewis to Ship Island. Sergeant Lewis assumed responsibility for the quartermaster property, as well as the big guns and ordnance stores, when the garrison was withdrawn from the island in April 1870. Before the year was over, Lewis was reassigned. His replacement was Ord.-Sgt. Charles Hall, who was in turn relieved by Ord. Sgt. Robert McVey on July 14, 1871. Three days later, on the 18th, an inspection by Lt. George K. Spencer of the Baton Rouge Arsenal revealed that the 13 Rodman en casemate could not be used in event of attack because the truck wheels were off the chassis rails, and each piece had only one eccentric socket.[43]

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42. Schooley to Mower, Aug. 17, 1869, NA, RG 393, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of Louisiana.

43. Spencer to Asst. Adj. Gen., Dept. of Texas, Aug. 3, 1871, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Recd., Chief of Ordnance.

2. Sergeant McCabe's Grim Reports

On March 29, 1872, Sgt. James McCabe, destined to spend many years in the position, was promoted ordnance-sergeant and ordered to Ship Island.[44] Reaching the barrier island, McCabe relieved Sergeant

43. (cont'd.) Robert McVey had enlisted in the army as a private in Company K, 8th U.S. Infantry, at Camp Worth, Tex., on February 23, 1849. At that time, he gave his name as Robert Harris. He was discharged at Fort Bliss, Tex., on February 25, 1854, and reenlisted four weeks later. Discharged at Fort Stanton, N. Mex., on January 27, 1859, he promptly joined up for a third hitch in the infantry. He was captured by the Rebels at San Antonio on May 8, 1861; paroled on January 1, 1863; and was exchanged and reported for duty at New Orleans the following month. On June 1, 1863, he reported to the 8th U.S. Infantry at Fort Columbus, N.Y. It was at this time that he changed his surname from Harris to McVey.

On November 17, 1868, he was discharged and reenlisted at Battery Rodgers, Va. Seven months later, in May 1869, McVey, having been an ordnance-sergeant since June 1, 1867, was transferred to Fort Taylor, Fla., where he was felled by yellow fever in July but recovered. On July 15, 1871. McVey arrived at Ship Island. He was accompanied by his wife and children. John McVey Pension File, NA, RG 94, Application No. 324065, Certificate No. 318399. Coincidentally, McVey was employed by the Treasury Department as keeper of the Ship Island light.

44. Adj. Gen. to McCabe, March 29, 1872, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Sent, Chief of Ordnance. McCabe, a veteran of more than 20 years' service, had enlisted as a private in Company I, 2d U.S. Artillery, on April 23, 1851, at Providence, R.I. Discharged at Fort Deynard, Fla., on April 30, 1856, at the expiration of his five-year enlistment, he reenlisted in Company I, in September, and transferred to Company K, 3d Artillery, on August 1, 1859. McCabe was discharged and reenlisted at Warrenton Junction, Va., on August 12, 1863; was discharged and reenlisted at Fort Warren, Mass., August 12, 1868; and repeated this process at Savannah, Ga., August 12, 1871.

On May 12, 1859, in Providence, McCabe had married Margaret Farmer. Except when campaigning in Virginia during the Civil War, Margaret McCabe accompanied her husband to his various duty stations. Between 1861 and 1880, Mrs. McCabe gave birth to ten children, six of whom grew to adulthood. George McCabe Pension File, NA, RG 94, Application No. 617652, Certificate No. 426292.

McVey and took inventory. He saw that the 13 10-inch Rodmans had been neglected. The outer surfaces of the guns needed to be cleaned and then lacquered, while the carriages should be cleaned and painted.

The two 100-pdr. Parrotts and pair of 15-inch Rodmans, on skids, were in foul shape, one of the latter being buried in the sand so deeply that only a "small part of the upper surface was visible."

If the cannon were to be placed in good condition, Sergeant McCabe wrote the Chief of Ordnance, he must have assistance.

The ordnance stores (oils, paints, brushes, implements, etc.) were thrown "promiscously over the floor in one of the magazines." If he had some tools and materials, he would position shelving and racks for their proper arrangement and safekeeping.

The fort keeper had recently uncovered, buried in the sand, 13 missing eccentrics for the casemate carriages, while McCabe had located one in the storeroom. Twelve eccentrics were still missing.[45]

A year later, on March 27, 1873, Sergeant McCabe reported that there was on hand these items for which he was responsible:

No.	Item	Remarks
13	10-inch Rodmans, mounted in casemates	Bad condition, need scraping, cleaning, & lacquering.
2	15-inch Rodmans, dismounted, outside fort	One buried in sand, sand to be removed, gun raised & moved, scraped, cleaned & lacquered.
2	100-pdr. Parrotts, dismounted, outside fort	Bad condition, should be raised out of sand, scraped, cleaned & lacquered.

45. McCabe to Chief of Ordnance, May 30, 1872, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Recd., Chief of Ordnance.

No.	Item	Remarks
2	Carriages & chassis for 15-inch guns	Bad condition, on skids outside fort.
2	Chassis for 100-pdr. Parrotts	Require cleaning & painting.
13	Carriages & chassis for 10-inch Rodmans	Mounted but require cleaning & painting.
2	Ladles & staves L&G Gun	Bad condition, require cleaning and painting and racks to be made for their safekeeping.
1	Ladle & stave 15-in Gun	
2	Ladles & staves 10-in Gun	
24	Rammers & staves 10-in Gun	
3	Rammers & staves 15-in Gun	
26	Sponges & staves 10-in Gun	
4	Sponges & staves 15-in Gun	
5	Worms & staves L&G Gun	
1	Worm & stave 15-in Gun	
2	Worms & staves 10-in Gun	
14	Elevating bars	
46	Maneuvering bars	
26	Pinch bars	
650	Shot, unattached, 10-in Gun	Require cleaning & lacquering
43	Shells, unattached, 8-in Gun	
653	Shells, unattached, 10-in Gun	
200	Shells, Unattached, 15-in Gun	
80	Shot, 100-pdr. Parrott	
83	Shells, 100-pdr. Parrott (short)	
252	Shells, 100-pdr. Parrott (long)[46]	

3. Lieutenant McKee Mounts Four Guns En Barbette & Places Other Guns and Ordnance Stores in "Magnificent Order"

In January 1874, Chief of Ordnance Dyer sent Lt. George W. McKee and a workforce from the Mount Vernon Arsenal to Ship Island

46. McCabe to Cmdg. Officer, Mt. Vernon Arsenal, March 27, 1873, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Recd., Chief of Ordnance.

to emplace the four guns and carriages lying in the sand and to place the other ordnance stores and the 10-inch Rodmans in good condition. By the first of February, the casemate emplaced Rodmans had been cleaned and painted. The tubes, chassis, and carriages of the four dismounted pieces had been excavated and hauled into the fort and were being scraped, cleaned, and painted.[47]

To enable McKee to continue the project, Chief of Ordnance Dyer allotted another $1,200 to the undertaking.[48]

By mid-March, the two 15-inch Rodmans and the pair of 100-pdr. Parrotts had been mounted en barbette and the hoisting gear, rope, blocks, and jacks, sent aboard the schooner Joseph Edwards for return to Fort Morgan. At the time of Lieutenant McKee's departure from the island, all the ordnance was in "magnificent order." But as the barbette guns, especially the 15-inch, should be traversed to keep them from settling their platforms, McKee recommended that two soldiers be detailed to assist Sergeant McCabe in caring for them.

At the time of McKee's sailing, the brass sockets for the 10-inch Rodmans had not arrived from Fort Monroe. When they were delivered, they could be placed in storage. He also recommended that no more powder be sent to the island, except in time of national emergency. Attempts had heretofore been made to break into the magazines for the purpose of stealing powder, "and the damp atmosphere of the place precludes the necessity of anything more than a limited amount of powder, friction primers & other stores of a deliquescent nature."[49]

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47. McKee to Dyer, Feb. 6, 1874, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Recd., Chief of Ordnance.

48. Dyer to McKee, Feb. 11, 1874, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Sent, Chief of Ordnance.

49. McKee to Benét, March 29, 1874, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Recd., Chief of Ordnance.

Lieutenant McKee coincidentally recommended that the Quartermaster General make an allotment for repair of the Ship Island structures for which his department was responsible. Three or four men, working under supervision of Ordnance-Sergeant McCabe, could in 2 months' time salvage the quarters by shoring them up with brick piers. The barracks were some distance from the beach and were in "tolerable order" and the "floors will hold them up."

The cemetery, McKee continued, was a "national disgrace." While on the island his men had "picked & buried the limbs of soldiers strewn upon the ground."[50]

Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Gulf, Henry Hodges responded to McKee's communication. He pointed out that his superiors had previously decided, when this subject had been broached, that the Ship Island quarters and barracks could be used as long as they hung together. Now that Mount Vernon Arsenal was available for use as a camp during the sickly season, the garrison buildings were "likely to fall to pieces before" they were again occupied. Consequently, it was not in the public interest to spend money on their upkeep.

The cemetery, Hodges assured, would be "put in proper order" as soon as the appropriation for fiscal year 1875 became available.[51]

When he forwarded this correspondence to Acting Chief of Ordnance Stephen V. Benét, McKee noted that the buildings in question were officers' cottages and were not the responsibility of the Ordnance Department.[52]

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50. McKee to Hodges, March 2, 1874, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Recd., Chief of Ordnance.

51. Hodges to McKee, March 4, 1874, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Recd., Chief of Ordnance.

52. McKee to Benét, March 27, 1874, NA, RG 156, Ltrs. Recd., Chief of Ordnance.

4. Sergeant McCabe Spends a Dozen Years on the Island

Sergeant McCabe and his family remained on Ship Island for more than a dozen years. Then, in the summer of 1884, his eyesight began to fail. The doctors blamed his troubles on long exposure to the sun and the glaring white sand of the barrier island. In October, he was reassigned to Fort Davis, Texas. His sight continued to deteriorate, and, on September 25, 1885, he was retired from the army for disability. The McCabes then returned to Biloxi, where they had purchased a home.[53]

E. The Ship Island Military Cemetery

1. Most of the Union Remains are Reinterred in Chalmette National Cemetery

In mid-May 1866, Lt. George B. Oldham inspected the post cemetery--located about a mile and one-half east of the fort. He found it in very poor condition, "owing principally to the nature of the ground, which is composed entirely of sand." Many of the graves were nearly obliterated, "having no headboards." The graves were scattered over an area of between two and three acres, and no system had been followed in making interments. Moreover, to compound the problem, no records could be found, and apparently none had been maintained until recently.

As far as could be ascertained there were about 225 Union graves.

Lieutenant Oldham recommended to Quartermaster General Mongomery C. Meigs that the remains be taken up and reinterred, the ground being first "laid out with some system." The grounds should then be enclosed and new headstones positioned.[54]

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53. George McCabe Pension File, NA, RG 94, Application No. 617652, Certificate No. 426292.

54. Oldham to Meigs, May 24, 1866, NA, RG 92, Quartermaster General Cemeterial Files.

As yet, we have been unable to locate Meigs' reply to Oldham.

The officer charged with Fifth Military District cemeterial operations, Capt. Charles Barnard, upon investigating the subject, was informed that Ship Island's physical characteristics were similar to the other barrier islands. Consequently, he deemed it unfit as a site for a national cemetery. The soil was loose sand, and, as such, would be unable to sustain "vegetation of any value." Moreover, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to position headboards in such an environment. The Ship Island interments, if what he heard were correct, were hardly Christian.

Of the 263 Union gravesites only 113 were said to be buried together, leaving 150 scattered interments that would have to be taken up if they were to be consolidate into one cemetery.

Accordingly, Barnard recommended that all Union Ship Island dead be disinterred and buried in the Chalmette National Cemetery.[55]

As yet, we have been unable to locate Meigs' reply to Barnard.

In December 1867, the bodies of 228 Union dead were disinterred from the Ship Island graveyard, sent to the mainland, and reinterred in the Chalmette National Cemetery.[56]

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55. Barnard to Meigs, May 25, 1867, NA, RG 92, Quartermaster General Cemeterial Files--Chalmette.

56. Chandler to Ferris, Sept. 21, 1883, NA, RG 92, Quartermaster General Cemeterial Files--Ship Island.

Some four years later, in January 1872, Ordnance-Sergeant McVey reported that the post cemetery was about a mile and one-half east of the fort. The grounds--which were on one of the island's higher points--were enclosed by a rail fence. There were six bodies known to be buried within the enclosure--two children, two civilians who had died while imprisoned during the Civil War, one unknown soldier, and Pvt. John Williams, Company A, 39th U.S. Infantry.

About 400 yards northeast of the cemetery, McVey wrote, were seven graves, six of which were marked:

August Vilders or Vielders -- Co. D, 17th Inftry. -- died Nov. 30, 1868
age 28 years
Patrick Goff -- Co. K -- died June, 1868
Charles H. Lewis -- Co. J or G, 39th Inftry. -- died May 29, 1868
C. Preston -- Co. B, 12th Regmt. Maine -- died April 5, 1862
Quiller or Miller Ellis -- Pvt. in Co. G or L, 4th Cavalry
-- died Feb. 28th, 1868
Francis E. Haerle -- Co. F, 26th U.S. Inftry. -- died Oct. 1868

McVey had been told by the fort keeper that there were some unmarked gravesites of Confederate prisoners of war and Corps of Engineer employees "within a mile or so" of the post cemetery.[57]

Six years later, in April 1878, Mrs. Lydia A. Gould sought information from the War Department regarding the grave of her brother, a soldier in the 15th Maine, who had died on Ship Island, in the spring of 1862. The Department, replying, assured her that the remains

57. McVey to Chief Quartermaster, Dept. of the Gulf, Jan. 13, 1872, NA, RG92, Quartermaster General Cemeterial Files--Ship Island.

of all Union soldiers in the Ship Island graveyard had been removed and reburied at Chalmette.[58]

2. The 1885 Expose and Investigation

Then, in mid-June 1885, a correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Democrat visited Ship Island. He crossed over from the mainland on the Marine Hospital Service sloop Annie. About 1 mile east of the lighthouse, near the north shore, he came upon the site of "the military cemetery." It was enclosed by a paling fence, "and here in rough coffins" the soldiers were buried.

In an article carried by the June 22 edition of his paper, the reporter informed his readers:

> Why their bodies were not removed to the National Cemetery at New Orleans, when it was established I know not. It is a fact, however, that they were neglected and, perhaps, forgotten. The winds and waves of time have demolished the fence that enclosed them. Upwards of a hundred feet of their resting place has been washed into the sea; the wind has blown the sand from their graves, and left not only their coffins exposed, but THEIR BLEACHED BONES, polished by the drilling sand, strew the ground in all directions
>
> The day was fearfully hot as I walked among them and gazed upon their grinning skulls, whose eyeless sockets filled with sand presented a ghastly and horrible sight. . . . At one time head-boards marked these graves, yet I failed to find but one among all these bones, and this bore the following inscription, cut in words, no doubt, by some comrade:
>
> E. Miller, Burlington, Me. Age, 20.
>
> Long rows of coffins and their fragments are seen in one place, with their heads to the west, undoubtedly as they were originally placed; but the lids are removed, and they are filled with sand. I dug down in one of them with my hands, but found no bones, and as there are many hogs on the island,

58. Gould to Supt., Soldiers' Cemeteries, April 29, 1878, & Rockwell to Gould, May 2, 1878, NA, RG 92, Quartermaster General Cemeterial Files--Ship Island.

> no doubt they have displaced them. Legs of pantaloons, sleeves of coats and portions of vests lie about, with here and there a military button still attached. . . .
>
> Some four or five years ago Mr. McCabe, ordnance sergeant at the fort, received an order from the Secretary of War to make a personal examination of the place and write him the condition of the yard and all matters pertaining thereto. This I understand, the sergeant did, but heard nothing further about it.[59]

The Times-Democrat article caused the War Department to be bombarded by irate letters. To secure data on which to frame a reply, Quartermaster General Samuel B. Holabird directed Superintendent J. A. Commerford of Chalmette National Cemetery to proceed to Ship Island and, after making an inspection, submit a report.[60]

Superintendent Commerford accordingly left Chalmette on the evening of July 2 and landed on Ship Island the next afternoon. On the morning of the 4th, he reconnoitered the graveyard site.

The burial lot, he found, contained "about 8 acres of white sand which drifts and forms hills from 8 to 10 ft. in height." The lot was about a mile and a quarter east of the lighthouse, and it had been enclosed by a picket fence. Nothing remained of the fence except a few posts.

About 100 feet from the north shore, Commerford saw "two rows of coffins, 12 in all, on the surface of the ground and partly filled with sand." He investigated them but found no bones. A few yards to the eastward, he spotted "quite a number of human bones scattered here and there on the sand, but did not see any skulls."

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59. New Orleans Times-Democrat, June 22, 1885.

60. Holabird to Kirk, Jun 25, 1885, NA, RG 92, Quartermaster General Cemeterial Files--Ship Island. Maj. E. R. Kirk was stationed in Atlanta.

No one, he believed, could "tell how many bodies are covered up in the sand as there are no marks or signs of graves except those already mentioned. One headboard was seen, bearing the inscription, "E. Miller, Burlington, Me., Age 20."

Sergeant McCabe, who had resided on the island since March 1872, told Commerford that more than 100 feet of the "graveyard had been washed away since he lived there and that some of the coffins with their contents were washed away by the action of the wind & waves."

While en route back to Sergeant McCabe's quarters, Commerford found and buried two skulls in a spot which he carefully marked. They were on the surface of the sand in rear of a ramshackled building.

He was satisfied that a box 6 feet by 2 feet by 18 inches would hold all the scattered bones. But, in view of the wash of the sea, drifting sand, and depredations wrought by hogs, "no grave can be made permanent on Ship Island."[61]

General Holabird, upon receipt of Commerford's report, ordered the bones collected, boxed, and removed to Chalmette for reburial. Arrangements were made with Ordnance-Sergeant McCabe to gather up and ship to the National Cemetery any bones that were hereinafter exposed by the elements.[62]

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61. Commerford to Kirk, July 6, 1885, NA, RG 92, Quartermaster General Cemeterial Files--Ship Island.

62. Holabird to Kirk, July 18, 1885, NA, RG 92, Quartermaster General Cemeterial Files--Ship Island.

*Transferred to the Dry Tortugas on October 31, 1863, in accordance with Special Order No. 138, Series of 1863, Defenses of New Orleans.[25]

Appendix A

RECEIPT OF CONFEDERATE PRISONERS AT SHIP ISLAND

Prisoners were received at Ship Island on these dates:

Date	Where From	Number
October 7, 1864	New Orleans, La.	200
October 21, 1864	New Orleans, La.	181
October 25, 1864	New Orleans, La.	636
October 28, 1864	New Orleans, La.	212
November 5, 1864	New Orleans, La.	72
November 9, 1864	New Orleans, La.	29
December 13, 1864	New Orleans, La.	285
December 18, 1864	New Orleans, La.	30
January 8, 1865	East Pascagoula, Miss.	1
January 12, 1865	East Pascagoula, Miss.	1
January 25, 1865	New Orleans, La.	141
January 27, 1865	New Orleans, La.	1
April 2, 1865	Dauphin Island, Ala.	8
April 3, 1865	Fort Gaines, Ala.	281
April 5, 1865	Fort Gaines, Ala.	37
April 10, 1865	Spanish Fort, Ala.	562
April 15, 1865	Blakely, Ala.	3,056
April 20, 1865	Gunboat John P. Jackson	3
May 11, 1865	Mobile, Ala.	6

Arrival of Prisoners at Ship Island, NA, Microcopy M-598, Ship Island.

Appendix B

General and Special Orders

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 286.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, August 17, 1863.

Irregularities having occurred in the discharge of prisoners of war, through the exercise of discretionary power by some of the department and other commanders, it has become necessary to order:

1. No prisoner of war, after having been reported to the Commissary General of Prisoners, will be discharged except upon an order from the Commissioner for the Exchange of Prisoners, who will act under instructions from this Department.

2. All applications and recommendations for discharge will be forwarded to the Commissary General of Prisoners, who will endorse on each application such facts, bearing on the case, as may be matter of record in his office, when the application will be submitted for the decision of the Department, through the Commissioner for the Exchange of Prisoners.

3. In general, the mere desire to be discharged upon taking the oath of allegiance will furnish no sufficient ground for such discharge; but cases where it can be shown that the prisoner was *impressed* into the rebel service, or which can plead in palliation extreme youth, followed by open and declared repentance, with other reasons, whatever they may be, may be specially reported.

4. In all cases, a descriptive list of those discharged will be furnished by the officer making the discharge, for file in the office of the Commissary General of Prisoners.

5. The oath of allegiance, when administered, must be taken without qualification, and can in no case carry with it an exemption from any of the duties of a citizen.

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General

GENERAL ORDERS, } WAR DEPT., ADJT. GENERAL'S OFFICE,
No. 190. } *Washington, May 3, 1864.*

In relation to prisoners of war and state prisoners.

1. Orders heretofore published place the supervision of prisoners of war and political or state prisoners in the hands of the Commissary-General of Prisoners, and it is hereby required that commanders of depots and other places at which prisoners may be assembled be directly accountable for them to the Commissary-General of Prisoners, from whom they will receive orders direct, and to whom they will report directly in all matters relating to prisoners.

2. When the Commissary-General of Prisoners has occasion to order the transfer of prisoners from one post to another, he will furnish a copy of the order to the general commanding the department in which they are held, that he may be apprized of the movement; and when the Commissary-General of Prisoners finds it necessary he is authorized to call on department commanders for such assistance in the execution of his duties as the case may demand.

3. If not otherwise provided, guards for depots and prison stations will be detailed by the department commander on the application of the Commissary-General of Prisoners, and they will not be relieved or changed without informing him of the fact; but all returns and reports of these guards will be made to department commanders, to whom they are responsible for discipline, as in the case of other troops.

4. The principal depots for prisoners are at Point Lookout, Md.; Fort Delaware; Johnson's Island, in Sandusky Bay; Camp Chase, near Columbus, Ohio; Camp Morton, near Indianapolis, Ind; Camp Douglas, near Chicago, Ill.; and at Rock Island, Ill. Generals who order temporary depots will appoint suitable officers to take charge, which will be immediately reported to the Commissary-General of Prisoners; and the officers so appointed will be directed to make all returns and reports required from the permanent depots. Prisoners will be forwarded from the temporary depots to the permanent ones with as little delay as practicable.

5. Commanders of departments and of armies in the field, in all cases, when having prisoners in possession, will require full rolls, giving rank, regiment and company, and time and place of capture, to be forwarded without delay to the Commissary-General of Prisoners, with a letter of transmittal, showing what disposition is made of the prisoners, and giving any other information that may be useful. All rolls should be signed by the officer who is in charge of the prisoners at the time they are prepared.

6. Sick and wounded prisoners of war will be collected at such hospitals as may be designated under the instructions of the Surgeon-General for their exclusive use, as far as practicable; and a suitable guard will be detailed by the department commanders or the general in immediate command, which guard will be responsible for the security of the prisoners. The commander of the guard will make all the returns and reports required of depot commanders.

Convalescent prisoners will be sent to the permanent depots as often as may be convenient.

7. The attention of commanders is called to the regulations in relation to prisoners of war contained in Appendix B, of the Revised Army Regulations of 1863, p. 523, as follows:

117. Officers and soldiers of the United States who are or may become prisoners of war shall, during their imprisonment, be entitled to and receive the same pay as if they were doing active duty.

118. The rations of prisoners held in the rebel States shall be commuted for and during the period of their imprisonment, the commutation to be rated at cost price. To entitle a soldier to this commutation he must furnish to the Commissary-General of Prisoners such evidence of the fact of capture and time of detention as he may consider necessary, to be laid before the Secretary of War; and, if approved, a certificate will be issued by the Commissary-General of Prisoners, on which payment will be made by the Subsistence Department.

119. A general commanding in the field or a department will make arrangements for the safe-keeping and reasonable comfort of his prisoners. For this purpose he will place them under a guard already on duty or detach a guard for the special service. The general will give no order exchanging prisoners or releasing them, except under instructions from the Secretary of War.

120. In emergencies admitting of no delay the general will act upon his own authority, and give any order in relation to his prisoners the public interest might require, promptly reporting his proceedings to the War Department through the Adjutant-General.

121. In time of war a Commissary-General of Prisoners will be announced, whose general duties will be those of an inspector, and all communications relating to prisoners will pass through him. Depots for prisoners will be designated by the Secretary of War, to which suitable and permanent guards will be assigned, the whole to be under the orders of the Commissary-General of Prisoners. He will establish regulations for issuing clothing to prisoners, and will direct the manner in which all funds arising from the savings of rations at prison hospitals or stations shall be accounted for and disbursed by the proper disbursing officer, in providing such articles as he may deem absolutely necessary for the welfare of the prisoners. He is authorized to grant paroles to prisoners, on the recommendation of the medical officer attending the prison, in cases of extreme illness, but under no other circumstances.

122. The Commissary-General of Prisoners has authority to call for such reports from officers in command of guards over prisoners as may be necessary for the proper discharge of his own duties, and he will be prepared to furnish such information in relation to prisoners as may be called for by the Adjutant-General.

123. A full record of all prisoners will be kept in the office of the Commissary-General of Prisoners, in suitable books, giving the name, rank, regiment, and company of each military prisoner, the residence, county, and State of each civil prisoner, with the charges against him, and the time and place of capture or arrest. Any special information of importance will be added from time to time in the column of remarks. When disposed of by exchange or otherwise, the fact and the authority for it, with the time, should be noted on the record.

124. The Commissary-General of Prisoners is empowered to visit places at which prisoners may be held, and will recommend to the general whose guards are responsible for them whatever modification in their treatment may seem to him proper or necessary, and report the same to the War Department.

125. The Commissary-General of Prisoners has charge of the U. S. officers and men on parole, and correspondence relating to them. All details concerning them will pass through him.

126. Generals commanding departments, or in the field, may, at their discretion, send their prisoners to the general depots, furnishing a proper roll with them, showing the rank, regiment, and company, and when and where captured; after which their charge of them will cease. Immediately on the arrival of prisoners at a depot, the commanding officer will forward to the Commissary-General of Prisoners a copy of the roll received with them, noting such changes as may have been made by escape or otherwise.

127. The principle being recognized that medical officers and chaplains should not be held as prisoners of war, all medical officers and chaplains so held by the United States will be immediately and unconditionally discharged.

128. Whenever prisoners of war are released on parole and sent through the lines, the officers who release them will immediately send rolls to the Commissary-General of Prisoners, containing an exact list of the prisoners' names, rank, regiment, and company, date and place of capture, and date and place of parole. These rolls are indispensable in effecting exchanges of prisoners.

129. Blanks for monthly returns and for rolls of Federal and other prisoners of war will be furnished from the office of the Commissary-General of Prisoners, on their being called for by commanders who require them.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

FORT MONROE, *May 3, 1864.*

Hon. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War:*

Ould, the rebel commissioner of exchange, has declared without consultation all rebel prisoners delivered at City Point up to the 20th of April exchanged. This he justifies under the fifth article of the cartel, General Orders, No. 142, series of 1862. These men will be sent into the field against us, and he claims he has the right so to do. I see no other way, and so far as my judgment goes I can see no harm in making a similar declaration upon our part, which will permit our officers and soldiers to take the field in opposition. It is now settled, under General Grant's order, that the exchange cannot go on. The rebels will make their theory of the colored soldiers a *sine qua non*, and upon this point the cartel is entirely annulled. Please have the declaration made.

BENJ. F. BUTLER,
Major-General, Commanding.

CAMP CHASE, *Columbus, Ohio, May 3, 1864.*

Col. JAMES A. HARDIE, *Inspector-General U. S. Army:*

COLONEL: I have the honor to submit the following inspection report of Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio:

Commanding officer—Col. William P. Richardson, Twenty-fifth Ohio Volunteers, an officer of intelligence, but not very active or diligent in the discharge of his duties. The camp is not carefully policed, the sinks are neglected, and the general appearance of the men, on duty and off, indicates a want of proper military instruction. The clothing, food, health, shelter and security of the prisoners satisfactory. The grounds and barracks inside the prison inclosure are not policed with sufficient care, and the sinks are allowed to become offensive. Discipline moderate. Hospital and treatment of the sick satisfactory; five cases of smallpox, but disappearing. Sutler, appointed by the Secretary of War, sells, in addition to articles authorized by law, pies, cakes, candies, soda water, &c. Money sent to prisoners and on hand, amounting to $2,926.95, properly accounted for, with the exception of $98. I found four notes, signed by officers of the garrison, in possession of the treasurer, Lieut. Col. E. L. Webber, Eighty-eighth Ohio Volunteers, amounting in the aggregate to $98, which he represented to me as having been given for money loaned from the money sent to prisoners by the former treasurer, Lieut. Col. A. H. Poten, Veteran Reserve Corps. I think it has been the custom with the officer having this money in trust to loan it to officers of the garrison who were short. Post fund collected, expended, and distributed as authorized by the regulations.

Commissary of subsistence and treasurer of prison fund—Capt. G. D. Harrington, U. S. Volunteers.

Prison fund March 31, 1864, $13,169.66; U. S. paroled prisoners' fund same date, $2,563.25; subsistence fund due United States May 3, 1864, $42,986.27; organization fund due United States May 3, 1864, $23,291.97; total amount of cash May 3, 1864, $82,011.15; counted and found correct. The prison fund for April not transferred, and purchases for same month on account of prison fund not paid. Business carefully and correctly transacted. Purchases of stores made at reasonable rates, of good quality, and not in excess of the wants of the post. No pecuniary transactions discovered between officers and sutler or persons furnishing supplies for prisoners.

The garrison, consisting of seven companies of the Eighty-eighth Ohio Volunteers and four companies of the Seventh Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, is efficient.

There is a desire to move the camp. In consideration of the expenses already incurred by the Government at the present camp, I do not believe it expedient to change the location. An active, working officer in command, with permission to use prison labor, would soon remedy most of the evils complained of. The garrison can be reduced sufficiently to relieve the four companies of the Seventh Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, numbering 240 men present.

Number of prisoners May 3, 1863, 1,165.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN F. MARSH,
Lieutenant-Colonel Twenty-fourth Regt. Veteran Reserve Corps.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 7, 1864.*

Copy respectfully furnished for the information of Colonel Hoffman, Commissary-General of Prisoners.

Colonel Richardson has been directed to take immediate measures to cause a thorough and complete cleansing of the prison and barracks under his charge; also to relieve Colonel Webber, Eighty-eighth Ohio, from duty as treasurer of money sent to prisoners, and to have the funds turned over to Capt. G. D. Harrington, commissary of subsistence and treasurer of prison fund.

By order of the Secretary of War:

JAS. A. HARDIE,
Colonel and Inspector-General.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 191.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, May 7, 1864.

Declaration of Exchange of Prisoners of War.

1. It having been officially reported that Mr. OLD, Rebel Commissioner of Exchange, has declared, without consulting with the authorities of the United States, that all rebel prisoners delivered at City Point, up to the 20th of April, were exchanged, it is--

Ordered, That all Federal prisoners of war and all civilians on parole prior to May 7, 1864, be declared exchanged, and they are thus declared exchanged accordingly.

2. It is further announced, that after deducting the number of Federal officers and men embraced in this order, as exchanged, the rebels will remain indebted to the Federal government, according to tables carefully prepared by the Commissary General of Prisoners, from official data,—33,596,—for which no equivalents have been received by the Federal government.

3. All paroled officers and enlisted men, herein declared exchanged, who are in camp, will be immediately forwarded by the commandants of camps to their regiments and commands, and will be reported to the Commissary General of Prisoners, accordingly. Those who are absent on leave, will, on expiration of their leave, repair forthwith to the Parole Camps at Annapolis, Maryland, or Columbus, Ohio.

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

OFFICIAL:

CIRCULAR.] OFFICE COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS,
Washington, D. C., April 20, 1864.

By authority of the War Department the following regulations will be observed at all stations where prisoners of war and political or State prisoners are held. These regulations will supersede those issued from this office July 7, 1862:*

I. The commanding officer at each station is held accountable for the discipline and good order of his command and for the security of the prisoners, and will take such measures, with the means placed at his disposal, as will best secure these results. He will divide the prisoners into companies and will cause written reports to be made to him of their condition every morning, showing the changes made during the preceding twenty-four hours, giving the names of the "joined," "transferred," "deaths," &c. At the end of every month commanders will send to the Commissary-General of Prisoners a return of prisoners, giving names and details to explain "alterations." If rolls of "joined" or "transferred" have been forwarded during the month it will be sufficient to refer to them on the return according to forms furnished.

II. On the arrival of prisoners at any station a careful comparison of them with the rolls which accompany them will be made, and all errors on the rolls will be corrected. When no roll accompanies the prisoners one will immediately be made out containing all the information required, as correct as can be, from the statements of the prisoners themselves. When the prisoners are citizens the town, county, and State from which they come will be given on the rolls under the headings "rank," "regiment," and "company." At stations where prisoners are received frequently and in small parties a list will be furnished every fifth day—the last one in the month may be for six days—of all prisoners received during the preceding five days. Immediately on their arrival prisoners will be required to give up all arms and weapons of every description, of which the commanding officer will require an accurate list to be made. When prisoners are forwarded for exchange duplicate parole rolls, signed by the prisoners, will be sent with them, and an ordinary roll will be sent to the Commissary-General of Prisoners. When they are transferred from one station to another an ordinary roll will be sent with them and a copy of it to the Commissary-General of Prisoners. In all cases the officer charged with conducting prisoners will report to the officer under whose orders he acts the execution of his service, furnishing a receipt for the prisoners delivered and accounting by name for those not delivered; which report will be forwarded without delay to the Commissary-General of Prisoners.

III. The hospital will be under the immediate charge of the senior medical officer present, who will be held responsible to the commanding officer for its good order and the proper treatment of the sick. A fund for this hospital will be created as for other hospitals. It will be kept separate from the fund of the hospital for the troops, and will be expended for the objects specified and in the manner prescribed in paragraph 1212, Revised Regulations of the Army of 1863, except that the requisition of the medical officer in charge and the bill of purchase before payment shall be approved by the commanding officer. When this "fund" is sufficiently large it may be expended also for shirts and drawers for the sick, the expense of washing clothes, articles for policing purposes, and all articles and objects indispensably necessary to promote the sanitary condition of the hospital.

*See Vol. IV, this series, p. 152.

IV. Surgeons in charge of hospitals where there are prisoners of war will make to the Commissary-General of Prisoners, through the commanding officer, semi-monthly reports of deaths, giving name, rank, regiment, and company, date and place of capture, date and cause of death, place of interment, and number of grave. Effects of deceased prisoners will be taken possession of by the commanding officer, the money and valuables to be reported to this office (see note on blank reports), the clothing of any value to be given to such prisoners as require it. Money left by deceased prisoners or accruing from the sale of their effects will be placed in the prison fund.

V. A fund, to be called "the prison fund" and to be applied in procuring such articles as may be necessary for the health and convenience of the prisoners, not expressly provided for by General Army Regulations, 1863, will be made by withholding from their rations such parts thereof as can be conveniently dispensed with. The abstract of issues to prisoners and statement of the prison fund shall be made out, commencing with the month of June, 1864, in the same manner as is prescribed for the abstract of issues to hospital and statement of the hospital fund (see paragraphs 1209, 1215, and 1246, and form 5, Subsistence Department, Army Regulations, 1863), with such modifications in language as may be necessary. The ration for issue to prisoners will be composed as follows, viz: Hard bread, 14 ounces per one ration, or 18 ounces soft bread, one ration; corn-meal, 18 ounces per one ration; beef, 14 ounces per one ration; bacon or pork, 10 ounces per one ration; beans, 6 quarts per 100 men; hominy or rice, 8 pounds per 100 men; sugar, 14 pounds per 100 men; R. coffee, 5 pounds ground, or 7 pounds raw, per 100 men, or tea, 18 ounces per 100 men; soap, 4 ounces per 100 men; adamantine candles, 5 candles per 100 men; tallow candles, 6 candles per 100 men; salt, 2 quarts per 100 men; molasses, 1 quart per 100 men; potatoes, 30 pounds per 100 men. When beans are issued hominy or rice will not be. If at any time it should seem advisable to make any change in this scale the circumstances will be reported to the Commissary-General of Prisoners for his consideration.

VI. Disbursements to be charged against the prison fund will be made by the commissary of subsistence on the order of the commanding officer, and all such expenditures of funds will be accounted for by the commissary in the manner prescribed for the disbursements of the hospital fund. When in any month the items of expenditures on account of the prison fund cannot be conveniently entered on the abstract of issues to prisoners a list of the articles and quantities purchased, prices paid, statement of services rendered, &c., certified by the commissary as correct and approved by the commanding officer, will accompany the abstract. In such cases it will only be necessary to enter on the abstract of issues the total amount of funds thus expended.

VII. At the end of each calendar month the commanding officer will transmit to the Commissary-General of Prisoners a copy of the "statement of the pri- n fund," as shown in the abstract of issues for that month, with a copy of the list of expenditures specified in preceding paragraph, accompanied by vouchers, and will indorse thereon, or convey in the letter of transmittal, such remarks as the matter may seem to require.

VIII. The prison fund is a credit with the Subsistence Department, and, at the request of the Commissary-General of Prisoners, may be transferred by the Commissary-General of Subsistence in manner prescribed by existing regulations for the transfer of hospital fund.

IX. With the prison fund may be purchased such articles not provided for by regulations as may be necessary for the health and proper condition of the prisoners, such as table furniture, cooking utensils, articles for policing, straw, the means of improving or enlarging the barracks or hospitals, &c. It will also be used to pay clerks and other employés engaged in labors connected with prisoners. No barracks or other structures will be erected or enlarged and no alterations made without first submitting a plan and estimate of the cost to the Commissary-General of Prisoners, to be laid before the Secretary of War for his approval; and in no case will the services of clerks or of other employés be paid for without the sanction of the Commissary-General of Prisoners. Soldiers employed with such sanction will be allowed 40 cents per day when employed as clerks, stewards, or mechanics; 25 cents a day when employed as laborers.

X. It is made the duty of the quartermaster, or, when there is none, the commissary, under the orders of the commanding officer, to procure all articles required for the prisoners and to hire clerks and other employés. All bills for service or for articles purchased will be certified by the quartermaster, and will be paid by the commissary on the order of the commanding officer, who is held responsible that all expenditures are for authorized purposes.

XI. The quartermaster will be held accountable for all property purchased with the prison fund, and he will make a return of it to the Commissary-General of Prisoners at the end of each calendar month, which will show the articles on hand on the first day of the month, the articles purchased, issued, and expended during the month, and the articles remaining on hand. The return will be supported by abstracts of the articles purchased, issued, and expended, certified by the quartermaster and approved by the commanding officer.

XII. The commanding officer will cause requisitions to be made by his quartermaster for such clothing as may be absolutely necessary for the prisoners, which requisition will be approved by him, after a careful inquiry as to the necessity, and submitted for the approval of the Commissary-General of Prisoners. The clothing will be issued by the quartermaster to the prisoners, with the assistance and under the supervision of an officer detailed for the purpose, whose certificate that the issue has been made in his presence will be the quartermaster's voucher for the clothing issued. From the 30th of April to the 1st of October neither drawers nor socks will be allowed, except to the sick. When army clothing is issued buttons and trimmings will be taken off the coats and the skirts will be cut so short that prisoners who wear them will not be mistaken for U. S. soldiers.

XIII. The sutler for the prisoners is entirely under the control of the commanding officer, who will require him to furnish the prescribed articles and at reasonable rates. For this privilege the sutler will be taxed a small amount by the commanding officer, according to the amount of his trade, which tax will be placed in the hands of the commissary to make part of the prison fund.

XIV. All money in possession of prisoners or received by them will be taken charge of by the commanding officer, who will give receipts for it to those to whom it belongs. Sales will be made to prisoners by the sutler on orders on the commanding officer, which orders will be kept as vouchers in the settlement of the individual accounts. The commanding officer will procure proper books in which to keep an account of all moneys deposited in his hands, these accounts to be always subject to inspection by the Commissary-General of Prisoners or other inspecting officer. When prisoners are transferred from the post the moneys belonging to them, with a statement of the amount due each, will be sent with them, to be turned over by the officer in charge to the officer to whom the prisoners are delivered, who will give receipts for the money. When prisoners are paroled their money will be returned to them.

XV. All articles sent by friends to prisoners, if proper to be delivered, will be carefully distributed as the donors may request—such as are intended for the sick passing through the hands of the surgeon, who will be responsible for their proper use. Contributions must be received by an officer, who will be held responsible that they are delivered to the person for whom they are intended. All uniform clothing, boots, or equipments of any kind for military service, weapons of all kinds, and intoxicating liquors, including malt liquors, are among the contraband articles. The material for outer clothing should be gray or some dark mixed color and of inferior quality. Any excess of clothing over what is required for immediate use is contraband.

XVI. When prisoners are seriously ill their nearest relatives, being loyal, may be permitted to make them short visits; but under no other circumstances will visitors be admitted without the authority of the Commissary-General of Prisoners. At those places where the guard is inside the inclosure persons having official business to transact with the commander or other officer will be admitted for such purposes, but will not be allowed to have any communication with prisoners.

XVII. Prisoners will be permitted to write and to receive letters, not to exceed one page of common letter paper each, provided the matter is strictly of a private nature. Such letters must be examined by a reliable non-commissioned officer, appointed for that purpose by the commanding officer, before they are forwarded or delivered to the prisoners.

XVIII. Prisoners who have been reported to the Commissary-General of Prisoners will not be paroled or released except by authority of the Secretary of War.*

W. HOFFMAN,

Colonel Third Infantry and Commissary-General of Prisoners.

OFFICE COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS,
Washington, D. C., April 20, 1864.

Brig. Gen. J. H. MARTINDALE,
Military Governor, Washington, D. C.:

GENERAL: By authority of the Secretary of War I have respectfully to request that all the invalid, sick, and wounded enlisted prisoners of war in confinement in the Old Capitol Prison who wish to be exchanged and who will not soon be fit for service may be forwarded to Major-General Butler at Fort Monroe. The flag-of-truce boat New York is now at Baltimore preparing to take the invalids from that city, made by me in organizing and establishing the shoe factory. A few days prior to my departure from this I had sent Mr. Smoot, a person furnished me by Major Cunningham, at Atlanta, as superintendent of the factory, on business connected with it. He informed me by letter that during his absence he had been conscribed, and that he is now with Major Cunningham, who had succeeded in procuring his release. A few days since, and shortly after my return here, a Mr. McMullen reported to me by letter from Major Dillard, at Columbus. I have sent him off in search of such tools as are needed. What success he may meet with I am unable to say. The principal difficulty I now see and now have to contend [with] is the scarcity of upper leather. I have up to this time succeeded in obtaining a quantity sufficient to last only for three days for fifty operatives. It would not answer to commence on so small a quantity. Next in importance are shoe pegs. I find difficulty in procuring enough required. Permit me to suggest that within ten miles of this, at a place called Americus, there are two tanneries, I think, under the control of the Government. Their capacity, I have been informed, are sufficient to contribute quite largely to the requirements of this factory. The very short distance from this, the saving of transportation, and their position so contiguous, would warrant my getting from them the materials so far as they could supply my wants. It will not answer to commence operations until every branch of the department was properly furnished both with tools and stock, a sufficient quantity of the latter being particularly required; without, the workmen would be idle in a very few days. So soon as Mr. McMullen returns, I will be better able to give you a more satisfactory and fuller report, mentioning what he has succeeded in obtaining, and giving you a memorandum of such things I may require.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. B. WINDER,
Captain and Assistant Quartermaster.

Form of report (monthly) accompanying this circular here omitted.

OFFICE COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS,
Washington, D. C., May 31, 1864.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

SIR: I have the honor to report that additional accommodations for the sick are required in the prison camp at Point Lookout. Application has been made to Quartermaster's Department in this city and to the headquarters of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina for tents, but there are none that can be obtained. I would therefore respectfully recommend that authority be given for the erection of shed wards, to supply the immediate wants and others to be erected as soon as convenient to supply the place of the tents now in use, one-half of which are so much worn as to be incapable of further repairs and will not last past this summer.

Some other buildings are also required, one for attendants, a dispensary and store-room, and one for an eating-room and kitchen, to replace the old tents now in use.

A ward 125 feet by 25 to accommodate fifty to seventy-five patients will cost about $1,000. The other buildings will cost in the same proportion. The work will be performed almost entirely by prisoners and the cost can be defrayed out of the prison fund.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. HOFFMAN,
Colonel Third Infantry and Commissary-General of Prisoners.

[First indorsement.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, *June 1, 1864.*

Respectfully returned to Col. W. Hoffman, Commissary-General of Prisoners.

Such accommodations as are immediately indispensably necessary for the prisoners in hospital at Point Lookout will be erected, the material to be paid for out of the prison fund.

By order of the Secretary of War:

JAS. A. HARDIE,
Colonel and Inspector-General.

OFFICE COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS,
Washington, D. C., May 31, 1864.

Lieut. Col. MARTIN BURKE,
Commanding Fort Lafayette, New York Harbor, N. Y.:

COLONEL: In reply to your letter of the 10th instant I have the honor to inform you that the circular from this office of May 7, in relation to prisoners of war, cannot be departed from, as it is the order of the War Department. I would suggest that you purchase a cooking-stove for the use of the prisoners and place it under a shed constructed for the purpose, so that their rations may be cooked by themselves. I inclose herewith a circular establishing a new scale for the rations to be issued to prisoners.*

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. HOFFMAN,
Colonel Third Infantry and Commissary-General of Prisoners.

CIRCULAR.] OFFICE COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS,
Washington, D. C., June 1, 1864.

I. By authority of the Secretary of War the ration to be issued to prisoners of war, as announced in the circular from this office dated April 20, 1864, is hereby modified as follows, to go into immediate effect, viz:

Ration.

Pork or bacon (in lieu of fresh beef)	ounces	10
Fresh beef	do	14
Flour or soft bread	do	16
Hard bread (in lieu of flour or soft bread)	do	14
Corn-meal (in lieu of flour or bread)	do	16
Beans or peas	pounds	*a* 12½
Or rice or hominy	do	*a* 8
Soap	do	*a* 4
Vinegar	quarts	*a* 3
Salt	pounds	*a* 3½
Potatoes	do	*a* 15

Sugar and coffee, or tea, will be issued only to the sick or wounded, on the recommendation of the surgeon in charge, at the rate of twelve pounds of sugar, five pounds of ground or seven pounds of green coffee, or one pound of tea, to the 100 rations. This part of the ration will be allowed only for every other day.

II. The difference between the ration as above established and the ration allowed by law to soldiers of the U. S. Army constitutes the "savings" from which is formed the "prison fund."

W. HOFFMAN,
Colonel Third U. S. Infty. and Commissary-General of Prisoners.

WASHINGTON, *June 1, 1864—8.50 p. m.*

Col. CHARLES W. HILL:

Be prepared to quarter 1,000 prisoners that will probably be sent to Johnson's Island. You will procure worn tents for the purpose, which will be pitched in the inclosure in front of the present barracks. In case tents cannot be procured temporary sheds can be put up. It will probably be necessary to put up a shed for messing. Please report what arrangements you can make.

WM. HOFFMAN,
Commissary-General of Prisoners.

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a To 100 rations.

* See next, *post*.

HEADQUARTERS POST OF CHICAGO,
Chicago, Ill., June 1, 1864.

Col. WILLIAM HOFFMAN,
Commissary-General of Prisoners, Washington, D. C.:

COLONEL: I have the honor respectfully to report that the grounds at Camp Douglas have been thoroughly policed and drained, nearly all the barracks in the prisoners' square, which were in long lines around the square, on the ground with floors ripped up, cut in lengths of ninety feet to each barrack, moved, ranged on streets fifty feet wide, four and five barracks on each street, with an alley twenty-five feet between the ends, streets graded, and barracks whitewashed inside and out, floors laid, and barracks raised and firmly placed on blocks four feet from the ground to prevent burrowing. All the barracks in the prisoners' square will have been moved and arranged according to this plan by the 8th of the present month. It leaves the grounds handsomely arranged, clean, and commodious, and clears somewhat more than half of the ground formerly occupied by the same barracks from incumbrance. There are now thirty-two barracks ninety feet long; one seventy feet long, lacking the kitchen—twenty feet. The capacity of each barrack is 165 men. The grounds of the prisoners' square will hold the present thirty-two barracks (twenty feet to be added to the seventy feet) and thirty-nine more of the same size and arranged on the same plan, which would give a capacity to hold 11,880 prisoners, or would accommodate, by placing a few more men in each barrack, in round numbers, 12,000 men, with an increase of not more than thirty to fifty men to the whole garrison of guard duty rendered necessary. Believing that you might desire to erect additional barracks here to save troops and expense elsewhere to the Government I have caused Major Skinner, commissary of prisoners, Mr. Roddin, quartermaster's agent, and Mr. Cook, master mechanic at Camp Douglas, to estimate the cost of thirty-nine additional barracks on the same plan, which would fill the grounds. They estimate as follows: Thirty-nine barracks ninety feet in length, twenty feet of each for kitchen, each with capacity for 165 men, $500 each; total, $19,500; one kitchen for the seventy feet barrack, $100; total, $19,600. For the reasons above indicated I respectfully recommend that thirty-nine more barracks be constructed on the plan according to which those now in the square are arranged. The changes which have been made make great improvement in the appearance and sanitary condition of the camp, as well as assist in enforcing better discipline. It is believed that a sufficient warrant for any changes not authorized directly by you may be found in a letter of instructions from Col. James A. Hardie, Inspector-General, by authority of the Secretary of War, under date of April 29, 1864.

I have the honor to be, colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

B. J. SWEET,
Colonel Eighth Regt. Veteran Reserve Corps, Comdg. Post.

CHARLESTON, *June 1, 1864.*

General BRAGG:

The enemy continue their bombardment of the city with increased vigor, damaging private property and endangering the lives of women and children. I can take care of a party, say fifty Yankee prisoners. Can you not send me that number, including a general? Seymour would do, and other officers of high rank, to be confined in parts of the city still occupied by citizens, but under the enemy's fire.

S. JONES.

[Indorsement.]

Respectfully submitted to Honorable Secretary of War.

JOHN W. RIELY,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General, relative to the exchange of certain Federals for whom certain parties are held as hostages.*

[Indorsement.]

JUNE 1, 1864.

Returned to Hon. J. H. Reagan, Postmaster-General.

I believe the parties named are at Salisbury, N. C. I do not see how the proposed exchange can be consummated without making a most dangerous and fatal precedent. If we release disloyal men because the Yankees arrest and detain hostages for them the enemy practically administer criminal justice within the Confederacy. Besides, such a system would invite unwilling conscripts to be disloyal in speech and act, so much so as to compel us to arrest them, the parties themselves knowing they would be relieved by the arrest of hostages. The War Department, for these and other reasons, refuses to make these special exchanges.

[RO. OULD,
Agent of Exchange.]

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
New Orleans, June 2, 1864.

The ADJUTANT-GENERAL U. S. ARMY, *Washington, D. C.:*

SIR: Inclosed I have the honor to transmit lists of prisoners captured at the places and upon the dates designated. These prisoners shall lose a mail if I do not stop, so good night and God bless you. Love to your sister, from

Your affectionate aunt,

JULIA.

Let me hear if you receive this letter.

(This letter inclosed in an envelope addressed George William Howard, Windsor, Canada West, inclosed in another [addressed] S. D. Elwood, esq., Detroit, Mich.)

* Reagan's communication not found.

SUNDAY 29, 1864.

G. W. HOWARD:

MY DEAR NEPHEW: Only time for a few words and a few extracts from the Louisville Journal to keep you "*en courant*" in our public affairs, as you are young, ardent, and withal a Kentucky politician. I send you the Saturday's McClellan answer to the Lincoln Gazette attack on our convention of the 25th. We are showing up the Abolition party, and they are abusing us, the pure war, which Democratic party material, conservative, &c., judge for yourself. I send a slight compliment to "Schenck," general, and what not, and an article marked for L. P. I retain as a "bijou" the order of yesterday by General Burbridge, under direction of General Schofield, stopping treasonable publications, and prohibiting in the District of Kentucky the circulation of a work styled "Life, Services, and Campaigns of Stonewall Jackson." All persons found violating this order will be arrested and forwarded to headquarters to be dealt with for uttering treasonable publications. Also the lineage of Beauregard, the grandson of a Mexican bandit, and a low-born, lying creole, the son of a slave. There was a long article on the lineage of R. E. Lee, the descendant of traitors, defamers, cowards, &c. That was a precious "*morceau*" for the New York Times. All this in yesterday's paper. I think I shall travel alone to see you. Love to L. P.

Adieu, your aunt,

JULIA.

(This letter inclosed in an envelope addressed George William Howard, Windsor, Canada West, inclosed in another addressed S. D. Elwood, esq., Detroit, Mich.)

CIRCULAR } OFFICE COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS,
No. 3. } *Washington, D. C., June 13, 1864.*

By authority of the Secretary of War, it is ordered as follows:

I. When prisoners of war are employed on public works other than the proper police duties of the prisons or camps where they are confined they will be allowed compensation from the prison fund as follows: Mechanics, 10 cents per day and laborers 5 cents per day, which will be placed to their credit in the hands of the commanding officer, or officer holding prisoners' money. This allowance may be paid in tobacco to those who prefer it, and for this purpose the commanding officer is authorized to direct the purchase of tobacco in small quantities from time to time with the prison fund.

II. Payments for services as above authorized will be made on the 10th, 20th, and last day of the month by the commissary of subsistence, on the certificate of the officer under whose direction the services are rendered, approved by the commanding officer, and on the receipt of the officer in whose hands the money is to be deposited, made agreeably to the following form:

FORM.

OFFICE OF THE ACTING ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTER,
Camp Douglas, Ill., June 10, 1864.

I certify that prisoners of war were employed under my direction upon public works at this station between the 1st and 10th instant as follows:

Ten carpenters, 45 days in the aggregate, at 10 cents per day	$4.50
Twenty blacksmiths, 70 days in the aggregate, at 10 cents per day	7.00
Thirty masons, 120 days in the aggregate, at 10 cents per day	12.00
Fifteen laborers, 30 days in the aggregate, at 5 cents per day	1.50
Total	$25.00

And that a list of the prisoners by whom said services were rendered and the amount due each has been furnished to Col. A—— B——, Tenth Illinois Volunteers, commanding Camp Douglas.

C—— D——,
First Lieutenant, Tenth Illinois Volunteers, Acting Assistant Quartermaster.

Received at Camp Douglas, Ill., June 10, 1864, of Capt. E—— F——, commissary of subsistence, on account of services rendered by prisoners of war at this station, as per above certificate, viz, $25, which amount is to be placed to the credit of the individual prisoners earning the same, as per list furnished me by Lieut. C—— D——, Tenth Illinois Volunteers, acting assistant quartermaster.

A—— B——,
Colonel Tenth Regiment Illinois Volunteers, Commanding Camp Douglas.

NOTE.—When prisoners receive tobacco for the whole or any part of their services the time for which they are thus compensated will be excluded from the above certificate and list therein referred to.

III Prisoners of war employed as above will be allowed the following ration:

Pork or bacon (in lieu of beef)	ounces	12
Salt or fresh beef	do	16
Flour or soft bread	do	18
Hard bread (in lieu of flour or soft bread)	do	12
Corn-meal (in lieu of flour or bread)	do	18
Beans or peas	pounds	*a* 14
Rice or hominy (in lieu of beans or peas)	do	*a* 10
Coffee (ground)	do	*a* 5
Coffee (green) (in lieu of ground coffee)	do	*a* 7
Tea (in lieu of coffee)	ounces	*a* 16
Sugar	pounds	*a* 12
Vinegar	quarts	*a* 3
Soap	pounds	*a* 4
Salt	do	*a* 3½

W. HOFFMAN,
Colonel Third Infantry and Commissary-General of Prisoners.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington City, June 13, 1864.*

Governor BROUGH, *Columbus:*

Judge-Advocate Burnett advises the arrest and trial of the publishers of the Cincinnati Enquirer. The Government is ready to do so at once, but the President trusts to your judgment and wishes to know whether you deem it expedient. A simple yes or no from you will enable us to act, without imposing any responsibility upon you. Answer soon.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

a To 100 rations.

OFFICE AGENT OF EXCHANGE,
HDQRS. MILITARY DIVISION OF WEST MISSISSIPPI,
New Orleans, La., August 10, 1864.

Maj. IG. SZYMANSKI, C. S. Army,
Agent of Exchange, Trans-Mississippi Department:

MAJOR: I have the honor to inclose to you herewith an official copy of General Orders, No. 107, headquarters Department of the Gulf,* containing an enumeration by name of the officers and men, amounting to an equivalent for 110 privates of the paroled prisoners delivered to me June 17th, now declared exchanged in pursuance of our agreement of July 22. I also beg leave to call your attention to the fact that one Capt. William Austin, master of a transport steamer in the Confederate service, was delivered to you at the time of our late exchange of prisoners as a citizen, without exchange. You will doubtless remember that he was entered on our lists of prisoners as a "captain" and that some discussion arose as to the terms upon which he should be delivered, resulting in his being simply released as a citizen non-combatant, without equivalent.

I have now to request that you will release Capt. William M. Dana, the master of the transport steamer John Warner, as an equivalent for Captain Austin.

I think you will concede the equity of this request. In any case I ask that you will bring Captain Dana with you to our next meeting for exchange, and if the above proposal is not satisfactory I will render you an ample equivalent for his release.

You have no doubt heard of the capture by our naval forces in Mobile Bay of a considerable number of officers and men of the C. S. Navy. I have already asked for authority to exchange a sufficient number of officers and men of this capture for the officers and men of the U. S. Navy now prisoners at Camp Ford. This authority will undoubtedly be granted, and if so, I shall have the honor to propose such an exchange at the earliest opportunity. I hope that I may very soon receive from you the list of the officers and men of the Louisiana brigade to be exchanged and that that exchange may be consummated without unnecessary delay.

I send with this some letters for citizens and prisoners within your lines which I beg you will have forwarded to their several destinations.

I am, major, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,
CHARLES C. DWIGHT,
Col. and Agent of Exchange, Military Division of West Mississippi.

CIRCULAR, No. 4. } OFFICE COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS,
Washington, D. C., August 10, 1864.

I. By direction of the Secretary of War it is ordered that hereafter no supplies of any kind will be furnished to prisoners of war by their relatives or friends, except in cases of illness, when near relatives will be permitted to send them such articles of food as may be approved by the surgeon in charge of the hospital, to whose care they will in all cases be addressed. Necessary clothing may be furnished by near relatives to destitute prisoners, subject to the approval of the commanding officer of the post where they are confined. Outer garments must be of gray or dark mixed color and of inferior quality. Only one suit of outer clothing and a change of underclothing will be allowed.

II. It is further ordered that sutlers at military prisons shall be permitted to sell to prisoners only the following articles, viz, writing materials, postage stamps, tobacco, cigars, pipes, matches, combs, soap, tooth brushes, hair brushes, clothes brushes, scissors, thread, and needles, handkerchiefs, towels, and pocket looking-glasses.

III. This order will not be understood as prohibiting prisoners of war from receiving clothing or other articles not contraband from their relatives or friends residing beyond our lines, when forwarded by flag-of-truce boat, or any other authorized channel, so long as the prisoners of war held at Richmond and other Southern prisons are permitted to receive the same articles in the same manner from their relatives and friends in the loyal States.

W. HOFFMAN,
Colonel Third Infantry and Commissary-General of Prisoners.

WASHINGTON, *August 10, 1864.*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

SIR: I have the honor to submit for your consideration some facts and suggestions having relation to those of our military and naval forces who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy.

The operations against Richmond induced the enemy to send his prisoners farther south for security. The advance of General Sherman's column has again made necessary further changes in the enemy's depots, which will probably be established in the neighborhood of Savannah and Charleston.

On the 3d day of August 600 of our commissioned officers arrived in Charleston from Macon. It was said, however, that the real destination intended for them was Savannah, whither a large additional number may be sent.

The condition of our officers and soldiers in the hands of the enemy is represented to reach the extreme limit of destitution and suffering; this is more especially true of the enlisted men. It is reported to me from reliable sources that they are without shelter, not even for the sick; that neither blankets nor clothing are issued to them, and that for the large number of sick the surgeons in charge are without the most necessary medicines and hospital supplies. The result is a fearful and increasing mortality.

I have reason to believe that Major-General Foster, commanding Department of the South, if authorized to do so, could make an arrangement to relieve the most necessary wants of our men by sending supplies to them in charge of suitable agents, who would be allowed as such to superintend the issue of supplies to our men, and probably a detail of assistant surgeons would be allowed to remain with the sick in charge. Pending the suspension of regular exchanges no effort should be spared to mitigate the sufferings of these gallant men, thrown by the fortunes of war into the hands of a cruel enemy. We must either remain inactive witnesses of their sufferings or retaliate upon the prisoners in our hands, or renew our efforts to afford succor to our men.

Apart from the objections which exist to the policy of retaliation, it is at least doubtful whether it would inure to the benefit of our men, for the reason that the enemy are reported to be without the means to supply clothing, medicines, and other needful supplies even to their own troops.

I earnestly recommend that Major-General Foster be authorized to make such an [illegible]

to do so, and I am not without hope that if his instructions authorize it he would be able to negotiate exchanges on a basis satisfactory to the Government.

The proximity of the rebel depots for prisoners to Major-General Foster's department, and the diminishing facilities for their transportation from the Gulf States to City Point, might render it expedient, temporarily at least, to modify the existing cartel, so as to designate Savannah or Charleston as the place for exchanges, and to authorize Major-General Foster to negotiate them

It would afford me the utmost gratification to be able to render any service in my power in giving effect to the suggestions embodied in this communication.

Very respectfully,

D. E. SICKLES,
Major General, U. S. Volunteers.

[First indorsement.]

AUGUST 12, 1864.

I submit the within from General Sickles on an old and very painful subject.

A. LINCOLN.

[Second indorsement.]

Referred to Major-General Hitchcock, commissioner of exchange, for report as to the means that can be adopted for the purpose within stated.

E. M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

[Third indorsement.]

AUGUST 13, 1864.

General Foster was authorized to effect an exchange of those officers first sent to the city of Charleston by the rebels, and his authority might be extended to those (some 600) said to have been sent there. He might have a general authority on the subject and exchange as many as possible.

Our suffering prisoners in Richmond a few months since scarcely received any benefit from the supplies sent to them from the North.

There was evidence that the rebel guards used the supplies before the faces of our imprisoned soldiers, and what they did not use, or much of it, was allowed to spoil in the boxes under the very eyes of our people, who were not allowed to touch them.

Medical officers might be sent to attend upon the sick if the rebel authorities would permit it, which is not likely. The experiment might be tried.

The only sure remedy for the abominations practiced in the South by the enemy is to defeat his armies.

Respectfully submitted.

E. A. HITCHCOCK,
Major-General of Volunteers.

Appendix C

PRISONER OF WAR DEATHS AND CAUSES

One hundred and fifty-three Confederate prisoners died during the nine months that Ship Island served as a military prison. The first death occurred on October 17, 1864, when Pvt. J. R. Turner of Alabama died of consumption. The last prisoner to die was Pvt. Frank Bryant of the 1st Alabama Reserves, who died of typhoid fever on May 2. The dead were buried in a cemetery with the graves numbered from 1 to 153.

The causes of the deaths of these men as entered in the Ship Island Register of Burials were:

Asthma	1
Cancer	1
Carcinoma (cancer)	1
Congestive fever	1
Consumption	5
Diarrhea	25
Dropsy	1
Dysentery	81
Gunshot wounds	2
Hepatitis	1
Phithisis	5
Pneumonia	20
Scurvy	1
Smallpox	2
Typhoid	5
Unknown	1
Total	153

Appendix D

STATEMENT OF PRISON FUND: APRIL-OCTOBER 1865

Statement of Prison Fund at Ship Island, Miss., for the month of April, 1865, by Capt. James W. Morrison, C.S., U.S. Vols.

Credit	By balance of credit last month	$ 8,702.61
	By 77,538 rations being the number due this month at 26 3/4 cents per ration	20,741.41
	Total	$29,444.02

Issued

Debit	To the following provisions at contract prices	
	29,271 7/8 pounds of pork at 17 1/2¢ per pound	$ 5,112.06
	26,949 7/8 pounds of salt beef at 10 1/4¢ per pound	2,762.28
	24,795 10/16 pounds of hardtack at 07¢ per pound	1,735.68
	7,426 pounds of flour at 04¢ per pound	297.04
	4,865 1/2 pounds of beans at 04 1/2¢ per pound	218.95
	563 pounds of rice at 14¢ per pound	78.82
	3,502 pounds of peas at 05¢ per pound	175.10
	30,539 pounds of cornmeal at 03¢ per pound	916.17
	100 pounds of mixed vegetables at 22¢ per pound	22.00
	387 1/2 gallons of vinegar at 38¢ per gallon	147.25
	1,550 1/2 pounds of soap at 14¢ per pound	217.07
	1,550 1/2 pounds of salt at 02¢ per pound	31.01
	Total	$11,713.43

Purchased

To amt. of bill of Bostick & Seymour	421.86
To amt. of bill of Peter O'Donnell	34.00
To clerk hire for month of April	100.00
Total	$ 555.86

Balance of credit April 30, 1865 $17,174.73

I certify that the above statement is correct, examined & approved

Ernest Holmstedt
Col. 74th U.S.C. Infantry
Comdg. Post

James W. Morrison
Capt. & C.S. Vols.

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Holmstedt to Hoffman, May 10, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

Statement of the Prison Fund at Ship Island, Miss., for the Period May 1-10, 1865, by Capt. James W. Morrison, C.S., U.S. Vols.

Credit	By balance of credit last month	$17,174.73
	By 25,363 rations being the number due this month at 26 3/4 cents per ration	6,781.92
	Total	$23,956.65

Issued

Debit	To the following provisions at contract prices	
	10,431 7/8 pounds of pork at 17 1/2 cents per lb.	$ 1,825.56
	7,026 1/8 pounds of salt beef at 10 1/4 cents per lb.	720.18
	12,546 pounds of hardtack at 07 cents per lb.	878.29
	496 pounds of desiccated vegetables at 22 cents per lb.	100.12
	1,563 pounds of beans at 04 3/4 cents per lb.	74.24
	971 pounds of peas at 05 cents per lb.	48.55
	110 pounds of rice at 14 cents per lb.	15.40
	5,046 pounds of cornmeal at 02 1/2 cents per lb.	126.15
	38 1/2 gallons of molasses at $1.25 per gal.	48.12
	507 pounds of soap at 13 cents per lb.	65.91
	507 pounds of salt at 02 cents per lb.	10.14
	117 pounds of apples at 12 2/3 cents per lb.	14.82
	Total	$ 3,936.48

Balance of credit May 10, 1865 $20,020.17

I certify that the above statement is correct.

Examined and approved
Ernest Holmstedt
Col. 74th U.S.C. Infty.
Comdg. Post

James W. Morrison
Capt. & C.S. Vols.

Holmstedt to Hoffman, June 3, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

Statement of Prison Fund at Ship Island, Miss., for May 11-31, 1865, by Capt. J. Rudolph, C.S., U.S. Vols.

Credit	By balance of credit last statement (May 10, 1865).	$20,020.17
	By 164 rations being the number due the month at 26 3/4 cents per ration	43.87
	Total	$20,064.04

Issued

Debit	To the following provisions at contract prices	
	78 3/4 pounds of pork at 17 1/2¢	13.78
	33 1/4 pounds of salt beef at 10 1/4¢	3.40
	64 pounds of flour at 04 1/2¢	2.88
	20 1/2 pounds of beans at 04 3/4¢	.97
	60 1/2 pounds of hardtack at 07¢	4.37
	3 pounds of soap at 13¢	.39
	3 pounds of salt at 02¢	.06
	Total	$ 25.85

Balance of credit May 31, 1865 $20,038.19

I certify that the above statement is correct.

Examined and approved
Ernest Holmstedt
Col. 74th U.S.C. Infantry
Comdg. Post

J. Rudolph
Capt. & C.S. Vols.

Holmstedt to Hoffman, June 3, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

June	Balance due	$20,038.19		
	By 100 rations due prisoners to June 20 at 26 1/2 cents per ration	26.50		
	By overcharge on hardtack in October and November 1864	267.70		
		$20,332.39		
June	To account of provisions issued to June 20 at contract price		16.16	
	To account of purchases in June		333.00	
			349.16	
	Amount due June 30, 1865			$19,983.23
June 30	Balance due	$19,983.23		
	To account paid in June for clerk hire		112.20	
				$19,871.23

No report for July or August
No savings or disbursements in these months.

Sept.	By balance of credit from June	$19,871.23		
	By cooking range sold to Capt. Noyes	137.00		
		$20,008.23		
	No issues or purchases			
	Amount due Oct. 1, 1865			$20,008.23
Oct.	Amount due	$20,008.23		
	To amount of purchases		25.30	
	Amount Nov. 1, 1865			$19,982.90
	Amount transferred to Subsistence Department, November 22, 1865, by Edwin Allen, Lt. & A.C.S.			$19,982.90

Memorandum Prison Fund at Ship Island, Miss., NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

Appendix E

PRISON FUND: CREDITS AND DEBITS

Statement of Military Prison Fund at Ship Island, Miss., August 16, 1865.

1864	Credits	
Oct.	By amt. of credit transferred by Lt. C. Sauvinet, A.C.S. to Capt. J. W. Morrison, C.S. Vols.	$ 119.04
Oct. 31	By 8,966 rations being the number due prisoners of war for months of October at .27¢	2,420.82
Nov. 30	By 32,806 rations being the number due prisoners of war for month of November at .27¢	8,857.62
Dec. 31	By 27,965 rations being the number due prisoners of war for month of December at 27¢	7,550.55
1865		
Jan. 31	By 17,793 rations being the number due prisoners of war for month of January at 27¢	4,804.11
Feb. 28	By 16,812 rations being the number due prisoners of war for month of February at 27¢	4,707.36
March 31	By 15,140 rations being the number due prisoners of war for month of March at 27¢	4,239.20
April 30	By 77,538 rations being the number due prisoners of war for month of April at 27¢	20,741.41
May 10	By 25,353 rations being the number due prisoners of war for first ten days of May at 27¢	6,781.92
May 31	By 164 rations being the number due prisoners of war for the period May 11-31 at 27¢	43.87
June 30	By 100 rations being the number due prisoners of war for June at 27¢	26.50
March	By amt. of current money left by deceased prisoners of war	30.00
March	By amt. of current money fund concealed by prisoners of war	26.80
	Total	$60,348.40

1864	Debits	
Oct. 31	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Morrison in October at contract price	$ 1,626.43
Nov. 30	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Morrison in November at contract price	5,816.43
Dec. 31	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Morrison in December at contract price	5,450.92

1865

Jan. 31	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Morrison in January at contract price	3,504.07
Feb. 28	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Morrison in February at contract price	3,224.12
March 31	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Morrison in March at contract price	2,384.07
April 30	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Morrison in April at contract price	11,713.43
May 10	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Morrison from May 1-10 at contract price	3,936.48
May 31	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Rudolph from May 11-31 at contract price	25.85
June 30	To amt. of provisions furnished by Captain Rudolph in June at contract price	16.16
Dec.	10 gallons molasses from Commissary of Subsistence at 40¢ per gallon	4.00
Dec.	To amt. bill F La Croix as per certified voucher No. 1	234.00
Dec.	To amt. bill of Peter O. Donnell as per certified voucher No. 2	119.70
Dec.	To 40 pounds candles from Commissary of Subsistence at 39¢ per pound	15.60
Dec.	To amt. paid C. E. Colby for services as clerk for commissary of prisoners for November	86.67
Dec.	To amt. paid C. Sturdivant for services as clerk for commissary of prisoners for December	100.00

1865

Jan.	To 40 pound candles from Commissary of Subsistence at 29¢ per pound	15.60
Jan.	To 10 gallons molasses from Commissary of Subsistence at $1.25 per gallon	12.50
Jan.	To amt. paid C. Sturdivant for services as clerk for commissary of prisoners for January	100.00
Feb.	To amt. bill Bostick & Seymour as per certified voucher No. 3	500.00
Feb.	To amt. bill Peter O. Donnell as per certified voucher No. 4	234.30
Feb.	To amt. bill W. & J. McCracken as per certified voucher No. 5	51.00
Feb.	To 750 pounds potatoes from Commissary of Subsistence at 2¢ per pound	15.00
Feb.	To amt. paid C. Sturdivant for services as clerk for commissary of prisoners for February	100.00
March	To amt. paid C. Sturdivant for services as clerk for commissary of prisoners for March	100.00
April	To amt. bill Bostick & Seymour as per certified voucher No. 6	421.86
April	To amt. bill Peter O. Donnell as per certified voucher No. 7	34.00
April	To amt. paid C. Sturdivant for services as clerk for commissary of prisoners for April	100.00

June	To amt. paid C. Sturdivant for services as clerk for commissary of prisoners for May	100.00
June	To amt. bill Bostick & Seymour as per certified voucher No. 8	233.00
June	To amt. paid C. Sturdivant for service as clerk for commissary of prisoners for June	100.00
June	To amt. paid Sgt. A. Frelot for services in office of commissary of prisoners in April	12.00
July	To amt. bill Peter O. Donnell as per certified voucher No. 9	76.80
		40,463.99
	Balance	$19,884.41

I certify that the above statement is correct.

Ernest Holmstedt
Col. 74th Regt. U.S.C. Inft.
Comdg. Post

Certified Voucher No. 1

United States to Francis La Croix

1864

November 30	10 barrels onions	$8.00	$ 80.00
November 30	20 barrels potatoes	5.75	115.00
November 30	130 head cabbage	.30	39.00
			$234.00

Certified Voucher No. 2

United States to Peter O. Donnell

1864

Dec. 28	6 glass inkstands	$ 6.00
	1 8-qur. Med. Blank Books	28.00
	8 3-qur. Day Blank Books	36.00
	1 Copying Letter Press	16.50
	2 Copying Letter Books	12.00
	2 Copying Letter Brushes	3.00
	1 Doz Oil Sheets	1.00
	1 Quart Copying Ink	3.00
	2 Bottles Carmine Ink	1.50
	12 Lead Pencils	1.50
	1 Rubber Auer	1.50
	1 gross Gillotte Pens	2.50
	2 qurs. Patent Blotting	7.20
	Total	$119.70

Certified Voucher No. 3

United States to Bostick & Seymour

Feb. 6	1 Pr. 600 lbs. Platform Scales (Fairbanks)	$ 46.50
	2 Pr. Spring Balances & Dishes to weigh 50 lbs. each	6.50
	2 coal oil lamps & 2 shades for same	9.20
	5 gals. best coal oil in can & 1 lamp feedin	8.25
	1 doz. cotton wicks & 2 doz. lamp chimnies	5.50
	1 pr. lamp scissors & 1 10-in. ebony handle knife	2.75
	4 dozen best axe helves & 1 doz. corn brooms	24.50
	4 iron cauldrons 50 gals. each	102.00
	1 9-in. Diamond Rock stove complete	70.00
	10 feet heavy 6-in. stove pipe, 1 cap for same	14.25
	1 keg 25 lbs. black paint	3.50

	2 gals. linseed oil & 1 can for same	5.50
	1 gal. neetsfoot oil	3.50
	2 4/0 paint brushes, 2 sash (illegible)	5.00
	6 brass candlesticks	7.50
	6 brass drawer locks, asst.	5.40
	12 large tumbler padlocks, asst.	11.40
	12 10-inch hasps with staples	6.00
	3 tin scoops, 1 gal.	2.65
	2 tin funnels	1.50
	24 zinked washboards	15.60
	3 wooden faucetts & 2 molasses graters	3.75
	3 packing boxes	1.50
	1 No. 3 range with boilers, complete	125.00
	15 feet heavy stove pipe, cap for same	72.75
	Total	$500.00

Certified Voucher No. 4

United States to Peter O. Donnell

Jan. 1865	4 Reams Cap Paper & 4 Reams Letter Paper	$ 60.00
	172 Reams Folio Paste Paper	27.00
	1500 Letter Envelopes & 1500 Official Envelopes	48.00
	3 quarts Fluid Ink & 5 botts. Carmine Ink	12.50
	3 gross Pens & 12 bottles Muscilage	15.00
	3 Ruling Pens & 12 large Memorandum Books	18.00
	1 Pr. Bank Shears & 1 doz. Lead Pencils	7.00
	1 doz. Pen Holders & 12 Pieces Rubber	2.80
	1 Stamp in Brass & 1 Stamping Pad	13.00
	1 Bottle Stamping Ink & 1 Calinder	6.00
	3 Steel Erasers & 2 large Glass Inkstands	7.00
	4 Letter clasps & 2 Card Racks	9.00
	6 Rubber Slates	9.00
	Total	$234.30

Certified Voucher No. 5

United States to W. J. McCracken

1865	8 Oak Cain Seat Office Chairs	$ 38.00
	4 Oak Wood Seat Office Chairs	13.00
	Total	$ 51.00

Certified Voucher No. 6

United States to Bostick & Seymour

1865

April 11	6 12-in. extra whitewash brushes	$ 9.30
	23 lbs. 1/4 in. cotton thread rope	28.75

	2 Britannia covered pitchers	6.00
	1 bolt 43 1/2 yds. cotton duck	65.25
	1 sash tool	.50
	10 pounds chalk	1.00
	6 army cauldrons 40 & 50 gals.	129.00
	6 galv. copper bottom boilers & covers	43.50
	4 bolts 236 yds. mosquito netting	49.56
	36 pounds sail twine	54.00
	6 large globe signal lights	31.50
	Packing & drayage	3.50
	Total	$421.86

Certified Voucher No. 7

United States to Peter O. Donnell

1865

March 13	6 bottles stamping ink	$ 4.50
April 13	1 quart fluid ink	2.50
	100 slate pencils	1.00
	2 official envelope paper	1.50
	1500 letter envelopes	12.00
	1 ream letter paper	12.50
	Total	$ 34.00

Certified Voucher No. 8

United States to Bostick & Seymour

March 15	1 Burgler Proof Safe with drawers, complete 2 1/2 x 2 ft.	$115.00
	2 Marine office clocks	31.00
	1 Plantation Bell & mountings	45.00
	1 6-in. Diamond Rock Stove, complete	35.00
	14 feet heavy stove pipe	7.00
	Total	$233.00

Voucher No. 9

United States to Peter O'Donnell

1864

Dec. 1	1 8 quire Royal Record Book	$ 30.00
	1 6 quire Day Cash Book	15.00
	2 5 quire Day Record Books	15.00
	24 memo books	16.80
	Total	$ 76.80

Appendix F

TRANSFERAL AND DISPOSAL OF PRISON CAMP PROPERTY

On September 11, 1865, Capt. C. S. S. Rudolph, A.Q.M., transferred to Lt. P. J. Noyes, A.A.Q.M., 74th U.S. Colored Infantry, these items pertaining to the military prison:

21 quires letter paper
34 quires foolscap paper
11 quires folio post paper
860 official envelopes
2,260 letter envelopes
3 bottles carmine ink
50 steel pens
4 bottles mucilage
3 ruling pens
1 office shears
7 pen holders
3 pieces rubber
1 stamp in brass
4 bottles stamping ink
1 calender
2 erasers
8 glass inkstands
4 letter clasps
2 letter racks
5 slates
74 slate pencils
1 coping press
2 copying brushes
12 oil sheets
1 ruler
1 platform scales
2 spring balances
2 lamps with shades
1 lamp feeder
1 lamp scissors
5 lamp chimneys
1 butcher knife
24 axe helves
4 brooms
10 iron cauldrons
2 stoves
49 feet stove pipe
1 cooking range
6 boilers with covers
17 pounds black paint
1 paint brush
6 candlesticks
4 till locks
12 padlocks
12 hasps & staples
3 tin scoops
2 funnels
8 washboards
1 molasses grate
12 office chairs
5 pounds cotton rope
2 water pitchers
14 pounds sail twine
5 globe lanterns
2 office clocks
1 plantation bell
2 stovepipe caps
1 gallon neetsfoot oil
1 1/4 gallon paint oil
1 iron safe

Holmstedt to Noyes, Sept. 26, 1865, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd.

On October 28, Commissary-General Hoffman directed Colonel Holmstedt to sell at public auction all prison property in the hands of Post Quartermaster Noyes.

Hoffman to Homstedt, Oct. 28 1865, NA, RG 249.

As of February 20, 1866, there remained on Ship Island these articles belonging to the prison camp: ten lamp chimneys, three brass candlesticks, two office clocks, one set of platform scales, two spring balances, two metal water pitchers, one iron safe, one letter press, one pair office shears, twelve office chairs, twenty-one heives, four glass signal lanterns, ten pounds hemp sail twine, one (illegible), and one tin memorandum rack.

Sturdivant to Fettis, Feb. 20, 1866, NA, RG 249, Ltrs. Recd. Charles Sturdivant was a clerk in the Subsistence Department.

Appendix G

Known Union Ship Island Burials as of March 1, 1866.

No.	Name	Rank	Unit, etc.
1	Hall, H.	Pvt.	Co. E, 78th USCI
2	Unknown	x	x
3	Unknown	x	x
4	Pierson, William	Cpl.	Co. C, 74th USCI
5	Unknown	x	x
6	Barnes, Calvin	Pvt.	Co. F, 74th, USCI
7	Grant, Wm. H.	Pvt.	Co. H, 74th, USCI
8	Nunn, John	Pvt.	Co. H, 74th, USCI
9	J. B.	x	Co. C
10	F. B.	x	Co. C
11	Unknown	x	x
12	Unknown	x	x
13	Unknown	x	x
14	Unknown	x	x
15	Unknown	x	x
16	Unknown	x	x
17	Unknown	x	x
18	B.	x	x
19	Unknown	x	x
20	Robinson, Alex	Pvt.	Co. K, 2d La. Na. Guard
21	Unknown	x	x
22	Gilbert, William	x	x
23	Unknown	x	x
24	Unknown	x	x
25	Unknown	x	x
26	Colson, Aaron	Pvt.	13th Me. Vols.
27	Wyman, W. W.	Pvt.	Co. B, 13th Me. Vols.
28	Armstrong, Chas.	Pvt.	Co. A, 6th N.Y. Vols.
29	Maroney, Thomas	Pvt.	Co. B, 38th Mass. Vols.
30	Unknown	x	x
31	Unknown	x	x
32	Unknown	x	x
33	Unknown	x	x
34	Unknown	x	x
35	Unknown	x	x
36	Wilson, Joseph	Pvt.	Co. K, 2d La. Na. Guard
37	J. P.	x	x
38	Unknown	x	x
39	Champlain, Geo. W.	Pvt.	Co. F, 114th N.Y. Vols.
40	Holdridge, P. B.	Pvt.	Co. D, 114th N.Y. Vols.
41	Unknown	x	x
42	Unknown	x	x
43	Unknown	x	x
44	Unknown	x	x
45	Vangarder, V.	Pvt.	2d Ohio Battery

No.	Name	Rank	Unit, etc.
46	Unknown	x	x
47	O'Brine, Daniel	Pvt.	Co. G, 8th N.H. Vols.
48	Unknown	x	x
49	Unknown	x	x
50	Unknown	x	x
51	Unknown	x	x
52	Closson, Joel	Pvt.	Co. A, 14th Me. Vols.
53	Carpenter, F.	Pvt.	Co. A, 14th Me. Vols.
54	Unknown	x	8th N.H. Vols.
55	Piper, D.	Pvt.	Co. E, 8th N.H. Vols.
56	Oates, S.	Pvt.	Co. H, 13th Me. Vols.
57	Unknown	x	Co. E, 13th Me. Vols.
58	Chapman, Wm. S.	Pvt.	Co. F, 13th Me. Vols.
59	Billings, A. J.	Pvt.	Co. F, 13th Me, Vols.
60	Parker Paris	Pvt.	Bucksport, Me.
61	Taylor, Austin	Pvt.	Co. G, 8th N.H. Vols.
62	Polley, Robert N.	Pvt.	Co. G, 8th N.H. Vols.
63	Follansbee, G. R.	Pvt.	Co. B, 8th N.H. Vols.
64	White, W. C.	Pvt.	Co. B, 8th N.H. Vols.
65	Grass, Ed	Pvt.	Co. K, 4th Wis. Vols.
66	Fowler, Orin	Pvt.	Co. K, 4th Wis. Vols.
67	Payne, Eugene	Pvt.	Co. D, 13th Me. Vols.
68	Mason, A. W.	Pvt	Co. E, 4th Wis. Vols.
69	Tuttle, Alonzo	Pvt.	Co. A, 13th Me. Vols.
70	Carson, Levi C.	Pvt.	Co. A, 13th Me. Vols.
71	Fernald, Joseph	Pvt.	Co. A, 13th Me. Vols.
72	Saunders, James	Pvt.	Co. B, 4th Wis. Vols.
73	Gunsolm, Abner	Pvt.	Co. B, 4th Wis. Vols.
74	Unknown	x	x
75	Brooks, John	Pvt.	Co. I, 8th N.H. Vols.
76	Walker, George	Cpl.	Co. C, 8th Vt. Vols.
77	Lamb, G. S.	Pvt.	8th Vt. Vols.
78	Buzzell, Solon D.	Pvt.	Co. K, 8th Vt. Vols.
79	Unknown	x	x
80	Crowell, Sandford	Pvt.	Co. D, 13th Me. Vols.
81	Honipson, _ T.	Pvt.	Co. I, 13th Me. Vols.
82	B__man, Jacob	Pvt.	13th, Me. Vols.
83	Unknown	x	x
84	Unknown	x	x
85	Prentice, Charles	Pvt.	Co. C, 13th Me. Vols.
86	Beane, C. J.	Cpl.	Co. C, 13th Me. Vols.
87	Bird, William	Pvt.	Co. F, 13th Me. Vols.
88	Pongsley, Ira	Pvt.	Co. G, 13th Me. Vols.
89	Fly, Alfred W.	Pvt.	Co. G, 13th Me. Vols.
90	Unknown	x	x
91	Woodman, Albert	Pvt.	Co. C, 13th Me. Vols.
92	Wright, Charles N.	Pvt.	Co. H, 13th Me. Vols.
93	Oliver, David	Pvt.	Co. K, 7th Vt. Vols.
94	Unknown	x	x
95	Hooper, Orlando	Pvt.	Co. K, 13th Me. Vols.

No.	Name	Rank	Unit, etc.
96	Hooper, C. S.	Pvt.	Co. K, 13th Me. Vols.
97	Unknown	x	x
98	Unknown	x	x
99	Long, J.	Pvt.	Co. F, 6th Mich. Vols.
100	Holmes, Daniel	Pvt.	Col. E, Vt. Vols.
101	Barrett, Alonzo	Pvt.	Co E, 13th Me. Vols.
102	Millett, William E.	Pvt.	Co. K. 13th Me. Vols.
103	Jordan, R. T.	Pvt.	Co. K, 13th Me. Vols.
104	Durell, H. E.	Pvt.	Co. K, 13th Me. Vols.
105	Gunn, Marshall H.	Pvt.	Co. E, 13th Me. Vols.
106	Richardson, J. M.	Pvt.	4th Mass. Battery
107	Winchester, Orrin	Pvt.	Co. A, 7th Vt. Vols.
108	Bradford, George	Pvt.	Co. K, 6th Mich. Vols.
109	Pike, George	Pvt.	15th Me. Vols.
110	Unknown	x	x
111	Fagan, Michael	Pvt.	Co. K, 9th Conn. Vols.
112	Brown, G. W.	Pvt.	Co. D, 14th Me. Vols.
113	Bachelder, James	Pvt.	Co. F, 8th N.H. Vols.
114	Griffith, John W.	Pvt.	Co. I, 6th Mich. Vols.
115	Gibson, E. M.	Pvt.	Co. I, 6th Mich. Vols.
116	McFarland, Amos	Pvt.	Co. A, 14th Me. Vols.
117	Trafton, Harrison	Cpl.	Co. E, 14th Me. Vols.
118	Witham, A. H.	x	x
119	Unknown	x	x
120	Harris, E. H.	Pvt.	Co. B, 14th Me. Vols.
121	Unknown	x	x
122	Crowell, S. T.	Pvt.	Co. G, 14th Me. Vols.
123	Needham, G. E.	Pvt	Co. G, 14th Me. Vols.
124	Trasn, O.	Pvt.	Co. H, 14th Me. Vols.
125	Reynolds, Charles	Pvt.	Co. C, 13th Me. Vols.
126	Goodhue, J.	Pvt.	Co. A, 26th Mass. Vols.
127	Unknown	x	x
128	Burton, Daniel B.	Pvt.	Co. H, 15th Me. Vols.
129	Williams, George	Pvt.	Co. D, 26th Mass. Vols.
130	Welsh, Robert	Pvt.	Co. E, 9th Conn. Vols.
131	Black, Oliver	Pvt.	Co. K, 26th Mass. Vols.
132	Long, Washburn	Pvt.	Co. D, 12th Conn. Vols.
133	Wright, William	Pvt.	Co. E, 12th Conn. Vols.
134	Strong, Edmund	Pvt.	Co. A, 31st Mass. Vols.
135	Eastman, Daniel	Pvt.	Co. C, 30th Mass. Vols.
136	Hitchings, Charles F.	Pvt.	Co. I, 15th Me. Vols.
137	Bradbury, W. S.	Pvt.	Co. F, 14th Me. Vols.
138	Trusseli, George E.	Pvt.	Co. A, 14th Me. Vols.
139	Royal, Morris J.	Pvt.	Co. E, 14th Me. Vols.
140	Larkin, Newell J.	Pvt.	Co. H, 14th Me. Vols.
141	Lawrence, Robert	Pvt.	Co. A, 14th Me. Vols.
142	Gitchell, Roswell E.	Pvt.	Co. F, 15th Me. Vols.
143	Carter, Alden G.	Pvt.	Co. A, 14th Me. Vols.
144	Merchant, W. H.	Pvt.	Co. E, 15th Me. Vols.
145	Foss, S. F.	Mus.	Co. H, 14th Me. Vols.
146	Church, Moses	Pvt.	Co. H, 12th Conn. Vols.

No.	Name	Rank	Unit, etc.
147	Cushing, Ira W.	Cpl.	Co. A, 15th Me. Vols.
148	Hatch, Colon C.	Pvt.	Co. B, 15th Me. Vols.
149	Reynolds, Christian	Cpl.	Co. I, 14th Me. Vols.
150	Reynolds, William	Pvt.	Co. C, 13th Conn. Vols.
151	Hill, George	Cpl.	Co. C, 6th Mich. Vols.
152	Chase, Braddock R.	Cpl.	Co. A, 30th Mass. Vols.
153	Perkins, Wilson	Pvt.	Co. H, 15th Me. Vols.
154	Eggleston, Lewis H.	Pvt.	Co. G, 6th Mich. Vols.
155	Johnson, Joseph F.	Pvt.	Co. B, 8th N.H. Vols.
156	Gross, George E.	x	Andover, Mass.
157	Manning, John H.	Pvt.	Co. C, 31st Mass. Vols.
158	Messerve, Alonzo	Pvt.	Co. D, 15th Me. Vols.
159	Damico, George	Pvt.	Co. G, 15th Me. Vols.
160	Libley, Almardo L.	Pvt.	Co. G, 12th Me. Vols.
161	Earle, Joseph W.	Pvt.	Co. D, 4th Wis. Vols.
162	Littlefield, George W.	Pvt.	Co. A, 30th Mass. Vols.
163	Knight Sebastian S.	Pvt.	Co. F, 12th Me. Vols
164	Honning, Amos	Pvt.	Co. E, 15th Me. Vols.
165	Cameron, Tinley	Pvt.	Co. I, 14th Me. Vols.
166	Clark, Steven	Pvt.	Co. F, 7th Vt. Vols.
167	Fale, Isaac R.	Pvt.	Co. H, 15th Me. Vols.
168	Herriman, Sylvester	Pvt.	Co. K, 8th N. H. Vols.
169	McDonald, David	Pvt.	Co. A, 31st Mass. Vols.
170	Ring, James W.	Pvt.	Co. K, 15th Me. Vols.
171	Stanley, Stillman G.	Cpl.	Co. A, 14th Me. Vols.
172	Borden, W. L.	Pvt.	2d Vt. Battery
173	Wentworth, Sewall	Pvt.	Co. I, 15th Me Vols.
174	Hilton, George W.	Pvt.	Co. G, 15th Me. Vols.
175	Washburn, Watson J.	Cpl.	Co. G, 14th Me. Vols.
176	McQuillan, M.	Pvt.	Co. K, 31st Mass. Vols.
177	McDermott, C.	Pvt.	Co. K, 31st Mass. Vols.
178	Wheeler, J. D.	Pvt.	Co. K, 31st Mass. Vols.
179	Clark, N.	x	x
180	Morgan, David	Pvt.	Co. G, 31st Mass. Vols.
181	Ruggles, Stephen	Pvt.	Co. D, 31st Mass. Vols.
182	Grant, W. F. B.	Pvt.	Co. D, 31st Mass. Vols.
183	Miller, E.	x	Burlington, Me.
184	Unknown	x	x
185	Unknown	x	x
186	Unknown	x	x
187	Unknown	x	x
188	Hanson, B.	Pvt.	Co. K, 6th Mich. Vols.
189	Johnson, Richard	Sgt.	Co. G, 21st Ind. Vols.
190	Green, R.	Pvt.	Co. K, 21st Ind. Vols.
191	Mansfield, John	Pvt.	Co. D, 21st Ind. Vols.
192	Vanalkenter, A. B.	Pvt.	Co. K, 21st Ind. Vols.
193	Davis, J. R.	Sgt.	Co. H, 21st Ind. Vols.
194	Unknown	x	x
195	Johnson, Andrew S.	Regt. Surg.	
196	Unknown	x	x
197	Notses, Samuel	Pvt.	Co. E, 119th N.Y. Vols.

No.	Name	Rank	Unit, etc.
198	Sherman, Moses	Pvt.	Co. E, 119th N.Y. Vols.
199	Unknown	x	x
200	Kennison, David	Pvt.	Co. H, 13th Me. Vols.
201	Watson, C.	Pvt.	Co. K, 12th Me. Vols.
202	Mayford, R. S.	Pvt.	Co. G, 12th Me. Vols.
203	Osgood, P. H.	Pvt.	Co. H, 13th Me. Vols.
204	Preston, C. E.	Pvt.	Co. B, 12th Me. Vols.
205	Morse, M. W.	Pvt.	Co. B, 12th Me. Vols.
206	Brooks, W. E.	Pvt.	Co. B, 12th Me. Vols.
207	Grover, Dilbert	Pvt.	Co. A, 12th Me. Vols.
208	Humphrey, G. W.	Pvt.	Co. E, 12th Me. Vols.
209	Turner, T.	Pvt.	Co. E, 13th Me. Vols.
210	Chase, John	Pvt.	Co. G, 12th Me. Vols.
211	Andrews, J. H.	Pvt.	Co. D, 12th Me. Vols.
212	Grant, G. A.	x	x
213	Libby, George H.	Pvt.	Co. C, 12th Me. Vols.
214	Currin, S.	x	12th Me. Vols.
215	McFadden, A.	x	x
216	Peabody, A. S.	Pvt.	Co. I, 12th Me. Vols.
217	Jordan, E. W.	Pvt.	Co. K, 12th Me. Vols.
218	Roberts, B. S.	Cpl.	Co. K, 12th Me. Vols.
219	Snee, John T.	Pvt.	Co. E, 13th Me. Vols.
220	Cross, Allron P.	Pvt.	Co. E, 13th Me. Vols.
221	Weldy, Edward W.	Mus.	Co. I, 13th Me. Vols.
222	Oscar D. Small	Pvt.	Co. I, 13th Me. Vols.
223	Unknown	x	x
224	Unknown	x	x
225	Unknown	x	x
226	Unknown	x	x
227	Unknown	x	x
228	Unknown	x	x
229	Unknown	x	x
230	Dubois, Charles	Pvt.	Co. B, 12th Conn. Vols.
231	O'Donald, Jeremiah	Pvt.	90th N.Y. Vols.
232	Dorgan, James	Pvt.	Co. D, 159th N.Y. Vols.

List of Union Burials, Ship Island, NA, RG 92, Quartermaster General Cemeterial Files--Ship Island. On November 29, 1865, Colonel Holmstedt had forwarded to the New Orleans Daily Times two corrected lists of all the known soldiers buried on Ship Island. Statement No. 1 contained the names, ranks, units, states, date of deaths, and ages, where known of the Union dead. Statement No. 2 gave the grave number, name, rank, ship or unit, date of death, and cause thereof for the Confederate prisoners of war. Holmstedt to Editors, Nov. 27, 1865, found in the New Orleans Daily Times, Nov. 29 & Dec. 3, 1865.

Appendix H

Confederate Prisoners of War Who Died and Were Buried on Ship Island

No. of Grave	Name	Rank	Regiment	Co.	Date	Of What Disease
1	J.K. Fenner	Private	W. Ark. Bat.		Oct. 17, 1864	Consumption
2	R. Chapman	"	12 Tex. Cav.		" 17 "	"
3	L. Hall	"	7 Ala. "		" 22 "	"
4	J.B. Whitehurst	"	Home Guard		" 25 "	"
5	A. Belguard	"	Robt's Squad		" 30 "	"
6	T.J. Johnson	"	Lock's Bat.		" 31 "	Chronic Diarrhea
7	R.B. Merrill	"	" "		November 1	"
8	J.C. Davis	Capt.	" "		" 3 "	"
9	J.I. Slaugher	Private	" "		" 3 "	"
10	A. Holley	"	" "		" 4 "	"
11	J.A. Abercrumie	"	Home Guard		" 4 "	"
12	J. Adcock	"	21st. Ala.	C	" 6 "	"
13	O. Duvio	"	4th. La.		" 8 "	"
14	Edward Morrison	"	1st. Ala. Art.	D	" 9 "	"
15	Charles Goddloe	Sgt.	Lock's Bat.	H	" 10 "	"
16	Charles Seawell	Private	" "	I	" 10 "	"
17	George W. Tate	"	21st. Ala.	H	" 12 "	"
18	W.W. Linville	"	Lock's Bat.	E	" 14 "	"
19	Jesse W. Adams	Capt.	1st. Ala Art.	D	" 14 "	"
20	James B. Talbert	Private	21st. Ala	C	" 15 "	"
21	M.E. Robinson	"	1st. Ala. Cadets	B	" 15 "	"
22	R.W. Johnson	"	Lock's Bat.		" 16 "	"
23	David McDaniel	"	" "		" 16 "	Typhoid Fever
24	A. Chapman	"	21st. Ala.	H	" 17 "	Diarrhea
25	J. Donnio	"	" "	H	" 17 "	"
26	James Cox	"	16th Texas		" 19 "	Scurvy
27	James T. Green	"	Lock's Bat.	H	" 19 "	Pneumonia
28	George Briggs	"	3rd. La.	I	" 19 "	"
29	R.B. Abothnot	"	Edgar's Bat.		" 20 "	"
30	L.G. Thigpen	"	1st. Ala Art.	B	" 20 "	"
31	J.N. Stevens	"	Lock's Bat.	K	" 20 "	"
32	W.E. Groom	"	21st. Ala	H	" 21 "	"
33	J. Pitts	"	15th. Cons Cav.		" 22 "	"
34	N.A. Sales	"	21st. Ala	G	" 22 "	"
35	J.M. Brufot	"	P1. Cadets	A	" 22 "	"
36	John Underwood	"	1st. Ala Inf.	B	" 22 "	"
37	Elijah Self	"	21st Ala.	F	" 23 "	"
38	H. Graham	"	" "	F	" 23 "	"
39	George W. Allen	"	" "	G	" 23 "	"
40	J.P. Tillman	"	" "	I	" 23 "	"
41	J.A. Bailey	"	" "	I	" 24 "	Dysentery

No. of Grave	Name	Rank	Regiment	Co.	Date	Of What Disease
42	S.S. McLean	Private	21st Ala.	G	Nov. 25 "	Dysentery
43	W. Bovard	"	1st. La. Cav.		" 25 "	"
44	James Simon	"	Gulp's Bat		" 27 "	"
45	Eli Brueil	"	21st. Ala.	H	" 27 "	Pneumonia
46	W.G. Bailey	"	" "	G	" 27 "	"
47	D. Groce	"	" "	I	" 27 "	Dysentery
48	W.J. Essan	"	4th. La.		" 27 "	"
49	F. Stockman	"	21st. Ala.	F	" 28 "	"
50	Thomas Rogers	"	" "	E	" 29 "	"
51	Phillip Burgerot		Eng Dept.		" 28 "	"
52	Martin Parker	"	1st. Ala. Art.	B	" 29 "	"
53	J.W. Bowler	"	21st. Ala.	C	Nov. 30, 1864	Dysentery
54	J.M. Heard	"	" "	G	" 30 "	"
55	Oliver Staff	Ram Tenn			" 30 "	"
56	William Diamond	Private	21st. Ala	H	Dec. 1 "	"
57	E.G. O'Pry	"	Gulp's Bat		" 2 "	"
58	R.A. Smith	"	21st. Ala.	H	" 2 "	"
59	H. Smith	"	Lock's Bat	K	" 3 "	"
60	Mathew Callowho	"	Eng. Corps		" 3 "	"
61	E.T. Carlisle	"	21st. Ala.	H	" 3 "	"
62	T. Gommon		Str. Selma		" 3 "	"
63	J.K. Jones	Private	Lock's Bat.	E	" 3 "	Diarrhea
64	Henry Tatum	"	21st. Ala.	I	" 4 "	Pneumonia
65	S.B. Hatchell	"	Culp's Bat.		" 5 "	Dysentery
66	Thomas A. Hudson	"	Lock's Bat.	E	" 5 "	Typhoid Fever
67	Francis Henry		Eng. Dept's		" 5 "	Phthisis
68	F. Tyus	Private	1st. Ala Arty.	B	" 5 "	Dysentery
69	T. Stephens	"	3rd. La. Cav.	B	" 6 "	Chronic Diarrhea
70	D. Oabrook	"	Ram Tenn.		" 6 "	"
71	J.A. Hay	Private	Lock's Bat.		" 8 "	"
72	Gammon	"	Fla. Mil.		" 8 "	Typhoid Fever
73	W.D. Hand	"	21st. Ala.	A	" 8 "	Dysentery
74	A. A. Gilmore	Sgt.	" "	C	" 9 "	Pneumonia
75	E. Nafors (Majors)	Private	" "	F	" 10 "	Dysentery
76	A.P. Oakley	"	" "	H	" 10 "	"
77	Allen Baker	"	" "	B	" 11 "	"
78	Benjamin Edwards	"	" "	H	" 11 "	"
79	John Hall	"	" "	B	" 12 "	"
80	Jesse Hays	"	Lock's Bat.	I	" 12 "	"
81	Daniel Carroll	"	1st. Ala.	D	" 12 "	"
82	W.H. Stone	"	Lock's Bat.	H	" 12 "	"
83	James O. Guymor	(?)	" "	I	" 12 "	"
84	Charles Clements	"	21st. Ala.	I	" 12 "	"
85	E.W. Kennedy	"	" "	F	" 13 "	"
86	A.W. Smith	"	" "	E	" 13 "	"
87	G.W. Hill	"	1st. Ala. Art.	D	" 13 "	"
88	John T. Poittat	"	21st. Ala.	G	" 15 "	"
89	Wm. Garris	"	1st. Ala. Art.	B	" 15 "	"
90	Phil Howell	"	21st. Ala	I	" 15 "	Shot by Sentinal

No. of Grave	Name	Rank	Regiment	Co.	Date			Of What Disease
91	J.C. Bunelon	Private	Lock's Bat.	K	Dec.	15	"	Dysentery
92	John Fortenbery	"	20th Miss.	I	"	16	"	"
93	Samuel Chestnut	"	Lock's Bat	I	"	17	"	"
94	Daniel Crosby	"	Eng. Corps		"	17	"	"
95	S.W. Deloach	"	21st. Ala.	H	"	17	"	"
96	W. Kennedy	"	Lock's Bat	H	"	17	"	"
97	S.B. McElrath	"	" "	H	"	17	"	"
98	G.W. Mathews	"	" "	I	"	18	"	"
99	John Chason	"	Fla. Mil.		"	19	"	"
100	C.F. Coleman	"	Lock's Bat.,	I	"	19	"	"
101	Edwin Motley	"	21st. Ala.	G	"	20	"	"
102	D.K. Evans	"	2nd. Fla.	L	"	20	"	"
103	William Lee	"	1st. Ala. Art.	D	"	20	"	"
104	S.R. Kennedy	"	21st. Ala.	F	"	20	"	"
105	B. Hudson	"	" "	C	"	21	"	"
106	J.W. Swearinger	Sgt.	" "	G	"	21	"	"
107	H.M. Caldwell	Private	21st. Ala.	G	Dec.	22,	1864	Dysentery
108	W.S. Philan	"	" "	G	"	23	"	"
109	W.J. Kirby	"	Culp's Bat.		"	24	"	"
110	J.B. Dunn	"	1st Ala. Arty.	D	"	24	"	"
111	W.W. Goodwin	"	" "		"	25	"	"
112	Simon Maples	"	21st. Ala Reg.	I	"	26	"	"
113	W.T. Chapman	"	" "	C	"	27	"	"
114	Charles Ward	Capt.	" "	G	"	27	"	Small Pox
115	A.K. Taylor	Private	1st. Ala. Art.	D	"	27	"	Dysentery
116	T.B. Severance	"	Culp's Bat.		"	27	"	"
117	G.T. Grace	"	21st. Ala.	G	"	28	"	Small Pox
118	W.H. Fisher	"	1st. Mo. Bat.		"	28	"	Dysentery
119	J.D. Graham	"	21st. Ala.	B	"	29	"	"
120	S.D. Boone	"	" "	G	"	29	"	"
121	Henry Davidson	"	" "	G	"	30	"	"
122	A.J. Parten	"	" "	G	"	31	"	Ascites
123	J.B. Fulford	Sgt.	" "	C	"	31	"	Dysentery
124	A.T. Taul	Private	Lock's Bat.	E	"	31	"	"
125	S. Thompson	Sgt.	21st. Ala.	I	Jan	1	1865	"
126	J. Austin	Private	Fla. Mil.	I	"	1	"	"
127	S. Stinson	"	21st. Ala.	H		1	"	"
128	O.W. Turner	"	" "	E	"	2	"	"
129	James Grenshaw	"	" "	C	"	3	"	Pneumonia
130	P.F. Abercrumbie	"	Fla. Mil.		"	13	"	Dysentery
131	Robert Bailey	Lds	Str. Selma		"	17	"	"
132	W.J. Dillard	Private	Sig. Corps		"	26	"	Typhoid Fever
133	William Meeks	"	Fla Mil		Feb.	3	"	Chronic Dysentery
134	T. Albritton	Citizen	Clinton, La.		"	6	"	Asthma
135	J.B. McDougal	Private	Power's Cav.		"	8	"	Carcinoma
136	A.R. Lilly	"	3rd. La. Cav.	H	"	26	"	Hepatitis
137	J.W. Smith	Lds	Str. Tenn.		"	27	"	"
138	Dennis Fynn	"	" "		Mch	7	"	Phtisis Pulmonary
139	J.H. Bethia	Private	20th. Conf.		"	12	"	"
140	James Stanfield	"	Hundon's Bat.		"	15	"	"

No. of Grave	Name	Rank	Regiment	Co.	Date		Of What Disease
141	Wm. L. Robinson	Sgt.	Homes La. Bat		March	16 "	Phthisis Putmonary
142	James McCann	Lds	Str. Selma		"	18 "	Dropsy
143	W.D. Rogers	Private	15th. Conf. Cav.		"	28 "	Dysentery
144	S.P. Lynch	"	1st. La. Cav.		"	29 "	"
145	James Shipman	"	6th. Fla. Cav.	C	"	31 "	"
146	S.A. Busby	"	62 Ala. Vols.	H	Apr.	16 "	Diarrhea &Int.
147	David Hendriks	"	8 Ala. Cav.	C	"	16 "	Diarrhea
148	Robert French	"	Cage's Regt.		"	23 "	Cancer
149	Edwin H. Inzer	Sgt.	9 Tex. Cav.	C	"	23 "	Gun Shot Wound
150	James Rogers	Private	19 La. Inf.	K	"	29 "	Dysentery
151	R.H. McDonald	"	2 Ala. Inf.		"	30 "	"
152	W.J. Vernon	"	8 Ala. Cav.	B	"	30 "	Congestive Fever
153	Frank Bryant	"	1st. Ala. Res.	F	May	2 "	Diagnolia, etc. Typhoid Fever

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New Orleans Times

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Niles' Weekly Register

Washington Evening Star

PLATE I

Recommended National Register Boundaries for the Fort Massachusetts/ Ship Island Post-Light Station Reservation Historic District, Ship Island, Mississippi, Quadrangle, 7.5 Series.

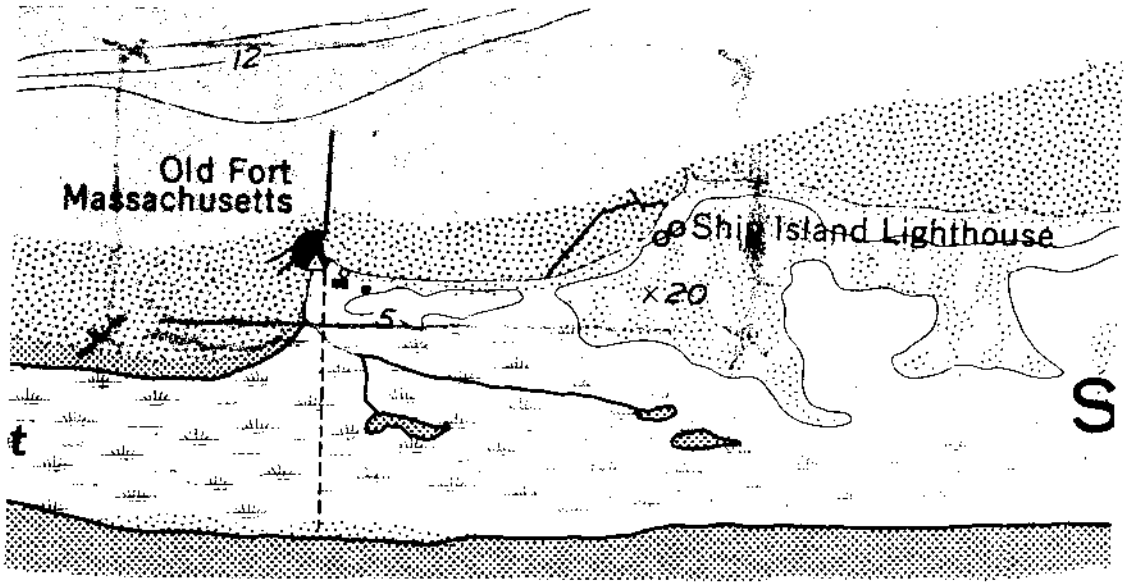

12
Old Fort
Massachusetts
Ship Island Lighthouse
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PLATE II

Recommended National Register Boundaries for the Gulf Coast Quarantine Station Historic District, Ship Island, Mississippi, Quadrangle, 7.5 Series.

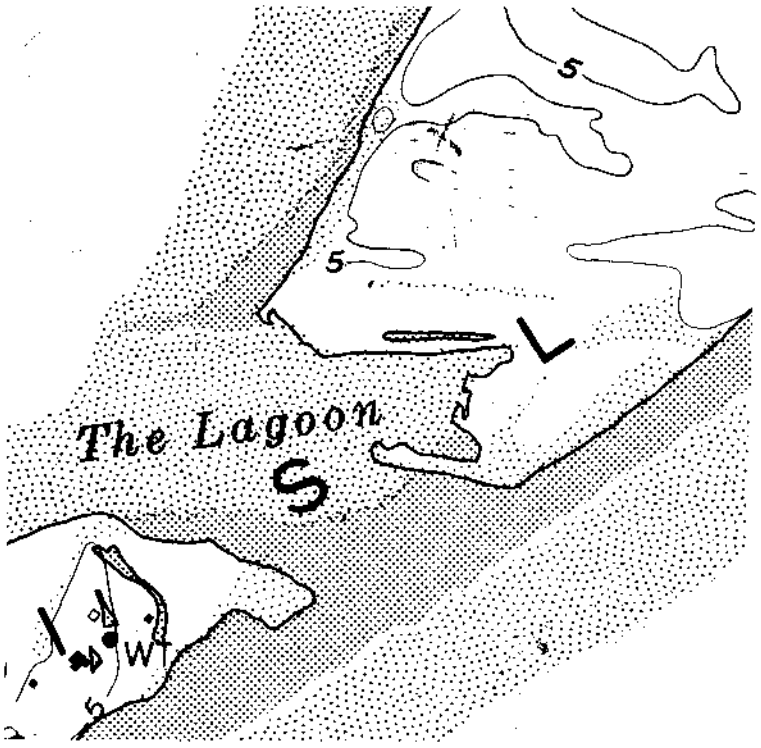

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The Lagoon
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PLATE III

"Topographical Sketch of Ship Island," made by direction of M.D. McAlester, Corps of Engineers, Bvt. Lt. Col. U.S.A. by D.W. Payne, Lt. Engrs. Courtesy National Archives, File No. Dr. 84, Sht. 41.



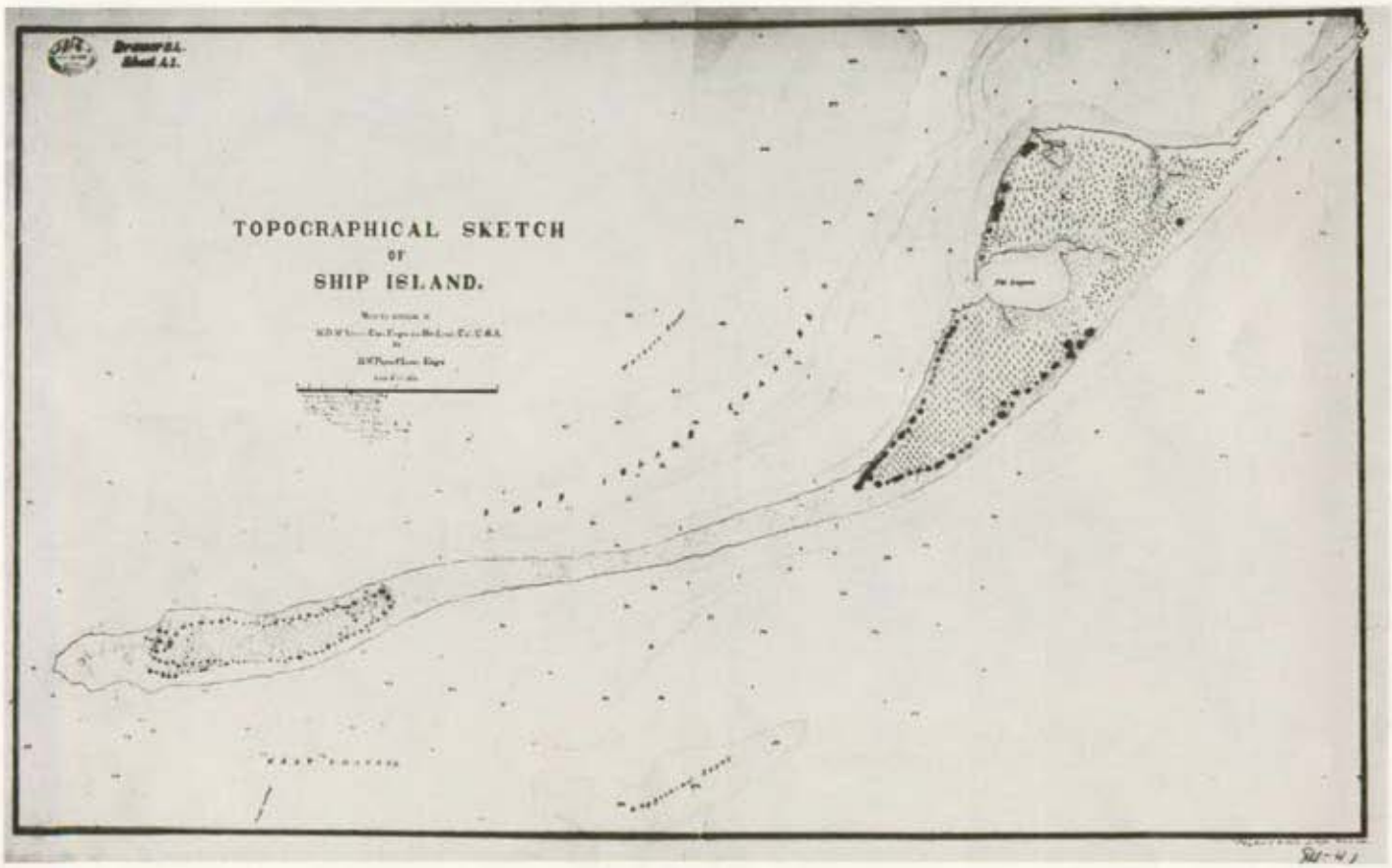

TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF
SHIP ISLAND.

PLATE IV

"Ship Island & Vicinity, on an Enlarged Scale. From the U.S. Coast Survey. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, January 4, 1862.

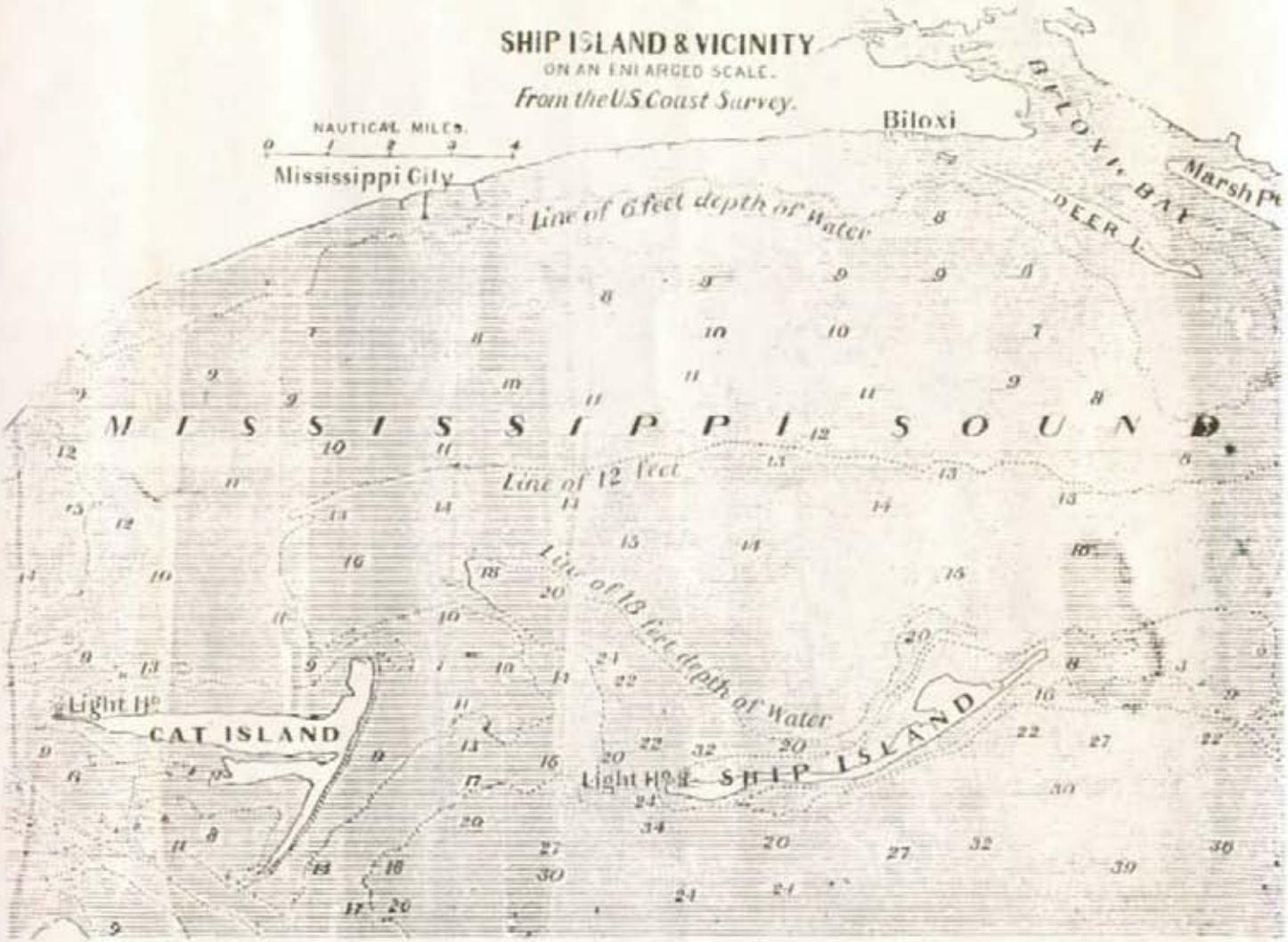
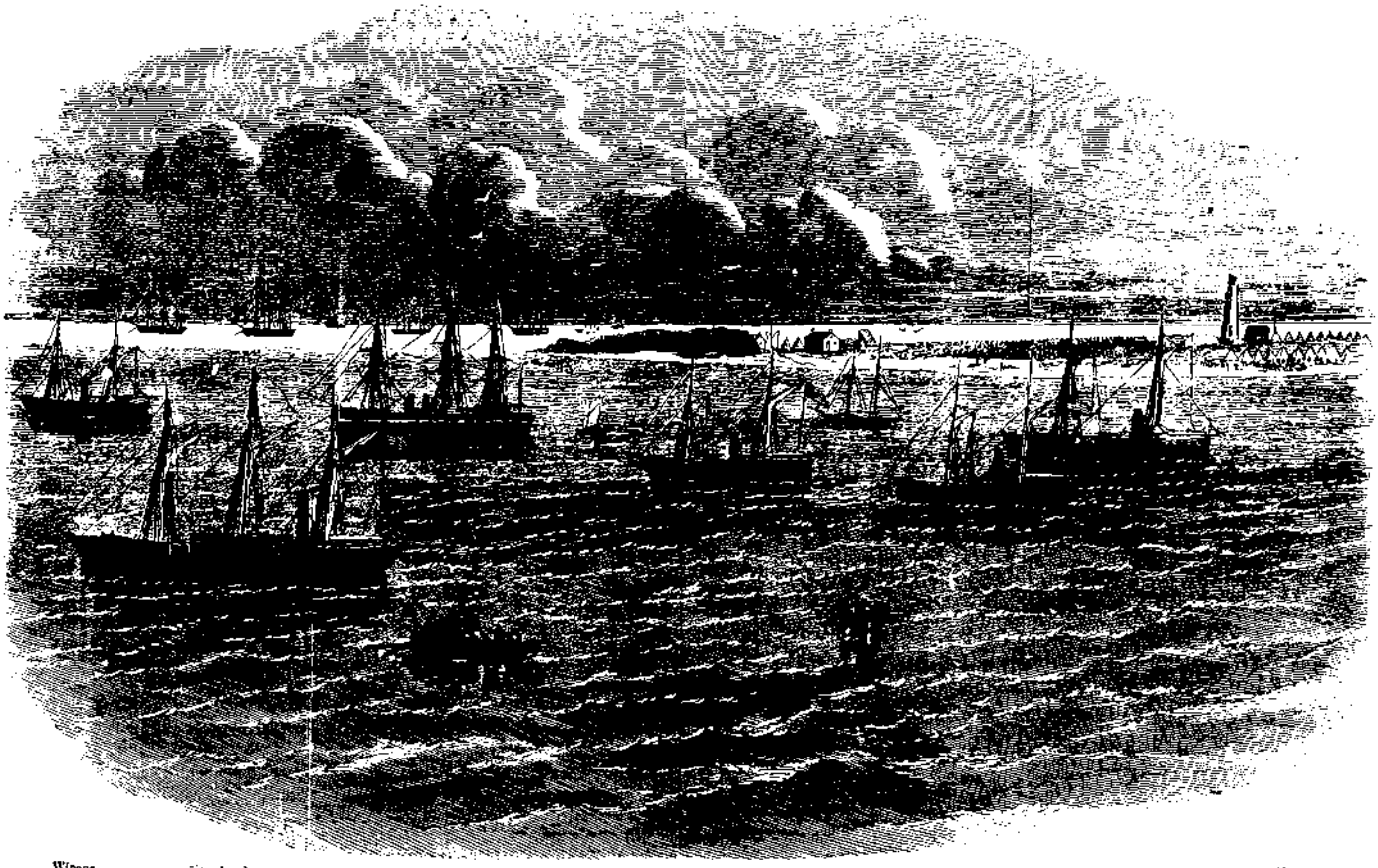

SHIP ISLAND & VICINITY
ON AN ENLARGED SCALE.
From the U.S. Coast Survey.
NAUTICAL MILES.
0 1 2 3 4
Biloxi
Mississippi City
Line of 6 feet depth of Water
BILOXI BAY
DEER I.
Marsh Pt
MISSISSIPPI SOUND
Line of 12 feet
Line of 18 feet depth of Water
Light H.
CAT ISLAND
Light H.
SHIP ISLAND

PLATE V

View of Ship Island, from Harper's Weekly, February 8, 1862.



VIEW OF SHIP ISLAND, LOUISIANA.—By our Special Artist on Board the "Saganore."

PLATE VI

"Expedition Against New Orleans - View of Ship Island from the Steamer Connecticut," from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, May 17, 1862.



EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS—VIEW OF SHIP ISLAND FROM THE WATER CONSTRUCTED From a Sketch by our Special Artist, Mr. Wm. Waud.—

PLATE VII

"Sketch of the Fort on Ship Island, Showing Buildings Adjacent and Shore Line." Surveyed and Drawn under the Direction of Bvt. Col. F.E. Prime, Corps of Engineers. Courtesy National Archives, File No. Dr. 84, Sht. 42.

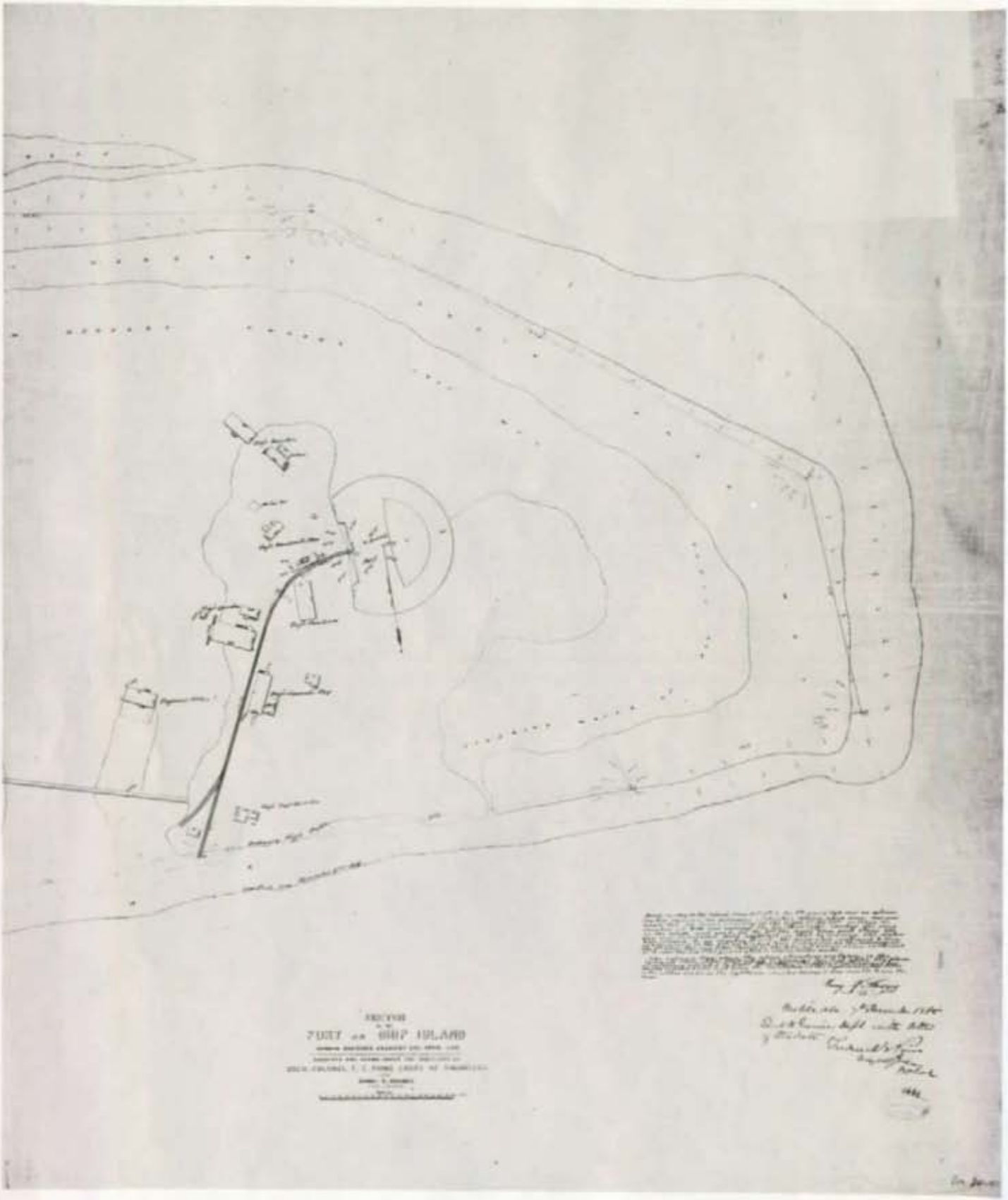


PLATE VIII

"Sketch of the Fort on Ship Island, Showing Buildings Adjacent and Shore Line." Surveyed and Drawn under the Direction of Bvt. Col. F.E. Prime, Corps of Engineers. Courtesy National Archives, File No. Dr. 84, Sht. 42.

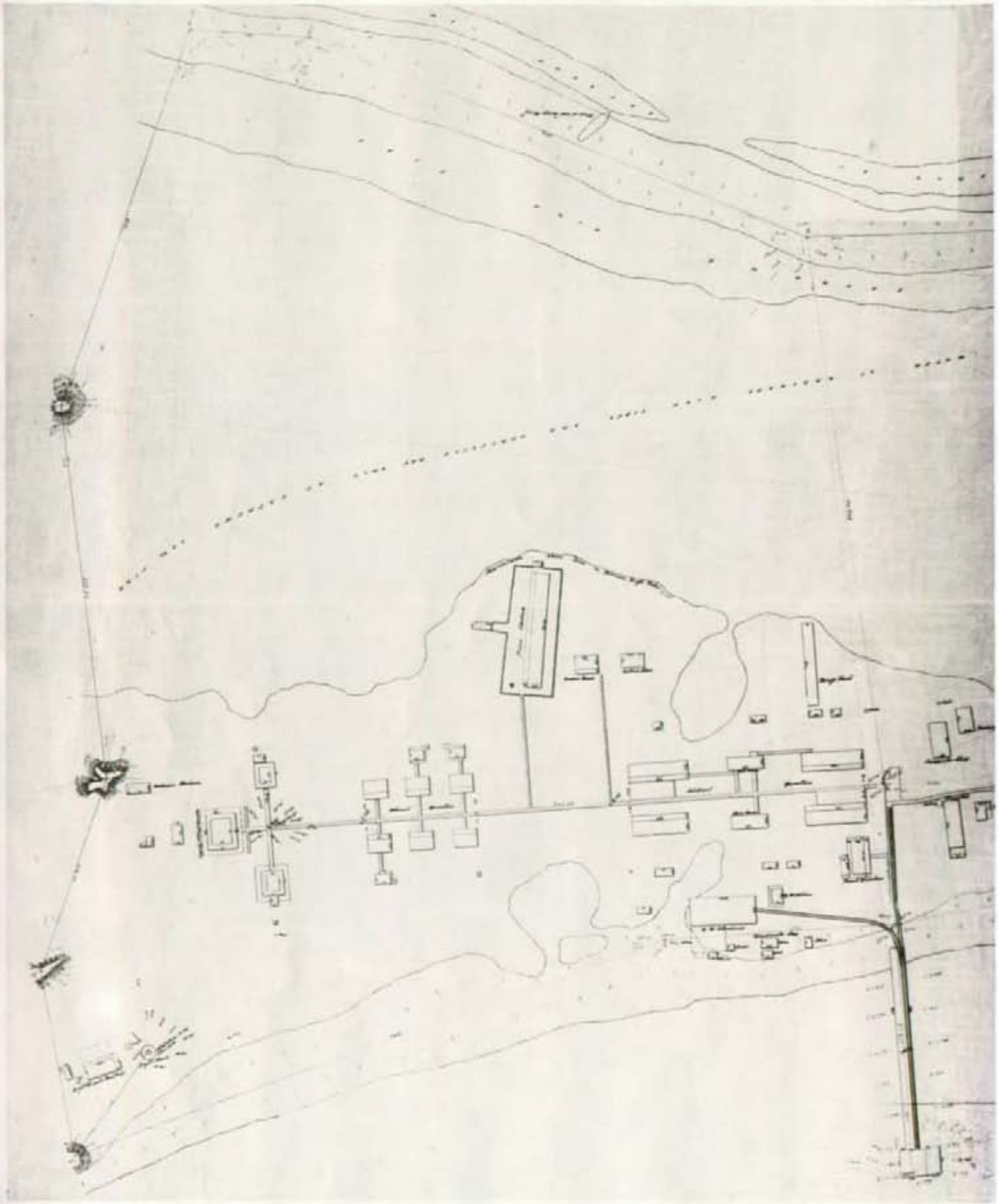
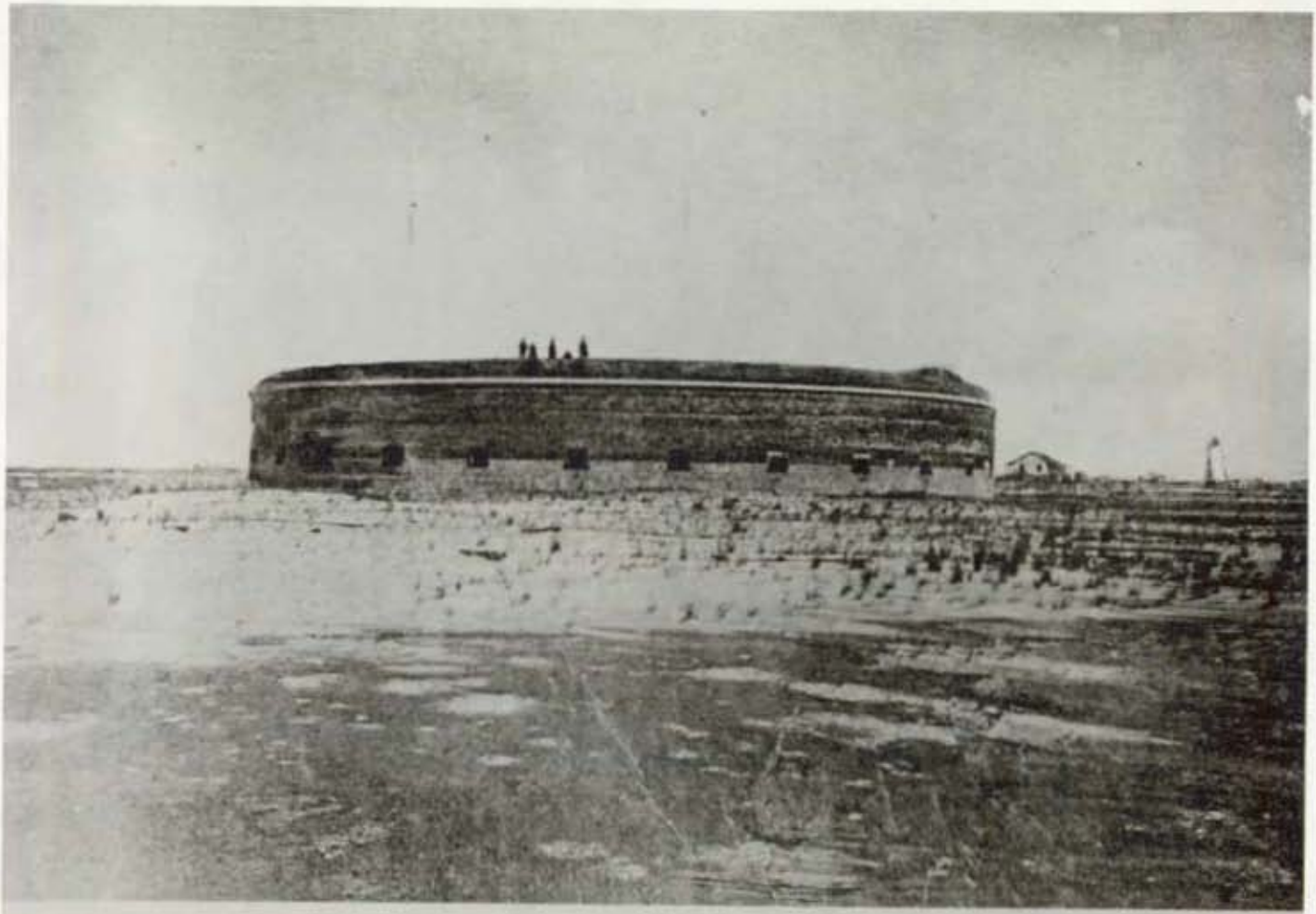


PLATE IX

Fort Massachusetts (the Fort on Ship Island), Ship Island, Mississippi, 1903. The Ordnance-Sergeant's Quarters and the Lighthouse are seen in the distance. Courtesy of Gulf Islands National Seashore.



FORT MASSACHUSETTS—SHIP ISLAND. 1902

PLATE X

Fort Massachusetts, aerial view of positioning riprap to protect the site, April 1966. Courtesy of Gulf Islands National Seashore.

THE SHIP ISLAND LIGHT STATION

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THE SHIP ISLAND LIGHT STATION

I. THE HISTORY OF THE 1853-1886 STATION

A. Its Construction

1. Congress Makes an Appropriation

On March 13, 1848, Governor Isaac Johnson of Louisiana approved a resolution of the General Assembly, calling on the state's senators and representatives in Congress to use their influence to secure an appropriation for "erection of a light-house on Ship Island, and a light-house at Proctor's Shell Bank, or other eligible point on Lake Borgne." The Louisiana congressional delegation accordingly brought this subject to the attention of their colleagues, and, on April 28, the resolution was referred to the Senate's Committee on Commerce.1

The 1st Session of the 30th Congress favored this petition, and a $12,000 appropriation for construction of a lighthouse on the west end of Ship Island was included in the "Act making appropriations for Lighthouses, Life-Boats, Buoys, etc., and providing for the Erection and Establishment of the same," signed into law by President James Knox Polk on August 14. Seven days later, Stephen Pleasanton, long-time "General Superintendent of Lighthouses," notified James E. Saunders, Superintendent of Lights at Mobile of Congress' action. Because Ship Island was nearer to Saunders' office than that of any other Collector, it was to be under his supervision.

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1. Resolution of the Louisiana Legislature, March 13, 1848, found in Miscellaneous Documents, Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States for the 1st Session of the 30th Congress (Washington, 1848), Serial 112, Misc. Doc. No. 132. The subject resolution also called for "extension of the port of Shieldsborough, in the district of Pearl river, to Cat and Ship Islands, and the waters adjacent thereto."

Saunders would accordingly repair to Ship Island and select and purchase the best site for the station. When this was accomplished, he was to notify Pleasonton.[2]

2. A Site is Selected

Saunders was absent from the city, when the General Superintendent's letter was delivered. Deputy Collector Charles S. Fox, upon questioning several steamboat captains familiar with Mississippi Sound, learned that Ship Island was uninhabited, while its western end was "very low and sandy." As he knew nothing of the channel bearings, Fox wrote Pleasonton that he did not trust himself to select a site for the station.

Fox was unable to ascertain whether any person or persons had entered any claim to the island. He, however, believed the island belonged to the United States.[3]

Upon making inquiries at the General Land Office, General Superintendent Pleasonton learned that several Mississippians claimed the island under a Spanish land grant, and had instituted suit against the United States in the Jackson, Mississippi, District Court. Even if the case were decided against the claimants, they could appeal it to the Supreme Court. Consequently, Pleasonton argued that it would be unwise to begin construction until the suit was settled.

It might be possible, Pleasonton wrote Saunders, to bargain with the claimants for three or four acres, on the west end of Ship Island, on condition that the courts awarded them a clear title.[4]

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2. Pleasonton to Saunders, Aug. 21, 1848, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

3. Fox to Pleasonton, Sept. 4, 1848, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

4. Pleasonton to Fox, Sept. 15, 1848, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters. The claimants were the heirs of Thomas Powers.

In mid-November, Superintendent Saunders visited Ship Island. The western end of the island, he found, would be an unfavorable construction site, situated as it was on a "low, sandy tongue of land, some six or seven miles in length and quite narrow except the extremity which is six hundred yards wide." This slip of land, Saunders noted, had been

> formed by the wind and waves, and is of recent formation (geologically speaking) and composed of sand hillocks, covered with a thin coat of coarse grass, on the top and north side, the south side (being the stormy quarter) being bare. The little vallies between the hillocks are many of them deep and nearly level with the sea; and wherever I perforated the ground with the augar. . . , I found the subterranian quick sand--the fresh water to spring a few inches below the surface; and then the auger would go rapidly down from being twirled round by the forefinger only.
>
> The spot which I selected for the Lighthouse was the largest hillock I could find, affording an area of 100 by 60 feet, running off at both ends in a narrow ridge, and pretty well protected by ranges of hillocks from the waves on the South side. Its elevation is ten feet above high and twelve feet above low tides, and it is 225 feet from the north shore, which heavy vessels can approach within 300 feet.[5]

3. A Plan is Developed and Estimates Prepared

Because of the quicksand, Saunders proposed two modes for securing a firm foundation. The first called for making an excavation to sea level, then driving pilings, to be covered by a timber grillage. A solid, brick and concrete foundation would be positioned on the grillage. There were two objections to this plan: (a) the great cost; and (b) the uncertainty as to the depth of the quicksand. On the neighboring islands, over which the projected railroad from New Orleans to Cat Island Harbor was to pass, this depth was so questionable that many people doubted the feasibility of the undertaking.

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5. Saunders to Pleasonton, Nov. 17, 1848, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

The second mode, suggested by Saunders, called for a basement, similar to the one at the Biloxi Lighthouse--a concrete mass three feet thick. This would sustain an iron lighthouse, which would weigh about one-fourth as much as a brick structure.[6]

In any event, the tower and keeper's quarters should be "brought within a small compass and the yard paved with brick and a fencing enclosing an elliptical area made of two inch thick heart pine plank, driven perpendicularly in the ground some two feet and a half deep, close side by side." Such a fence would shield the keeper's quarters from sand and spray during gales.[7]

Saunders estimated the cost of constructing such a station at:

Concrete foundation	$ 500	
Lighthouse	6,500	
Sum added on account of the place being desert	500	$7,500
Grading surface	400	
Dwelling house	1,200	
Same added desert place	1,500	
Pavement of brick yard	160	
Glacis of brush	75	
Fence picket of 2 inch pine plank	1,000	$1,835
Total exclusive of lighting apparatus		$9,335(8)

As to the height of the tower, Saunders believed that 45 feet would suffice. A light at this elevation would "give timely warning to any vessel drifting with the current from the East, and if the approach" should be from the south, the craft could take her bearings on the new light at Chandeleur Islands, until she could "clearly make the light on Ship Island."[9]

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6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

General Superintendent Pleasonton, after studying Saunders' report, questioned whether a concrete foundation would yield the degree of permanency desired. He recommended a pile foundation covered with 4-inch planks. The piles should be driven through the dry sand at least three or four feet before they reached quicksand, and then they must be driven another 25 feet. The dry sand at the top would serve as a binding agent.

If, however, Superintendent Saunders still concluded that a concrete foundation was the answer, he was to muster his arguments for Pleasonton's review.

Saunders was also called on to provide the Bureau with information as to the preferred height of the tower. If 45 feet would answer, Pleasonton believed they could get the firm that had contracted for the Biloxi station to erect an iron tower at Ship Island for the same price. He, however, questioned whether the $12,000 appropriation would admit of a taller iron structure. They could build a 85-foot brick tower and a keeper's quarters for $12,000.[10]

Superintendent Saunders accordingly took up the type of foundation with Capt. Jeremiah M. Scarritt, the supervising engineer for repair of Fort Morgan. Scarritt, upon reviewing Pleasonton's proposal for employing piling, pointed out that the piles, because they must be pine, would be subject to rot. If piling were resorted to, the timbers must be completely submerged. At both Mobile and New Orleans, timber, though it was uniformly employed for foundations, was "always placed under the surface deep enough to be in the water all the time." Consequently, Saunders maintained that a concrete foundation was the best and cheapest form.

Turning next to a recommended height for the tower, Saunders reminded the General Superintendent that the Ship Island site

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10. Pleasonton to Saunders, Nov. 28, 1848, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

was "fully as much above low-water mark as the one at Biloxi." And the Biloxi light, displayed from a 45-foot tower, was visible in clear weather 14 miles. He therefore concluded that a structure of similar height on Ship Island "would answer the demands of navigation at that point."[11]

4. The Powers Claims Block Construction

On February 11, 1849, United States Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi transmitted a letter from a constituent to General Superintendent Pleasonton. The writer argued that the tower must be brick rather than iron, because if built of the latter, such a structure in that latitude, particularly on an exposed barrier island, would "become too hot for occupation."[12]

General Superintendent Pleasonton responded on the 13th. He pointed out that the land on which the station was to be built was in dispute and before the courts. Consequently, it was uncertain when it would be built. He, however, assured Senator Davis that, when erected, the tower would be brick.[13]

The case was decided by the district court in favor of the United States, and the Powers heirs appealed to the Supreme Court.[14]

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11. Saunders to Pleasonton, Dec. 16, 1848, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

12. Davis to Pleasonton, Feb. 11, 1849, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

13. Pleasonton to Davis, Feb. 13, 1849, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

14. Unfortunately, we have been unable to locate the file for Powers, et. al. vs. United States. The records for the Mississippi District Court for this period are on file at the Federal Records Center at East Point, Georgia. In response to our telephone request, Archivist Charles Reedes vainly searched the court records. Telephone interview, Reedes with Bearss, July 25, 1980.

During the winter of 1848-49, the Powers heirs, pending an appeal to the United States Supreme Court, proposed to surrender title to a site for the Ship Island Lighthouse to the Treasury Department, provided the United States would "relinquish to them the residue of the island." United States District Attorney R.W. Gaines promptly transmitted this proposal to Washington.[15]

Upon receipt of this news, General Superintendent Pleasonton wrote Solicitor R.H. Gillet, seeking an opinion on whether it would "be safe and proper for this office to proceed in the work" of erecting the lighthouse.[16]

Gillet learned that District Attorney Gaines was confident that the high court would not sustain the Powers heirs. Gillet, however, had no means of "forming an opinion concerning the title," because he did not have a record of the trial. But a review of Gaines' brief led to a supposition that the United States' title was valid.

The law under which the heirs had filed suit would expire on June 17, 1849. If Attorney General Reverdy Johnson held that this interpretation were correct, it would then be safe to begin construction of the station.[17]

Pleasonton promptly forwarded to Secretary of the Treasury William M. Meredith a copy of Solicitor Gillet's letter.[18]

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15. Saunders to Pleasonton, April 13, 1849, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

16. Pleasonton to Gillet, April 24, 1849, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

17. Gillet to Pleasonton, April 25, 1849, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

18. Pleasonton to Meredith, April 26, 1849, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Lighthouse Letters.

Saunders was a Democrat. Consequently, on inauguration of Zachary Taylor as Twelfth President, he submitted his resignation as Collector for the Port of Mobile and as Superintendent of Lights in the Mobile District. His replacement was Maj. John J. Walker, who took office in the fourth week of April.

Secretary Meredith decided it would be imprudent to proceed while the title was in litigation. When a year passed and nothing was heard from the courts, General Superintendent Pleasonton wrote Collector Walker, asking him to ascertain the status of the suit, because construction must be started soon. If it did not, the appropriation would lapse on August 3, 1850, and revert to the Treasury.[19]

Upon checking with District Attorney Gaines, Walker learned that the appeal by the Powers heirs was still pending. In addition, Gaines was of the opinion that it would be a mistake for the United States to compromise the case by accepting title to the station site in return for relinquishing to the heirs the remainder of the island.[20]

Because it was illegal to expend federal funds for improvements to lands to which the United States did not hold fee title, the appropriation was allowed to lapse. This did not constitute a problem, because on September 28, 1850, President Millard Fillmore signed into law "an Act making Appropriations for Lighthouses, Life-Boats, Buoys, etc; and providing for the Erection and Establishment of the same," enacted by the 1st Session of the 31st Congress, renewing the $12,000 for construction of a Ship Island light.[21]

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19. Pleasonton to Walker, April 26, 1850, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

20. Gaines to Walker, May 10, and Walker to Pleasonton, May 16, 1850, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

21. Pleasonton to McCaughan, Dec. 2, 1850, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters; Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America, from December 1, 1845, to March 3, 1851 . . ., edited by George Minot (Boston, 1851), Vol. IX, p. 502.

5. The Claims are Resolved

In its 1852 session, the Supreme Court considered and rejected the appeal of the Powers heirs to overturn the decision of the United States District Court for Mississippi.[22]

6. Establishment of the Lighthouse Reservation

Upon learning that the Supreme Court had ruled in favor of the United States, General Superintendent Pleasonton asked the General Land Office to reserve from public sale for lighthouse purposes so much of the island as required.[23]

Replying to Pleasonton's letter, Acting Commissioner John Wilson noted that Ship Island had been reserved for military purposes by order of President James K. Polk on August 30, 1847. Should it be necessary to request the President to set apart "any specific portion" of the island for lighthouse purposes, Pleasonton was to delinate it on the attached plat.[24]

Whereupon, Pleasonton asked that there be set aside 50 acres, "at the western end" of the island for lighthouse purposes. The desired land was delinated in pencil on the enclosed plat.[25]

Acting Commissioner Wilson accordingly notified Pleasonton that President Fillmore had been asked to set aside 50 acres off the

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22. The Supreme Court failed to cite its reasoning for sustaining the lower court's decision. According to Howard Westwood, a distinguished Washington lawyer and scholar and former aide to Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, this was common procedure at that time in cases of this character. Telephone interview, Westwood with Bearss, July 7, 1980.

23. Pleasonton to Commissioner, General Land Office, June 4, 1852, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

24. Wilson to Pleasonton, June 11, 1852, NA, RG 49, Ltrs. Sent, General Land Office Commissioner.

25. Pleasonton to Wilson, June 14, 1852, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

eastern extremity of the island for lighthouse purposes. Such reservation included 37 64/100 acres in subdivision No. 22 and so much of subdivision No. 27 as to make the total 50 acres.[26]

The error was discovered on June 29, and, on July 7, President Fillmore annuled the order reserving 50 acres off the east end of the island. Instead, the President directed the General Land Office to set apart for lighthouse purposes the same quantity of land at the west end of Ship Island. The subject acreage was to be "exscinded from subdivision 34 of Town IX,S. Range X West, & subdivision 3 of Town X, Range X West."[27]

7. Congress Renews the Appropriation

General Superintendent Pleasonton was understandably elated to learn that the Supreme Court had overruled the heirs' appeal. But there was a problem, because the September 1850 appropriation would lapse before construction could commence. To cope with this situation, Pleasonton contacted United States Representative Albert G. Brown of Gallatin, in whose district Ship Island was located. Brown was advised of the problem, and assured that, as soon as monies became available, measures would be promptly taken to expedite construction of the station.[28]

The 1st Session of the 32d Congress accordingly made provision to renew the $12,000 line item for "a light-house on the west

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26. Wilson to Pleasonton, June 22, 1862, NA, RG 49, Ltrs. Sent, General Land Office Commissioner.

27. Plat signed by Millard Fillmore, July 7, 1852, NA, RG 26, Site File, Ship Island.

28. Pleasonton to Brown, June 2, 1852, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

end of Ship Island" that was signed into law by President Fillmore on August 31, 1852.[29]

8. John McCaughan Campaigns for the Project

Meanwhile, John McCaughan, the Mississippi City contractor who had built the Chandeleur, Head of Passes, and South West Pass Lighthouse Stations, had written General Superintendent Pleasonton. He urged that the Ship Island tower be brick. Although the island was "sand," he did not believe it was "washing in any way to effect its permancy." A tower, between 45 and 55 feet in height, would suffice, as its principal purpose would be to guide vessels through Ship Island Pass, the channel of which hugged the western extremity of Ship Island.

If, however, the Bureau determined to employ an iron tower, the lantern deck should be 50 feet above ground. Moreover, McCaughan continued, the appropriation would not fund a higher iron tower, in conjunction with the necessary keeper's quarters and its dependencies.

In any event, he planned to bid on the station, and trusted that his past work had given satisfaction and was the "best guarantee" that "everything of the kind done by me shall be of the best materials and best workmanship."[30]

Replying, General Superintendent Pleasonton informed McCaughan that he had already mailed to Collector Walker the necessary documents for inviting proposals for construction of the light station.[31]

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29. Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America, from December 1, 1851, to March 3, 1853 . . ., edited by George Minot (Boston, 1855), Vol. X, p. 117.

30. McCaughan to Pleasonton, July 22, 1852, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

31. Pleasonton to McCaughan, July 29, 1852, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

9. Specifications are Approved and Bids Solicited

On July 21, the day before McCaughan drafted his letter to the Bureau, General Superintendent Pleasonton mailed to Mobile District Superintendent Walker a copy of an advertisement for a 45-foot tower, as recommended by former collector Saunders. Also enclosed was a sketch of the section of Ship Island upon which Saunders had located the proposed station.

Walker was to amend the announcement to provide for concrete foundations for the tower and quarters. The cellar was to be eliminated.

The announcement was to be published and carried in at least one newspaper in both Mobile and New Orleans. Walker was to see that McCaughan, who had already built several lighthouses, was apprised.

On the day the bids were closed, Walker was to abstract the proposals and award the contract to the lowest responsible person, provided his bid did not exceed $9,500. The difference between this figure and the $12,000 appropriated would be required for the lighting apparatus, supervision, and contingencies.[32]

The announcement as amended and advertised called for the lighthouse to be built of hard brick, the tower to be round, and the foundations laid with concrete "as deep as necessary to make the whole fabric secure." The tower's height was to be 45 feet; the diameter of the base to be 22 feet; and that of the top 10 1/2 feet. At the footings the walls were to be 3 1/2 feet thick, graduating to 2 feet at the top. Bricks were to be laid in Rosendale cement, and whitewashed twice over.

The floor of the tower was to be paved with hard brick. A circular stairway, connected with a center part, was to be carried up

32. Pleasonton to Walker, July 21, 1852, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters. The copy of the announcement and sketch of the island are missing from the files.

from the floor to within 6 feet of the lantern. These stairs were to be of 2-inch oak plank, with a rise of 8 inches. The tower was to be pierced by three windows and a doorway. The latter was to be 6 feet high and 3 and 1/2 feet across, constructed of 1-inch boards, double and crossed nailed, with strong hinges, locks, and latchs. The windows were to have strong frames and sashes, and seat twelve 8 x 10 lights.[33]

An arch was to be turned at the top of the tower, on which was to be laid a stone deck 12 feet in diameter and 4 inches thick, the joints to be lead filled. An 18- x 24-inch scuttle in the deck was to pass into the lantern. The scuttle and rabbets were to be covered with copper. An iron ladder was to reach from the top of the stairs to the entrance to the scuttle, with steps 2 inches wide.

Atop the tower was to be an octagonal wrought iron lantern, of sufficient diameter to "admit an iron sash in each station," to house six 20- x 24-inch panes to be glazed with the best French plat glass, and two 20-x-15-inch copper panes next the deck. There was to be a sliding ventilator in each copper pane. The sash rabbets were to be not less the 5/8-inch deep, the octagonal post to be 2 inches square, and to run 4 feet into the walls of the tower, and be secured with anchors.

The top of the lantern to be a dome formed by 16 iron rafters "concentrating in an iron hoop," 6 inches wide and 9 inches in diameter, covered with copper. The copper was to come down and rivet on the pieces that form the top of the sash. Atop the dome there was to be a traversing ventilator, on which was to be secured a vane sheeted with copper. In one of the octagons, there was to be an iron framed door, 4 feet high and 2 feet wide, covered with copper, to shut into rabbets, and secured by two buttons. An iron balustrade with two 3/4-inch iron railings was to encircle the lantern. The lantern and the

33. Advertisement for Proposals, Aug. 2, 1852, NA, RG 26, Clipping File, Ship Island.

woodwork were to receive two coats of paint. A lightning rod, to extend 2 feet above the vane and a similar distance into the ground, was to be positioned.[34]

The one-story keeper's quarters was to be 34 by 20 feet, and be built of brick. It was to be divided into two rooms with an entry between. A stairway in the entry would provide access to the chambers, which were to be lathed and plastered. There was to be a chimney in the middle of the dwelling, with a fireplace in each room. The mantels were to be iron.

The walls of the quarters were to be 20 inches thick, to be laid in lime mortar, and whitewashed over twice. The foundations were to be concrete. The roof was to be rectangular, covered with "good dry merchantable boards," and shingled. Each room was to have 3 windows, of 16 10 by 8 lights, "and to be of the same dimensions in each chamber." Doors were to be 4-panel, with good hinges and thumb latches, and a good lock on the outside door. There was to be a closet in each room, behind the chimney. All floors were to be double and well nailed. Inside walls and ceiling were to be lathed and plastered, and all inside work was to be finished "in a plain, decent style, with good seasoned stuff."

Attached to the dwelling was to be a 14-by-12-foot kitchen, the walls to be 8 feet in height, and the interior to be lathed and plastered. There would be two doors and two windows. The chimney was to have a sizeable oven, crane trammel, and hooks for a fireplace. In the porch, on one side of the chimney, would be a sink, with a spout leading through the wall. All woodwork, both inside and out, to be given two coats of paint.

There was to be an outhouse, 5 x 4 feet, painted and shingled.

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34. Ibid.

A well of sufficient depth to provide good water was to be dug and bricked, and provided with a curb, iron chains, windlass, and strong bucket.[35]

The station structures were to be completed in a workmanlike manner by February 1, 1853.[36]

10. McCaughan Gets the Contract

On September 15, the day designated, Collector Walker opened and abstracted the three proposals received--J. Lowry & Co. of Mobile for $9,000, John McCaughan of Mississippi City $8,000, and A.G. Mallett of Pass Christian for $10,000.

McCaughan would for another thousand dollars make these changes, which he deemed to be improvements: (a) build a "double plank foundation crossed and well nailed together, laid deep enough to be always wet, on which to erect the tower." This would preclude destruction of the tower by being undermined by surf during storms as had recently occurred at the Chandeleur Station. The diameter of the tower's base was to be reduced from 22 to 18 feet.

(b) He would change the floor plan of the dwelling by altering its dimensions to 60 by 18 feet in three rooms, one to be a kitchen

> properly fitted up with chimneys, fireplaces, doors, windows, etc., of suitable size, floors dressed, tongue and grooved heart plank, walls 12 inches thick, a gallery 8 feet wide on each side with a cabinet at each end of one gallery for store rooms, etc.

The gallery foundations were to be solid and laid in plank, "at the depth of water to keep the plank wet."

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35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

(c) He would build a good brick cistern to hold 2,000 gallons of water, and dig and wall a well.[37]

After reviewing and evaluating the proposals, Superintendent Walker recommended that the Bureau accept McCaughan's bid. He also endorsed the changes McCaughan had proposed, particularly substitution of a plank foundation for concrete to guard against undermining by the sea, and the improvements to the quarters, which were "absolutely necessary for comfort in this climate."

To insure that there be no further delays, Walker told McCaughan to "proceed with the preliminary arrangements, collecting materials, etc."[38]

General Superintendent Pleasonton, after studying the documents, authorized Walker to accept McCaughan's bid to build the station for $8,000. He, however, rejected McCaughan's proposal to reduce the diameter of the tower from 22 to 18 feet; to substitute a plank grillage for the concrete foundation; and to enlarge the dwelling from 34 by 20 feet to 60 by 18 feet.

Walker was to contract with McCaughan to "finish the buildings conformably with the specifications." The concrete foundations were to be sunk at least 3 feet below ground surface. If Walker held that they were needed, planks could be laid and the contractor given a proper allowance.

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37. McCaughan to Walker, Sept. 10, 1852; Lowry to Walker, Sept. 15, 1852; Mallett to Walker, Sept. 9, 1852, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

38. Walker to Pleasonton, Sept. 15, 1852, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Supt. of Lighthouses, Mobile.

If a well could not be dug and cased, a cistern was to be substituted.[39]

11. Station is Built and Accepted

The October 9, 1852, reorganization of the Nation's lighthouse system, involving constitution of a 9-member Lighthouse Board, division of the country into 12 lighthouse districts, and the 1921 Commerce Department fire which destroyed most of the Board's files prevents us from determining which, if any, of the authorized changes were incorporated into the station's construction.

McCaughan and his people were soon hard at work, and, on March 17, 1853, six weeks later than the date designated, Superintendent Walker notified Washington that the station had been completed. Whereupon, the Board's Engineer Secretary, Edward L.F. Hardcastle, contacted Capt. Danville Leadbetter, Eighth District Engineer and Lighthouse Inspector. Leadbetter was to visit Ship Island and inspect the buildings and determine the dimensions of the lantern required, and whether a revolving apparatus could be employed.[40]

Captain Leadbetter was at the island, in mid-May, and submitted the requisite report.[41] Unfortunately, Leadbetter's comments can not be located.

Upon reviewing them, Engineer Secretary Hardcastle wrote Leadbetter that an illuminating apparatus, consisting of eleven 14-inch

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39. Pleasonton to Walker, Sept. 22, 1852, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Letters.

40. Hardcastle to Leadbetter, April 26, 1853, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Dist. Eng.

41. Leadbetter to Hardcastle, May 23, 1853, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Dist. Eng.

reflectors, along with customary accessories, had been shipped to Mobile for installation in the Ship Island tower.[42]

The illuminating apparatus reached Mobile in early September, and, on October 23, Leadbetter notified the Lighthouse Board that it had been installed. The light was placed in operation for the first time in late November.[43]

As positioned the tower exhibited a fixed white light, with 14 lamps and 11 reflectors.[44]

Consequently, on November 4, 1853, the Board transmitted to Captain Leadbetter $2,003,55, the unexpended balance of the Ship Island appropriation. He was to obligate so much of these monies as necessary to place the station "in the most perfect order, and for the purchase of . . . articles, such as boats, etc., as may be required for maintenance of the light."[45]

The loss or destruction of Leadbetter's report prevents us from learning how these funds were disbursed.

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42. Hardcastle to Leadbetter, June 28, 1853, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Dist. Eng.

43. Leadbetter to Lighthouse Board, Sept. 10, Oct. 23, & Nov. 24, 1853, NA, RG 26, Register of Letters Received. The register of letters received by the Board from the Eighth District survived the fire, and this data has been compiled from the subject register.

44. Lists of Light-Houses, Lighted Beacons, and Floating Lights, of the United States (Washington, 1856), pp. 423.

45. Hardcastle to Leadbetter, Nov. 4, 1853, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Dist. Eng.

B. Operational History of the 1853-86 Station

1. Pre-Civil War Years

On Christmas Day 1853, Edward Havens entered on duty as keeper of the Ship Island Light, at a salary of $500 per year. Four months later, in mid-April 1857, the position of assistant keeper, at an annual salary of $300 having been established, District Superintendent of Lighthouses T. Sanford nominated Joseph Havens to that position. Havens, after accepting the job on May 10, changed his mind. Consequently, on August 30, 1854, Christian Ladnier was nominated and appointed assistant keeper.[46]

Keeper Havens and Assistant Keeper Ladnier were killed in June 1855. To replace the keeper, District Superintendent Sanford nominated the deceased's wife, Mary Havens, and offered the assistant keeper's slot to John Reid. Both accepted and were appointed. Mary Havens' tenure as keeper was less than 16 months. She died within that time frame. Her successor as keeper was John Reid, whose appointment was dated November 25, 1856. William Stanley was named assistant keeper on the same day.[47]

In March 1857, Eighth District Inspector Raphael Semmes installed a new illuminating apparatus in the tower. This light was also fixed, white, and of fourth order.[48]

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46. Supt. to Board, April 17, 1854, NA, RG 26, Register of Ltrs. Recd., Ship Island Light Station and Record of the Appointments of Lighthouse Keepers, 1852-1903.

47. Supt. to Board, June 15, 1855, NA, RG 26, Register of Ltrs. Recd., Ship Island Light Station and Record of the Appointments of Lighthouse Keepers, 1852-1903. Efforts to secure data on the circumstances surrounding the deaths of the trio of keepers have been unsuccessful.

48. Semmes to Board, March 26, 1857, NA, RG 26, Register of Ltrs. Recd., Ship Island Light Station, and The Admiralty List of Lights of the United States of America, Corrected to January 1871 (London, 1871), pp. 42-3.

During the summer of 1858, coincident with the detailed surveys being made by Lt. Newton F. Alexander preparatory to breaking ground for the masonry fort, the Lighthouse Board erected a buoy shed at the station.[49] The shed stood for two years, and was demolished by the September, 1860, hurricane.[50]

That year's savage late summer and autumn storms also damaged the keepers' quarters and station grounds.[51]

The keeper's position seemed to be hexed. John Reid died in the late winter of 1859. He was succeeded by F.W. Spencer, on March 2. Meanwhile, four weeks before, Noel Buret had replaced William Stanley as assistant keeper.

Spencer held the position about 14 months, resigning on April 24, 1860. His replacement was Munson Wilnot. Buret remained on as assistant keeper until September 13, 1860, when he resigned and was succeeded by W. Bostock.[52]

2. The Lighthouse and the Confederacy

The little that is known about the light station during the months Ship Island was occupied by Mississippi troops and Confederate forces is included in the Ship Island Historic Resource Study chapter titled, "Ship Island as a Confederate Bastion."

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49. Jenkins to Semmes, Sept. 6, 1858, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Dist. Eng.

50. Semmes to Handy, Jan. 14, 1861, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., Dist. Eng.

51. Supt. to Board, Jan. 11, 1861, NA, RG 26, Register of Ltrs. Recd., Ship Island Station.

52. Supt. to Board, July 12, 1860, NA, RG 26, Register of Ltrs. Recd., Ship Island Light Station and Record of the Appointments of Lighthouse Keepers, 1852-1903.

It should be emphasized that we have serious reservations concerning the story that George Dewey, while a young naval officer in mid-September 1861, helped save the tower by extinguishing fires set by the Confederates when they evacuated the island. Dewey, at this time, was assigned to the side-wheel steamer Mississippi and was not in the area.[53]

3. Station is Repaired and the Light Relit

On January 3, 1862, four weeks after Brig. Gen. John W. Phelps' brigade landed on Ship Island, the Lighthouse Board called upon the Army to take measures for reestablishing the light. To facilitate this task, the inspector at New York City was directed to pack and forward to the Gulf Frontier a "suitable illuminating apparatus, lantern, cleaning materials, wicks, chimneys, etc."[54]

Consequently, arrangements were made for transfer of a lantern from Barnegat, New Jersey, to the Mississippi Gulf Coast. The rush of events, the frantic pace of activity associated with the build-up of an invasion force on Ship Island, the capture of New Orleans, the dash up the Mississippi, and the recoil from Vicksburg, so engrossed the Navy's and Army's energies that it was mid-August, 1862, before attention could be given to reestablishing the Ship Island Lighthouse Station.

On August 17, William A. Goodwin of the Lighthouse Board and Acting Lighthouse Engineer Dr. M.F. Bonzano reached Ship Island from New Orleans. Next day, they met with Post Commander Henry C. Rust and Lt. John C. Palfrey of the Corps of Engineers, and plans were discussed for repair of the tower, preparatory to relighting the lighthouse.[55]

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53. Log, U.S.S. Mississippi, Sept. & Oct., 1861, NA, RG 24.

54. Shubrick to Phelps, Jan. 3, 1862, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Board.

55. Rust's Journal, Aug. 16-17, 1862, found in the MOLLUS Massachusetts Commandery Collection, Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.

Goodman and Palfrey concluded that the tower could be repaired and relighted. As it was imperative that this be accomplished as soon as possible to facilitate the movements of men-of-war, army transports, and schooners bringing in materials for construction of the masonry fort, Palfrey agreed to provide the Lighthouse Board with certain materials from those stockpiled on the island. He accordingly furnished the Board 12,700 bricks, 50 barrels of cement, and one barrel of coal.[56]

The decision to proceed with the repairs made, a lighthouse tender reached the island from New Orleans, on August 25. Aboard was a workforce of Italians. They sought to smuggle 10 gallons of whiskey ashore. Discovered, they saw their booze confiscated. Colonel Rust then had to settle a dispute between "Uncle Brown and the Degoes by making them pay over the passage money they collected; they to lose their time and he the use of and damage to his boat." Rust pronounced it a "skunk & hedgehog quarrel."

Rust next relieved the Italians of three rifles, two pistols, and their ammunition, because the Army would do whatever shooting was necessary.[57]

The damaged ironwork in the tower was removed and sent to New Orleans, where it was repaired in the New Orleans mint's workshop.[58] Acting Lighthouse Engineer Bonzano spent October 4 on the island. Accompanied by Colonel Rust, he climbed the tower and out onto the lantern.[59]

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56. Palfrey to Totten, Aug. 18, 1863, NA, RG 77, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Engineer.

57. Rust's Journal, Aug. 25-26, 1862, MHI--Carlisle Barracks.

58. Bonzano to Shubrick, Oct. 1, 1862, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th District.

59. Rust's Journal, Oct. 4, 1862, MHI--Carlisle Barracks.

On November 11, the lighthouse tender Florida and Dr. Bonzano arrived from Fort St. Philip. By the 15th, the 4th order Fresnal lense, described by Colonel Rust as a thing of beauty, had been installed.[60]

By late November, Dr. Bonzano was able to write the Lighthouse Board that the station had been repaired. The 4th order lense, found in New Orleans following the city's capture, had been installed, and the Barnegat lantern removed and shipped to New Orleans. The light had been exhibited for the first time on the night of the 14th. The repairs to the tower, he continued, were "thorough and substantial," and the lantern and illuminating apparatus were "perfect in every respect."

Only one problem remained: the keepers' quarters had been appropriated by the Army as a hospital. Colonel Rust was willing to vacate, but he must be provided with orders to do so by his superiors at Headquarters, Department of the Gulf.[61]

On December 2, Colonel Rust received orders from General Butler's headquarters to vacate the keepers' quarters. Before the day was over, the hospital had been relocated and the keeper and assistant keeper had moved into the quarters.[62]

4. Manning the Station

a. The Keepers and Assistant Keepers Come and Go

The tower repaired and the apparatus about to be installed, Frederic Shede was nominated as keeper and Peter Richter as

60. Ibid., Nov. 11-15, 1862.

61. Bonzano to Shubrick, Nov. 24, 1862, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th District. The lense had been manufactured by Henri Lepante of Paris, France.

62. Rust's Journal, Dec. 2, 1862, MHI--Carlisle Barracks.

assistant keeper. On December 15, the two men were appointed to these positions. Keeper Shede's salary was to be $500 per year and Assistant Keeper Richter's $300 for the subject period. Less than two months later, on February 13, 1863, the two men were removed from their positions.[63] Records pertaining to the cause of removal are missing from the files.

John C. Goodman replaced Shede and Thomas Powley, Richter. The assistant keeper's salary at this time was boosted from $300 to $400 per annum.[64]

In mid-March 1863, the light was extinguished by Keeper Goodwin on orders from Col. Nathan W. Daniels, who had replaced Colonel Rust as post commander. Some four weeks later, on April 13, Daniels allowed the lantern to be relit, after that portion of the fixed lens facing on the Sound had been blinded.[65]

Goodwin resigned as keeper after eight months, vacating the position on October 16, 1863. He was succeeded by Jacob Jones, who entered on duty that very day. Jones, in turn, resigned on December 12, 1865, to take effect on January 19. His successor was William Stack. The keeper's salary, coincidentally, was raised from $500 to $640 per year. Stack was continued as keeper until October 20, 1871, when he was accused of deserting his post and fired.[66]

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63. Record of the Appointments of Lighthouse Keepers, 1852-1903, NA, RG 26.

64. Ibid.

65. Bonzano to Shubrick, April 13 & 14, 1863, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th District.

66. Record of the Appointments of Lighthouse Keepers, 1852-1903, NA, RG 26.

During Stack's incumbancy, there had been a succession of assistant keepers. Thomas Powley resigned on October 27, 1867. His successor, Josiah B. Newman, held the position less than 90 days, dying on January 18, 1868. During the next 43 months, five men served as assistant keeper--Lorenzi Morechi, January 16-March 9, 1868; Joseph Florence, March 9-April 13, 1868; James Burns, April 13, 1868 to April 13, 1869; Joseph Lawrence, April 13, 1869-September 7, 1870; and Thomas Everead, September 7, 1870-September 5, 1871.[67]

Robert McVey was named to replace Stack as keeper. McVey was accused of stealing government property and removed on April 8, 1872, and replaced by J.R. Todd. Meanwhile, two men had served as assistant keeper: Pontus Petriniz from September 5, 1871, until he abandoned the position on December 18, 1871, and Charles Briggs who was fired on the same day as Keeper McVey.[68]

The man nominated as Keeper Todd's assistant, James Cosgrove, failed to qualify, and Alexander Cockrane was nominated and appointed on April 23, 1872. Todd and Cockrane had brief tenures. On August 12, 1872, Todd was removed as keeper and Cockrane resigned. Ord-Sgt. James McCabe replaced Todd and Alexander McNally took over as assistant keeper. McNally was removed on November 29. Lt. Col. James H. Simpson accordingly recommended the appointment of Fort Keeper John Griffin as McNally's replacement. Griffin, Simpson pointed out, was a long-time island resident and faithful employee, therefore he was unlikely to become disenchanted with the isolation and climate.[69]

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67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Simpson to Henry, Dec. 18, 1873, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th District.

Griffin was named assistant keeper on January 13, 1873, and retained the position until his August 24, 1874, removal. His successor was Charles C. Kennedy, who served as assistant keeper from September 29, 1873, until his resignation on February 8, 1875. Coincidentally, Daniel McColl was appointed assistant keeper.

On May 25, 1877, Sergeant McCabe was removed as keeper. Some six weeks before, the War Department had complained that Sergeant McCabe was not giving "proper attention to the duties of either position." The Adjutant General had accordingly asked the Lighthouse Board to initiate early action to provide for McCabe's relief as keeper to enable him to attend properly to his assignment as post ordnance-sergeant.[70]

b. Keeper Dan McColl Spends Nearly 25 Years on the Island

On May 23, 1877, the District Superintendent nominated Assistant Keeper McColl as McCabe's replacement. His appointment as keeper, however, was deferred until September 2.

McColl, a war veteran, had enlisted in the 3d Iowa Infantry, at age 16, during the summer of 1861. He soon developed rheumatism and was given a medical discharge in February 1862, at Mexico, Missouri. He was subsequently employed by the Army of the Cumberland as a courier. After the war, McColl established himself in New Orleans and went to work for the Illinois Central Railroad. He lost his right leg at the hip in a railroad accident in 1869, and, in September 1875, married Elizabeth Dudley at Biloxi. Elizabeth had been born, in 1844, in Bayou Sara, Louisiana.[71]

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70. Adj. Gen. to Secy. of War, April 7, 1877, & Secy. of the Treasury to Secy. of War, April 10, 1877, NA, RG 26, Record of Appointments of Lighthouse Keepers.

71. Board to Secy. of the Treasury, May 23, 1877, NA, RG 26, Record of Appointments of Lighthouse Keepers; Elizabeth McColl, Application for Widow's Pension, NA, RG 94, Application 812,780, Certificate 587,968. The correct spelling of the keeper's name is McColl, although many people, including his widow, have spelled the name McCall.

McColl was destined to hold the keeper's position for more than two decades. On June 2, 1899, he was transferred from Ship Island to the Cat Island Lighthouse. The latter station, since establishment of the South Channel Range Beacon Lights, was considered to be less arduous for an amputee.

McColl's replacement was Peter Clarisse.

5. Assistant Keeper's Position Abolished

The position of assistant keeper had been abolished 19 years before, on June 22, 1880. The last three men to hold this position were: Bernard M. Campbell, June 2-October 2, 1877; James G. Plunkett, October 2, 1877-January 17, 1878; and Frank P. Ross, March 12, 1878, to June 22, 1880.[72]

6. Post-Civil War Repairs and Maintenance

a. Those Accomplished Between 1867-1880

In 1867, slight repairs were made to the station, which was cited as being in good condition.[73] Two years later, in 1869, the station kitchen was provided with a cooking range, and unspecified repairs were made to the keepers' quarters.[74]

In 1875, the tower and keepers' quarters were reportedly in need of considerable repairs. The flooring timbers had rotted and the lower floor of the dwelling had given way. In the tower, the window sash and frames were old, leaked badly, and should be renewed. The

72. Record of the Appointments of Lighthouse Keepers, 1852-1903, NA, RG 26.

73. Ship Island Lighthouse Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File.

74. Ibid.; Register of Ltrs. Recd., Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26.

district engineer estimated the cost of needed repairs at $1,500 and urged that they be attended to in Fiscal Year 1876.[75]

A review of the records, both manuscript and published, leads to the conclusion that these repairs were deferred and not included in the Lighthouse Board's program, its limited resources being directed to more pressing needs.[76]

On July 1, 1878, the color of the fourth-order fixed light was changed from white to red.[77]

In June 1880, Keeper McColl and Assistant Keeper Ross white-washed the quarters, outbuildings, and fences.[78]

b. The November 18, 1880, Fire

On November 18, 1880, a fire broke out in the chimney and destroyed the station kitchen--a 32-by-17-foot shed-like building. Workmen from the tender Mignonette, who had been at the island for a week rehabilitating the station, hastened ashore and helped Keeper McColl prevent the fire from spreading to his quarters. They then lent the keeper a stove and a table.

Eighth District Lighthouse Engineer Maj. William H. Heuer recommended to the Lighthouse Board that the kitchen not be rebuilt, because, now that the assistant keeper's position had been abolished, one of the quarters' rooms could be converted into a kitchen.[79]

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75. Ship Island Lighthouse Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File.

76. Annual Report of the Light-House Board to the Secretary of the Treasury for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1876 (Washington, 1877), pp. 45-6.

77. Ship Island Lighthouse Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File.

78. Report of Repairs at Stations, 1880-83, NA, RG 26.

79. Heuer to Lighthouse Board, Nov. 23, 1885, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th District.

The Board approved Heuer's proposal, and the tender workmen undertook this project.

Before returning to New Orleans, the workmen also repointed the exterior walls of both the tower and dwelling; replastered interior walls; painted and whitewashed all station structures; repaired quarters roof; laid new floor in storehouse; repaired woodwork as needed; and levelled and repaired the quarters' foundations.[80]

c. Post-Fire Repairs and Maintenance

In March 1881, the lighthouse tender returned to Ship Island, and workmen repaired the plank walkways and relocated the storeroom to higher ground. Then, in May, Keeper McColl's quarters were repaired and whitewashed, and the platform around the bell rebuilt and raised.[81]

In July 1883, three panes of glass in the lantern were replaced.[82]

7. Maritime Disasters in Ship Island Waters

The lighthouse keepers were responsible for reporting maritime disasters. On June 4, 1866, the steamer Red Chief, laden with a cargo of lumber, bound for New Orleans, encountered a gale in Ship Island Pass. Buffeted by high seas, she sprang a leak and sank in 18 feet of water. Although she was a total loss, no lives were lost, the crew being saved by the steamer Countess.[83]

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80. Ship Island Lighthouse Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File; Report of Repairs at Stations, 1880-83.

81. Report of Repairs at Stations, 1880-83, NA, RG 26.

82. Ibid.

83. New Orleans Daily Times, June 6, 1866.

The next victim was the schooner George Henry, also New Orleans-bound, which foundered in mid-November 1866.[84]

On March 24, 1877, Keeper McCabe reported that the bark Holland had come ashore and had been wrecked.[85]

84. Register of Ltrs. Recd., Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26.

85. Ibid.

III. THE NEW STATION'S FIRST TWENTY-FOUR YEARS

A. New Station is Constructed

1. Beach Erosion Dooms the Brick Station

In November 1885, Eighth District Inspector Lt. Comdr. Marcus B. Buford, observing that the north beach had eroded and the foundations of the tower and dwelling were being undermined, proposed to abandon the station. He recommended that the tower be replaced by one of iron, similar to the one recently erected at Fort Morgan. The new tower should be on the Fort Massachusetts terreplein, while a replacement for the keeper's quarters was to be erected nearby.[1]

The Lighthouse Board accordingly called upon District Engineer Heuer to review Inspector Buford's proposal and give his views on the subject, along with an estimate of the cost of a new station.[2]

Major Heuer, on visiting Ship Island, saw that the side wall of the quarters, nearest the beach, was liable to be undercut by flood tides, causing it to collapse. The tower had already been badly undermined and was "liable to fall at any time." Heuer was of the opinion that both structures should be condemned and abandoned.

Upon questioning Keeper McColl, who had been named Assistant Keeper in February 1875, Heuer learned that, in the intervening 11 years, "the beach to a depth of 120 feet fronting the tower had been claimed by the sea." Examining the tower, Heuer noted a "few slight cracks" in the masonry, and that it had, some time before 1880, been banded with iron rings. According to Keeper McColl, the tower during wild gales rocked "quite perceptibly."[3]

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1. Heuer to Lighthouse Board, Jan. 7, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th District Engineer. The letters received by the Board from the 8th District Inspectors were destroyed in the 1921 Commerce Department fire.

2. Heap to Heuer, Nov. 16, 1885, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Board.

3. Heuer to Lighthouse Board, Jan. 7, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th District Engineer.

2. Plans for a New Station are Developed

To remedy this situation, Heuer saw two alternatives. The first was to stop the encroachment by riprap, properly ballasted, extending out into Mississippi Sound 200 feet. Such a project would require about 1,000 lineal feet of mattress work, costing about $10,000.

The tower was scarcely worth one-half this figure, while the quarters were not worth saving. Consequently, the economical answer was to relocate the station. Abreast of the tower, the island was a half mile wide, while 400 to 500 feet south of the tower was a range of dunes, fully 20 feet in height. As these were within the 50-acre lighthouse reservation, they would make an admirable site for a combination house and dwelling, which could be built for $15,000 or less. This location, Heuer argued, would be fully as satisfactory as the original site, and assuming the same rate of erosion as has occurred during the past ten years, this location would be safe for the next 30 years.

Heuer, while agreeing that the fort was "better adapted for the light than its present site," called attention to the constant westward migration of the island. At present, the western extremity of the island, at ebb tide, was nearly 2,000 feet west of the fort. In addition, there was insufficient space on the fort's parade for both a tower and a keeper's quarters, while the parade was often overflowed during storms, as was the entire western end of Ship Island. Consequently, it would be difficult for the keeper, living in a dwelling outside the fort, to reach the tower during a gale.

Engineer Heuer, after studying the situation, recommended to the Board construction of a combination tower and quarters about 400 feet southwest of the present tower. This could be accomplished for about $5,000.

The structure should consist of four large rooms and a kitchen, with 10-foot ceilings. There would be wide galleries on three sides of the quarters, while the structure was to be founded on brick piers. The dwelling was to be surmounted by a tower, the "focal plane

of whose lens" was to be at least 55 feet and preferably 75 feet above sea level.[4]

On February 3, the Board met and ordered abandonment of the station, and construction of a detached tower to be built according to a plan prepared by the Engineer Secretary, Maj. David P. Heap. Coincidentally, a new dwelling was to be erected, similar to the one recently built at the Amelia Island, Florida, station, but omitting the cellar and brick cistern. A cypress cistern, detached from the dwelling, was to be substituted for the one of brick, while "a lattice work" would be built around the "dwelling from the sill to the ground to keep the sand from drifting."

The possibility of employing, for the time being, the old tower or dwelling for storage of oil was to be explored.

Relaying this data to Major Heuer, the Board called on him to prepare an estimate of the project's cost.[5]

On February 26, District Inspector Buford, following a visit to the island, recommended to Major Heuer that the station be located and erected on the site occupied by the ordnance-sergeant's quarters. According to Keeper McColl, this was the only spot on the west end of the island that did not "overflow and drift during very high water and high winds."[6]

Responding to the Board's February 5 letter, Major Heuer placed the cost of a dwelling and detached tower at $5,000. The tower should be enclosed by weatherboarding, and the project executed by contract.

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4. Ibid.

5. Heap to Heuer, Feb. 5, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Board.

6. Buford to Heuer, Feb. 26, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Recd., 8th Dist. Eng.

Heuer and Inspector Buford were now in agreement as to the site. He, however, pointed out that the Board could not tear down the recently built ordnance-sergeant's quarters, "for the sake of building a light house, when an equally good site, on the same range of sand hills, is within stones throw."[7]

The Board promptly approved the site as proposed by Heuer.[8]

Meanwhile, on February 24, the Board had mailed to Heuer a copy of the specifications for the dwelling. He was to review them, add dates and specifications for a cypress cistern, and return them to Engineer Secretary Heap.[9]

On March 10, the Board transmitted specifications for the tower, and promised to post the plans as soon as they were finalized.

Heuer was to determine whether the lantern in the 1852-53 lighthouse could be taken down and inserted in the one to be built or if a new lantern were required.[10]

Major Heuer, upon receipt of this communication, notified the Board that he had given the New Orleans firm that was printing the specifications for the quarters the ones for the tower.

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7. Heuer to Lighthouse Board, March 3, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.

8. Heap to Heuer, March 8, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Board.

9. Heap to Heuer, Feb. 24, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Board.

10. Heap to Heuer, March 10, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Board.

The old lantern, he noted, would not answer for the new tower, and a new one was required. Because of the time factor, Heuer recommended that the Service install the new lantern.[11]

The Board accordingly announced that it would have its engineers draft plans and specifications for the lantern and would contract for its early manufacture.[12]

On March 24, Major Heuer visited Ship Island and, assisted by Keeper McColl, staked a site for the new tower. He located it on a sand hill 320 feet from the brick tower. It would be about 25 feet east of the ordnance-sergeant's quarters. The keeper's dwelling was to be erected east of and adjoining the tower. East of the site was a range of dunes some 15 to 20 feet in height. According to oldtimers, this area had never been inundated, even during the worst tropical storms.[13]

Plans for the tower were prepared, reviewed, and mailed to District Engineer Heuer by the Board in late March and early April.[14]

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11. Heuer to Lighthouse Board, March 15, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.

12. Heap to Heuer, March 16, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Board.

13. Heuer to Lighthouse Board, March 30, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.

14. Copies of these plans, secured from Headquarters, Eighth Coast Guard District, in New Orleans, are on file at the Mississippi Unit, GUIS. These plans are titled: "Design for the Proposed Light House at Ship Island, Miss.," Drawing No. 2111; "Ship Island Lt. Sta., Plate 1," Drawing No. 2113; and Plans of Lantern Gallery, Parapet Door, Sectional Elevation, etc., Drawing No. 2110.

We have been unable to locate specifications for the tower and quarters, as well as plans for the dwelling, at either National Archives or Headquarters, Eighth Coast Guard District.

3. John C. Gardner Builds the Station

Employing the Daily Picayune, Inspector Buford called for proposals for construction of the station to be opened on April 3. But, because of a delay by Peter O'Donnell of New Orleans in printing up the specifications and plans, the date of the opening was postponed until May 1.

On May 1, inspector Buford opened and abstracted the nine bids that had been submitted. He found John H. Gardner of New Orleans proposal to erect the quarters for $3,500 and the tower for $2,375 the most favorable.

Major Heuer's recommendation that the contract be awarded to Gardner was reviewed and approved by the Lighthouse Board on May 10.[15]

To assist Gardner, Major Heuer secured permission from the Chief Engineer for the contractor's workmen to use vacant Corps buildings for storage and quarters.[16]

Gardner, in an effort to meet the August 1 completion date, lost no time in beginning the undertaking. Although Gardner's people worked long, hard hours, it was apparent by late June that they could not finish the station by the day designated in the contract. Gardner accordingly asked for and was granted a one-month extension on his completion date.[17]

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15. Heap to Heuer, May 10, 1886, and Heuer to Lighthouse Board, Sept. 2, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng., and Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Board.

16. Heuer to Ordnance-Sergeant, May 22, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.

17. Heuer to Lighthouse Board, Sept. 3, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.

Despite a multiplicity of difficulties inherit in barrier island projects--problems in getting men and materials to the site; the need to have all ironwork manufactured and galvanized in the north; foul weather in July and August; a high incidence of sickness among employees; and an anxious labor force caused by fear of being stricken by yellow fever because of their proximity to the quarantine station--Gardner met his second deadline.[18]

As work progressed, the need for certain change orders became evident. The specifications, as prepared and advertised, did not call for a privy, lightning rod in the tower, fence around the premises, or a place for storage of oil. The latter was provided for by a change order to raise the circular brick foundation under the cistern to leave a space 7 feet high to provide for oil storage, and incidentally elevate the cistern to eliminate the pump in the kitchen, and give "ample head" for a hydrant cock.[19]

In mid-July, the Lighthouse Board, as recommended by Major Heuer, authorized construction of a privy, building a fence, and positioning of a lightning rod. For these improvements, Gardner was to be paid an additional $450.

The privy, to be erected 60 feet east of the quarters, was to be frame, 5.5' X 5.5', have a shingle roof, and brick vault.[20]

Upon receipt from the Tompkinsville, New York, Lighthouse Depot of the parts (1 crate sheet tin, 3 boxes ironwork, 1

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18. Gardner to Heuer, Sept. 1, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.

19. Heuer to Lighthouse Board, June 29, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.

20. Heuer to Schaumburg, July 15 and 16, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.; Plan of Ship Island Light Station" by H. Bamber, 1892. A copy of the subject plan is on file at the Mississippi Unit, GUIS.

box glass, and 22 metal castings) for the new lantern, Major Heuer shipped them from New Orleans to the island aboard the schooner Democrat.[21]

4. Tower is Lighted and the Government Accepts the Station

On August 28, 1886, the pedestal and Fresnal 4th order lens were transferred from the old to the new tower. The focal plane of the light as established was 76' 1" above mean low tide, and it bore from the "old tower S by W 1/4 W" and was 300 feet from it.[22]

Three days later, on September 1, Major Heuer inspected and accepted the station on behalf of the Lighthouse Board.[23]

5. Tower is Sheathed

The Board now adopted Major Heuer's March 10 recommendations and authorized him to "sheath the skeleton tower with wood, by the purchase of materials in open market and hired labor, at a cost not to exceed" $500.[24]

Consequently, in December 1886, the skeleton tower was enclosed, sheathed inside, and weatherboarded outside. Doors and windows were put in and shelves arranged on the inside of the tower for storing necessary materials belonging to the illuminating apparatus. All new exterior work was painted white. Bricks, salvaged from the old

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21. Heuer to Gardner, May 29, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.

22. Heuer to Lighthouse Board, Sept. 3, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, 8th Dist. Eng.

23. Ibid.

24. Heap to Heuer, Aug. 31, 1886, NA, RG 26, Ltrs. Sent, Lighthouse Board.

station, were piled around the piers of the dwelling and tower to anchor the sand and keep it from blowing away.[25]

B. Reservation is Surveyed, Mapped, and Boundary Stones Set

During the winter of 1886-87, A.C. Bell, surveyor for the 7th and 8th Districts, spent several days on Ship Island. While ashore, he surveyed the area and secured necessary data to enable him to prepare two drawings of the area. The first of these depicted the reservation, and the other featured the keeper's quarters, light tower, and ordnance-sergeant's quarters.

Coincidentally, Bell and his assistants located and positioned two stones delineating the reservation's east boundary.[26]

In the autumn of 1892, H. Bamber and several assistants spent several weeks at the station preparing a topographical survey of the reservation in the structures' vicinity. By this time, the 1852-53 brick tower and quarters were in ruins.

As a result of this visit, Bamber prepared two maps--the first of a scale of one inch equals 80 feet and the other of one inch equals 20 feet. The larger scale drawing was limited to the area immediately in the vicinity of the tower and keeper's quarters.[27]

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25. Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File.

26. Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File; "Ship Island Light Station, Miss., Reservation Surveyed January 6 & 7, 1887, by A.C. Bell"; and "Ship Island Light Station, Miss., Buildings Surveyed, January 4th, 1887, by A.C. Bell." Copies of these drawings are on file at the Mississippi Unit, GUIS.

27. Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File; "Ship Island Light Station, Miss., Reservation Surveyed 1892, by H. Bamber," and "Ship Island Light Station, Miss., Buildings Surveyed 1892, by H. Bamber." Copies of these maps are on file at the Mississippi Unit, GUIS.

C. Station as a Responsibility of the Lighthouse Board

1. Late 19th Century Maintenance and Repairs

In the autumn of 1889, minor repairs were made to the keeper's quarters by day labor.[28]

In fiscal year 1892, workmen were sent to the island and erected a 8.5' X 10.5' brick, second-order oil house, with corrugated metal roof. The oil house was positioned about 20 feet south of the tower.

Before returning to the mainland, the workforce repaired the quarters gallery.[29]

To combat erosion caused by the October 1893 hurricane, 281 cubic yards of sand were positioned around the quarters. Coincidentally, damage caused by the wind and surf to the station was repaired.[30]

In Fiscal Year 1895, a new cistern was put up, and other repairs made to the station.[31] Two years later, workmen returned and raised the cistern and installed a new pipe to lead from the cistern into the kitchen.[32]

During Fiscal Year 1897, workmen built 240 feet of plank walkway, 6 feet in width. To enable Keeper McColl to better care for the station boat by taking it out of the water, when not in use, two davits

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28. Register of Ltrs. Recd. from the Ship Island Station by the Lighthouse Board, NA, RG 26.

29. Ibid.; Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File.

30. Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

were positioned on the wharf. They also made various other repairs to the facility.[33]

The isolation factor, in regard to communications, was eliminated at the station, in June 1898, when a telephone cable was laid connecting the facility with Biloxi.[34]

2. Two Range Lights Are Added

The Lighthouse Board, in the autumn of 1898, added two aides to navigation to the station. Known as the Ship Island South Channel Range Beacon Lights, each was a "brown, 4-pile, wooden, pyramidal" structure, covered with horizontal slats, and supported arms from which a lantern was suspended.

The front light had a red lens-lantern, positioned 28 1/2 feet above mean high water, was sited on the "southerly beach of the westerly end of Ship Island, about 850 feet south, southwesterly" from the Ship Island Lighthouse. The rear light displayed a fixed white lantern light, 40 1/2 feet above mean high water, and was on the "northerly beach on the westerly end" of the island, about 646 feet "N 3/4 W. in rear of the front light."

The range line delineated by these lights guided a vessel through the South Channel entrance into Ship Island Anchorage.[35]

3. Early 20th Century Maintenance and Repairs

In Fiscal Year 1900, a small platform was built at the base of each beacon, with a lamp locker.[36]

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33. Ibid.

34. Register of Ltrs. Recd. from the Ship Island Station by the Lighthouse Board, NA, RG 26.

35. Ibid.; Notice to Mariners, No. 148 of 1898, October 17, 1898.

36. Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File.

Workmen in Fiscal Year 1900 were sent to the island and built 1,120 feet of 2-foot wide walkway from the keeper's quarters to the range beacons and between the range beacons. Next, they built a boathouse and boatways. Before returning to the mainland, they patched a number of leaks in the tower and made other necessary repairs.[37]

In Fiscal Year 1901, it became necessary to send a crew to the island to combat continued beach erosion at the site of the 1852-53 station. The men were turned to and built a small jetty of bricks salvaged from the old tower and quarters. The jetty, positioned between the shore and old tower, was 7 feet at the base and 2 1/2 feet in height.

The workmen also repaired 125 feet of the wharf and rebuilt the T-head.[38]

The fight against beach erosion on the barrier island, however, had not been won. In Fiscal Year 1904 and again two years later, the Lighthouse Board was called on to obligate funds to curb erosions, which were again threatening the station. During the former year, 930 tons of rock ballast were positioned along the beach and in the latter 200 tons of stone along the north shore line.[39]

In mid-July 1909, District Engineer James P. Jervey visited Ship Island. On doing so, he found the station "much in need of repairs." To place it in good condition this work was needed: renew tower roof and lantern gallery; make other repairs to tower; repair dwelling; hang new gutters; build new wharf, boathouse, and fences; and repaint all buildings, both station and range beacons.

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37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.; Craighill to Lighthouse Board, April 23 and May 10, 1906, NA, RG 26, Lighthouse Correspondence, 1900-10, Ship Island.

To accomplish this work, Jervey called for a $1,400 allotment from the appropriation for Repair of Lighthouses in Fiscal Year 1910.

Among the materials called for were:

Rough pine lumber	
50 pcs. 6" x 6" x 20' wharf fence posts	$ 30.00
28 pcs. 3 x 8 x 20 stringers	11.20
125 pcs. 2 x 12 x 12 decking	34.00
10 pcs. 8 x 8 x 20 boathouse posts	10.67
4 pcs. 3 x 10 x 25 B.H. stringers	2.50
15 pcs. 2 x 6 x 10 B.H. rafters	1.50
1000 ft. 1 x 12 B.H. siding	10.00
200 ft. 1 x 3 B.H. battens	2.00
total	$101.87
Dressed pine lumber	
12 pcs. 1 1/2" x 12" x 18' steps	$ 3.24
6 pcs. 3 x 12 x 18 steps	3.24
12 pcs. 1 x 12 x 18 baseboards	2.16
25 pcs. 1/2 x 6 x 20 gal. floor	3.75
30 pcs. 3 x 4 x 20 rail	6.00
500 ft. 1 7/8 x 3 1/2 T & G flooring	5.00
200 ft. 7/8 x 3 T & G Bd. ceiling	2.00
300 ft. 1/2 x 6 ...bdg.	3.00
total	$ 28.39
Other items	
180 ft. galv. gutter 7" half round	$ 14.40
100 ft. galv. conductor 4"	9.00
4 downspouts 4" galv.	.40
6 elbow galv. 4"	.90
4 mitres galv. 7" Rt. angle	.32
50 spike gutter hooks galv.	2.00
1 lb. rivets (1000 to lb.)	.10
10 lbs. solder	2.20
1 pt. acid	.15
5000 sawn cypress shingles	19.50
50 mach bolts 1/2 x 7	1.40
200 lbs. 30d galv. nails (2 kegs)	7,00
100 lbs. 10d galv. nails (1 keg)	3.50
100 lbs. 8d galv. nails (1 keg)	3.60
25 lbs. 8d fin. nails (1/4 keg)	.65
50 lbs. 4d shingle nails (1/2 keg)	1.40
6 pr. barn door hinges	6.00
4 pr. galv. strap hinges 10"	2.40
8 shts. galv. iron No. 26, 168'	5.04

3 bbl. cement		6.75
1 bbl. lime		1.10
100 fire brick		3.00
	Total	$121.11
	Grand Total	$351.33[40]

On July 23, the Lighthouse Board allotted $1,400 to underwrite the rehabilitation of the station. By autumn the project had been accomplished by day labor and purchase of materials in the open market.[41]

4. Peter Clarisse Replaces Dan McColl as Keeper

On June 15, 1899, the Lighthouse Board, recognizing that it was a serious hardship for Keeper McColl, an amputee, to attend the two range beacons in addition to his other duties, reassigned him to the Cat Island Station. His replacement as Ship Island Keeper was Peter Clarisse.

Mrs. McColl, whose husband died at the Cat Island Station in June 1904, was interviewed by the Times-Picayune in 1922. She recalled that, in the 1880s and 90s, Ship Island was a "pleasant place." During the warm months, many persons visited the area. There were picnics and excursions. Their new quarters were neat, clean, and comfortable. Aboard the revenue cutter, which made frequent calls, there was a circulating library, and the keeper and his wife were encouraged to borrow books and periodicals.

Except in cases of distress they were not permitted to accept roomers. Her husband was particularly aware of this, because one

40. Jervey to Lighthouse Board, July 19, 1909, NA, RG 26, Lighthouse Correspondence, 1900-10, Ship Island.

41. Lighthouse Board to Jervey, July 23, 1909, NA, RG 26, Lighthouse Correspondence, 1900-10, Ship Island.

of his predecessors had been removed, because he had exchanged some soap for lye concentrate.[42]

D. Thirteen Years and Three Hurricanes

1. The Great Hurricane of 1893

During the years between 1893 and 1906, the Mississippi Sound barrier islands felt the fury of three hurricanes. The one that roared in on October 1-2, 1893, was particularly destructive of both life and property.

At the time it struck, seven vessels were lying in the Ship Island Anchorage, loading timber from lighters and barges. By the hour the winds and seas calmed, the Norwegian bark Simon (Captain Gunderson) of 734 tons, from Cape Town to load for Buenos Aires, lost her mast and rigging. The British bark Roselia Smith (Captain Hunterman) of 500 tons, from La Habana, capsized, drowning three of her crew--the mate, carpenter, and cook. The German bark Margaretis (Captain Kloster) of 1287 tons from New York City, lost two anchors and 120 fathoms of chain. The Austrian bark Annie EB, out of Santos, was wrecked, with the loss of her captain, three sailors, and two stevedores. The barge Hero, owned by Howze & Griffin of Moss Point, was lost with one man. The barge Bose, also out of Moss Point, foundered, drowning one of her crew.[43]

Keeper and Mrs. McColl, along with Ord.-Sgt. Edward Smyth, took shelter in the tower. When they returned to their quarters, they found considerable water damage.

Learning of their escape, Mrs. Laura Hinsdale dashed off a poem:

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42. Times-Picayune, Magazine Section, April 2, 1922. Accompanying the interview is a photograph of the 1853-1886 tower and quarters.

43. Daily Picayune, Oct. 5, 1893.

Brave Dan McColl, no hurricane,
With breaking waves of crested splendor,
Like mighty armies of the main,
Has ever cared the to surrender,
Firm in the post in Duty's might,
Guard thou the old Ship Island light.[44]

A Ship Island visitor, in late October, while the cleanup was underway, found that the gate to the fort was missing, having been battered down and swept away. A mound of sand, then being removed in wheelbarrows, occupied the sally port and parade. Intermixed with the sand were dead birds, sea shells, rammers, ladles, sponges, and staves. Marks on the brickwork showed that the water had stood to a depth of 5'10" on the parade, when the storm was at its height.

Up on the parapet, the force of the gale had torn the tompions out of the guns muzzles.

Outside the fort, the ordnance-sergeant's pride--123 pieces of granite, averaging 7' by 2'8" x 2'--had been scattered like cockleshells. A derrick would be required to realign them.

About 50 feet southeast of the fort rested, athwart the island, a section from the east end of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad bridge, which until the storm had spanned Biloxi Bay.

Two and a half miles east of the light station, the island for a distance of nearly three miles had been divided. The former flats were now covered, even at ebb tide, by water to a depth of four feet.[45]

2. The August 1901 Storm

On August 17, 1901, two days after the hurricane, Capt. Ernest Desporte reached Biloxi from Ship Island and reported that the

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44. Ibid.; Times-Picayune, April 2, 1922, Magazine Section. Mrs. Hinsdale's verse was published in Hymns and Legends of the Gulf.

45. Times-Picayune, Oct. 29, 1893: Root to Secretary of the Treasury, May 18, 1901, NA, RG 26, Site File, Ship Island.

western point of the island had been flooded, and the assistant surgeon in charge of the quarantine station had been compelled to evacuate his quarters and take shelter in the lighthouse. One of the two range beacons was down.

All the larger vessels laying-to in the anchorage, unlike eight years before, had been able to ride out the storm. Among these were the British steamers--Ursula Bright and Wearside; the Norwegian bark Magellan and the Norwegian ship Amerian; and the United States schooners Flora Morang, John Francis, and Gertrude Bartlett.

The sailing lighters, waiting to send their cargoes of lumber aboard ship, along with the pilot boat Chicora, had departed the anchorage before the storm arrived.

A raft of 600 pieces of squared timbers belonging to Hunter, Benn & Co. of Moss Point, to be sent aboard Ursula Bright, had broken up in the gale, and some of the timbers were recovered as far away as the Rigolets. The lighter Juniper, out of Gulfport, came ashore on Ship Island, while the lighter St. Lawrence lost her anchors and "drifted outside" Ship Island. There, she was sighted and taken in tow by the tug Pennoyer and returned to the anchorage.[46]

At the station, the storm had knocked down the rear range beacon and did other damage to the structures, including tearing shingles off the dwelling roof, knocking down gutters, and washing up plank walkways.

The district engineer, after inspecting the damage, recommended that, when the range light was rebuilt, it and its

46. Daily Picayune, Aug. 18, 1901.

companion be equipped with regular hoisting gear and five-day lens lights.[47]

The Lighthouse Board approved this proposal, and workmen were sent to the island and rehabilitated the beacons, reshingled the roof of the keeper's quarters, built about 60 feet of plank walkway, and made other minor station repairs.[48]

3. The October 1, 1906 Blow

The eye of the October 1, 1906, hurricane passed well to the east of Ship Island, but caused some damage to the station. The pyramidal structure from which the rear range fixed, white, beacon was displayed was wrecked. Until such time as it was rebuilt, the front range beacon was discontinued.

By winter, the structure had been rehabilitated and both range beacons were relit by Keeper Clarisse.[49]

47. Lighthouse Engineer, 7th & 8th District, to Lighthouse Board, Sept. 9, 1901, NA, RG 26, Lighthouse Correspondence, 1900-10, Ship Island.

48. Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26, Clipping File.

49. New Orleans Times-Democrat, Oct. 2, 1906.

IV. THE LAST SIXTY-TWO YEARS: 1910-1972

A. The Station in 1911

In 1910, the Congress abolished the Lighthouse Board and established in its place the Bureau of Lighthouses, headed by one person, who was designated Commissioner of Lighthouses. The Bureau was retained in the Department of Commerce to where it had been transferred from the Treasury Department in 1903.

An inspection report filed by Comdr. C.P. Eaton, on October 7, 1911, details the station's condition soon after the reorganization. Eaton found and noted:

Tower

Color of tower, and how produced:	White, paint.
Tower--Connected with keeper's dwelling:	By platform not covered.
Kind of stairway and steps:	Wood.
Size of glass for glazing watchroom windows:	6 lights 14" x 6 1/2-4 windows.
Number of windows in tower, and size of sash:	Tower, six windows, each double sash of four lights 8" x 10".
Number and size of doors:	One - 6 1/2" x 3 eights 1 1/2".

Lantern and Lantern Fixtures

Order or class of lantern:	4th
Polygonal with number of sides:	Polygonal, 10 sides.
Vertical or helical bars:	Vertical.
Height glazed:	3' 5/8".
Number of plates in height:	1.
In each side:	1.
Thickness and size of plates:	3' 5/8" x 2' 3 1/2" x 5/16".
Materials of which the lantern is constructed:	Iron.
Roof:	Iron.
Ventilator ball:	Yes.
Lightning-conductor spindle:	Yes.
Balustrade and outside gallery:	Yes.
Lantern doors, and how fitted:	In parapet--one.
Floors of lantern--of what materials:	Wood.
Watchroom door leading into lantern, and how fitted:	Hatch.

Ventilators

In parapet wall, or lower part of lantern:	Four in parapet.
Curtain hooks inside of lantern-- how fitted:	Inside edge of dome.

Watch Room

How fitted:	Below lantern.

Illuminating Apparatus, etc.

Kind of apparatus:	Fixed.
Intensity in candles:	208.
Name of maker:	Henry LePante.
Marks and number on apparatus:	Henry LePante a Paris.
Order of apparatus:	4th
Inside diameter of central drum:	19 11/16.
Number of panels in lens apparatus:	Four.
Number of elements in each panel of central drum of lens:	Five.
Number of prisms in each panel above central drum of lens:	Five.
Number of prisms in each panel below central drum of lens:	Three.
Describe the pedestal:	Iron.
Lens protector--Is there one:	Yes.
Kind:	Linen.
If colored light, how is color produced?	By red chimney.

Lamps, Burners, etc.

Description of lamp	
Order:	4th.
Kind of illuminant:	oil
Number of wicks, or mantels, to burner:	1.
Diameter of outside wicks:	1 1/2".
Number of spare lamps at station:	two.
Number of spare lamp burners at station:	None.

Closets in Tower

How fitted and used:	One in watchroom.

Oil House or Room

Inside dimensions:	11' 7" x 9' 2" x 8' 6".
Materials of which built:	Brick.

Closets and Storerooms

Where placed, how fitted, and used:	Two closets and pantry in dwelling.

Dwellings for Keepers

Color:	White, green blinds.
Materials of which built:	Wood.
Number of rooms:	Four rooms, kitchen, storeroom, two closets.
Number of keepers:	One.
Outhouses:	Three--chickenhouse, toolhouse, privy.
Coloring:	White
Paths or walks on the premises:	Brick yard.
Area susceptible of profitable cultivation:	None.
Area cultivated or prepared for cultivation:	None.
Stove, maker:	Garland.
Stove, size:	No. 7.
Sink, size:	16" x 27"
Pump, size:	No. 3.

Water for Drinking, etc.

How procured:	Cistern and driven well.
Quality:	Good.
Quantity ample or not for the station at all seasons of the year:	Ample.
Liable or not to be injured by the inroads of storm tides and seas:	Not liable to injury.
If rain water in tanks or cisterns, what precautions have been taken to insure its purity?	Cistern has top.
Capacity of cisterns, and where placed:	Cistern 23 1/2' Stave 9'.
Construction materials:	Wood.
Depth of well:	18'.
Diameter of well:	3" pipe.
Lined:	Pipe.
Water obtained by pump or bucket:	Pump.
Distance from keeper's dwelling:	On porch of dwelling.

Landing, Wharf, Boathouse, and Road to the Lighthouse

Description:	Boathouse on west side at end of wharf; the wharf 6 feet wide; 252 feet long to gate; 100 feet at inner end in sand.

Distance and direction of landing from lighthouse: Westerly about 270 feet.[1]

B. Improvements to and Maintenance and Repair of the Station During the Pre-Coast Guard Years

Although the reorganization of 1910 may have improved administrative efficiency, it has compounded the task of the researcher. The Lighthouse Bureau's annual reports are much less detailed and comprehensive than the Lighthouse Board's. And as the years progressed they became increasingly so. By the 1930s, they are all but useless to a researcher studying a particular station. Coincidentally, there was a decentralization of authority to the districts, and a record's management program which resulted in retention of only a limited quantity of documentary material in the central files. Consequently, information on maintenance and improvements to the station subsequent to 1910 is limited.

In the winter of 1917-18, the four-pile rear beacon, destroyed by the July 5, 1916, hurricane was rebuilt at a cost of $1,700. The beacon at that time was described as "a pyramidal slatted structure on a platform 16 feet high; the whole painted brown."[2]

Nine years later, in Fiscal Year 1927, a workforce spent several weeks on the island repairing damage and cleaning up debris to the station caused by the hurricane of September 18, 1926.[3]

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1. Description of Ship Island Light Station, NA, RG 26, Site File.

2. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lighthouses to the Secretary of Commerce for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1918 (Washington, 1918), p. 43; Recommendation for Repairing Aids to Navigation, Ship Island, Dec. 26, 1917, NA, RG 26, Bureau of Lighthouses, Corres. File.

3. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lighthouses to the Secretary of Commerce for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1927 (Washington, 1927), p. 26.

On July 22, 1928, the east channel range light was discontinued, being replaced by an acelylene gas buoy. Since this called for less responsibility on the part of the keeper, his pay was reduced by $60 per year.

Meanwhile, to protect the station and south range beacon sites against the encroaching seas that had accelerated following the 1926 hurricane, 300 tons of riprap were positioned by contractor N.W. Alley of Pascagoula.[4]

On the evening of June 3, 1929, the tower, during a thunder storm, was struck by a bolt of lightning. Inspecting the damage, the keeper saw that three or four weatherboards had been knocked off the tower on each of its four sides, near its mid-point, and two panes of glass in the lantern were cracked. The damage was promptly repaired.[5]

During the autumn of 1930, electricity was introduced to the station. This resulted in changing the lantern from oil wick to electric incandescent, and its characteristic from fixed red to "occulting red, 10 second (light 5 second eclipse 5 second)," and boosting its candlepower from 150 to 200.

The new lighting system was powered by a 32-volt kerosene electric generator and storage battery. Such an arrangement precluded running the generator at night.

Coincidentally, the keeper's quarters were wired for electricity provided with energy from the same source.[6]

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4. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lighthouses to the Secretary of Commerce for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1928 (Washington, 1928), p. 28.

5. Supt. of Lighthouses to Commissioner of Lighthouses, June 18, 1929, NA, RG 26, Bureau of Lighthouses, Corres. File.

6. Supt. of Lighthouses to Commissioner of Lighthouses, Oct. 14, 1930, NA, RG 26, Bureau of Lighthouses, Corres. File.

C. Redefining the Reservation Boundary

On February 15, 1927, President Calvin Coolidge by Executive Order transferred to the Department of Commerce for use as a lighthouse reservation:

> All of that portion of the Ship Island Military Reservation . . . bounded on the North by the low water shoreline of Ship Island; bounded on the East by a true North and South line approximately 400 feet East of the center of the present lighthouse tower and indicated by two stone monuments on said boundary marked "USLHE," which said tower is located in latitude 30° 12' 48" North and longitude 88° 57' 56" West; bounded on the South by low water shoreline of Ship Island, and bounded on the West by a true North and South line 1400 feet West of and parallel with the East line hereinbefore described.[7]

Some two years later, to enable the financially-strapped War Department to secure funds to meet certain of its needs from sale of surplus real estate, as authorized by the act of March 12, 1926, Congress enacted and President Coolidge signed into law on March 4, 1929, legislation further effecting the lighthouse reservations. The Secretary of Commerce by this act was authorized to transfer jurisdiction and control of so much of the reservation as was deemed surplus to lighthouse purposes to the War Department. The land transferred, along with the remainder of the Ship Island Military Reservation, would then be appraised and disposed of in accordance with the act of March 12, 1926.[8]

The Lighthouse Bureau accordingly transferred to the War Department all the land constituting the Lighthouse Reservation excepting two tracts. Tract A, containing about 70 acres, was bounded by a line beginning at a point on the north shore-line of the island, said point being 400 feet east of a line passing through the lighthouse; then south

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7. Executive Order of Feb. 15, 1927, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th District Files.

8. Public Law No. 1022, 70th Congress, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th District Files.

2,400 feet, more or less, to a point on the south shore-line; then west along the south shore-line 1,400 feet, more or less; then north 2,000 feet, more or less, to the north shore-line; and then east and northeast, along the north shore-line, 1,800 feet, more or less, to the place of beginning.

Tract B, measuring about 30 acres, was bounded by a line beginning at a point on the south shore, said site being and bearing west from a north-south axis passing through the Ship Island Light 3,800 feet; then running northwesterly, northerly, and northeasterly, along the shore-line 3,800 feet more or less, to a point on the north shore of the island, said point being 3,640 west of the Ship Island light; and then south 1,100 feet, more or less, to the place of beginning.[9]

The retention of Tract B was dictated by establishment of the "Ship Island West Point Light" on June 1, 1928. This light had been mandated when the Corps of Engineers had dredged a new deepwater channel into Gulfport skirting the island's western extremity.[10]

D. Manning the Station

In 1903, the ordnance-sergeant's quarters, which had been vacated by the Army, upon abolition of that position in that year, were relocated by the Public Health Service to a new site one-fourth mile west of the tower. Then, in 1910, they were abandoned by the Public Health people, when the anchorage inspection station was discontinued.[11]

In the summer of 1918, Keeper Charisse sighted a cutter from the Gulfport Naval Station. The craft was being buffeted by high waves,

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9. Morgan to Secretary of War, Aug. 15, 1929, and Hurley to Secretary of Commerce, Aug. 26, 1929, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th District Files.

10. Lamphier to Commissioner of Lighthouses, Feb. 7, 1929, Ship Island Light Station, 8th District Files.

11. Clarisse to Inspector, Aug. 12, 1912, NA, RG 26, Bureau of Lighthouses, Corres. File.

as it was driven out to sea by strong winds. Unmindful of his personal safety, Charisse successfully went to the sailors' assistance. After the ten bluejackets were landed on the island, the keeper provided them shelter at the station and telephoned the naval facility, which sent a motorboat to return them to Gulfport.[12]

E. Ship Island Light Station Keepers are Rotated

Upon the June 1932 retirement of Keeper T.N. Clarisse, a new group of lights was established. It included the Ship Island Lighthouse; Gulfport Channel Range Lights (on Ship Island); Ship Island West Point Light; Gulfport Channel Lights Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10; Cat Island Shoal Light; and Cat Island Light. Fred Shuman, keeper of the Gulfport Channel Lights and C.M. Stone, assistant keeper, were placed in charge of the 12 lights. Coincidentally, a second assistant keeper's position was authorized for the group. Hereinafter, the three keepers would alternate in their assignments to Ship Island.[13]

When Commissioner George R. Putnam sought to reduce the positions by one, Eighth District Superintendent E.S. Lamphier won his argument for three keepers by pointing out that it was 14 nautical miles between the Ship Island Lighthouse and Cat Island and 11 miles from Ship Island to Gulfport; twelve lights were a large number; if the keepers were all stationed on Ship Island, they would be isolated and unable to see all the lights; the Ship Island generators were operated by kerosene and the energy drained from a storage battery; and in foul weather, with winds from the north, it was impossible to land on Ship Island.[14]

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12. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lighthouses to the Secretary of Commerce for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1919 (Washington, 1919), p. 62.

13. Lamphere to Commissioner, June 3, 1932, NA, RG 26, General Correspondence 1911-39, Ship Island, File 1062-E.

14. Lamphier to Commissioner, July 2, 1932, NA, RG 26, General Correspondence 1911-39, Ship Island, File 1062-E.

Each keeper, when pulling his tour of duty on Ship Island, was permitted to be accompained by his family.[15]

F. Lighthouse Service is Merged into the Coast Guard

In 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, under the Reorganization Act of that year, in another of those moves "in the interest of economy and efficiency" that aids to navigation had gone through on numerous occasions in the past, abolished the Lighthouse Service and incorporated its activities into the United States Coast Guard.[16]

G. September 18-19, 1947, Hurricane

On Thursday morning, September 18, 1947, C.E. May, the manager employed by Joe Graham Post to operate its restaurant, bathhouse, and other Ship Island facilities, took the boat to Gulfport. He planned to return later in the day to evacuate three of his employees--Eugene and Annie Seals and Howard Pate. The hurricane that was hammering southern Florida now changed directions, and bore rapidly in on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. Storm warnings were hoisted and May cancelled his return trip.

Out on the island, as the winds began to howl and the surf to boom and rise, the Seals and Pate fled into the fort, taking with them what they believed to be sufficient food and water to last them through the storm. They found refuge in a guardroom.

On Friday morning, the surf began to surge through the sally port and embrasures. Water rose so rapidly that the trio were compelled to evacuate the guardroom and seek shelter in a barbette tier service

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15. Lamphier to Commissioner, Jan. 9, 1934, NA, RG 26, General Correspondence, 1911-39, Ship Island, File 1062-E.

16. Francis Ross Holland, America's Lighthouses: Their Illustrated History Since 1719 (Brattlesboro, 1972), p. 38.

magazine. When they returned to the guardroom to secure their food, they saw that the drum on which it had been placed had been overturned. All that they were able to salvage were a few tomatoes, seven eggs, and a loaf of bread.

The three spent the next 24 hours huddled in the service magazine. To fry the eggs and brew coffee, they burned old magazines and newspapers.

By Saturday morning, the 20th, the surf and winds had subsided sufficiently to enable the Seals and Pate to leave the fort and make their way eastward to the lighthouse keeper's quarters. Keeper Brooks was glad to see them. Though badly battered, the lighthouse tower and Brooks' dwelling had survived the storm. The quarters had lost its porch and "all outside attachments leaving only the four rooms." The tower had been undermined, the floor washed out, and the generators put out of commission. Keeper Brooks, however, by that evening was able to rig up and light an "ordinary lamp" from the tower.

On Sunday afternoon, Concessionaire May, accompanied by Seaman 1st Class Howard Stone and E.L. King, reached Ship Island. A grim sight awaited them. Of the Joe Graham Post improvements, all that remained were a water tank and light poles. All the wires were gone and large tufts of "grass waves from the top of each pole." The buildings and equipment were gone, and the adjacent dunes had been nearly leveled, all that remained were "a few slight mounds."

May estimated that the loss of the improvements belonging to Joe Graham Post and his equipment and inventory at $48,000.[17]

Eighth District Headquarters moved promptly to repair damage inflicted on the aids to navigation from Mobile westward to the Mississippi

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17. Gulfport Daily Herald, Sept. 22, 1947.

River passes. Though all the towers had survived the blow with little damage, practically all lighted buoys had been extinguished or displaced. The most seriously affected channels were those leading to Mobile, Pascagoula, Biloxi, and Gulfport. Aids in the Intercoastal Waterway had been damaged extensively.

By daybreak on September 20, all tenders based at Mobile and New Orleans were underway and en route to their assigned areas to repair the damaged aids, and to make "temporary establishments sufficient to make navigation safe." Within a week of the day that the hurricane struck the Gulf Coast, "all deficiencies" in buoyage in the Pensacola, Mobile, Pascagoula, Ship Island, and Gulfport Channels had been corrected, and work was progressing on repair of the minor light structures or the temporary substitition for them of lighted buoys.

Damage to light stations in the track of the hurricane consisted of loss of piers, walkways, porches, cisterns, and the underpinnings of dwellings and other buildings. Salt water flooding machinery rooms had stalled generators and put storage batteries out of operation, and at many stations standby equipment had been placed in service. Of the Eighth District stations, Ship Island had suffered the most extensive damage.[18]

H. 1886 Tower Downgraded to Day Beacon

In the weeks following the September 1947 hurricane damage to the station was repaired. In 1949, the United States Coast Pilot for the Gulf Coast reported that the Ship Island light, 73 feet above water, is displayed from a white, square, pyramidal tower.[19] During the ensuing winter, the light was automated, the keeper reassigned, and the quarters dismantled and removed to Biloxi. In announcing this action, the Notice

18. Coast Guard Bulletin (Washington, 1947), Vol. 3, No. 29.

19. United States Coast Pilot, Gulf Coast, Key West to Rio Grande (3rd Edition) (Washington, 1949), p. 290.

to Mariners, published by the Navy Hydrographic Office, reported on March 11, 1950, the Ship Island light is now "unwatched," and no longer would storm warnings be displayed at the light.[20]

Then, on March 11, 1957, the light tower was further downgraded, when the Coast Guard relocated the light onto the superstructure of the Gulfport Channel Outer Range Rear Light. This change was dictated by a shift in the channel alignment. The latter was redesignated the Ship Island (Gulfport Channel Outer Rear Range) Light, and the lantern was now displayed from a 67-foot frame tower. The 1886 tower was retained as a daybeacon for navigational purposes. Manley Cospelish, a charter boat operator, along with other watermen, valued the structure as a landmark for boats plying Mississippi Sound and, more particularly, those returning from the Gulf through Ship Island Pass.

Positioned a short distance west of the tower, as it had been since the early 1930s, was the front range light for the Gulfport Channel, displayed from a black square tower on piles, at a height of 35 feet.[21]

I. Joe Graham Post Fails to Gain Unlimited Access to Lighthouse Reservation

In February 1959, a representative of Gulfport's Joe Graham American Legion Post contacted the Coast Guard and requested permission for unlimited access to lighthouse Tract A, in passing from one portion of the Legion property to the other. The Coast Guard rejected this request, because "it could possibly invite further encroachment on the

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20. Notice to Mariners, Nos. 1 to 26, March 11, 1950, Notice No. 1482; Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald, June 28, 1972.

21. Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald, June 28, 1972; Notice to Mariners, Nos. 1-26, for 1957, Bulletin Nos. 1139 and 1657; United States Coast Pilot, Gulf Coast, Puerto Rico, and Virgin Islands (Washington, 1958), p. 111.

Coast Guard structures and possible defacement or damage to those aids to navigation presently installed."[22]

When the Joe Graham Post sought to enlist the support of Mississippi Senator John Stennis in their problem, Coast Guard Commandant A.C. Richmond responded that his service maintained two automatic aids to marine navigation on that portion of the island. With one light on the north shore and one on the south, the area between was criss-crossed by power and automatic control cables. Consequently, the Coast Guard was in no position to relinquish this tract in the foreseeable future.[23]

J. Philip Duvic's Use and Rehabilitation of the Property

Meanwhile, on October 11, 1959, the Coast Guard had granted Philip M. Duvic of New Orleans and Pass Christian a revocable permit "to use the Light Station property on Ship Island. . . for private use and occupancy for general recreation purposes." Among the licensee's obligations were to maintain the property in good repair and to pay a fee of $100 per year. The special use permit was to last for a period not to exceed five years. This was a standard procedure adopted by the Commerce Department "to prevent unmanned Coast Guard property from being vandalized and consequent depreciation of value of the property and improvements."[24]

Duvic, who kept a powerboat at a Gulfport marina, on trips out into the gulf to the Chandeleur fishing grounds had long been intrigued by the abandoned tower. Visiting the site, he saw that the 75-year-old structure was suffering from vandalism and lack of maintenance. It was

22. Evans to Chief, Civil Engineering Section, April 25, 1960, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th District Files.

23. Richmond to Stennis, Jan. 6, 1960, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th Dist. Files.

24. Revocable License, Licensee Philip M. Duvic, Sept. 25, 1959, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th Dist. Files.

love at first sight, and Duvic contacted Coast Guard authorities to see if he could purchase and rehabilitate the tower and improve the adjacent grounds. This led to the special use permit.[25]

During his first 12 months as licensee, Duvic made a number of improvements to the property. Projects undertaken and completed were: (a) the interior of the tower was cleaned up, new weatherboarding positioned on the east elevation, two wooden doors built and hung, a steel door fabricated and installed at the east entranceway, rotten planks in the walkways replaced, broken sash and windows renewed, and the cistern and plumbing flushed and cleaned; (b) nine barge loads of riprap were positioned to form a breakwater and small boat anchorage; (c) a dragline was engaged and a 6-foot channel dug into the rock breakwater; (d) a pile wharf, 60 feet long and 8 wide, was built inside the breakwater; (e) a 110-volt A.C. diesel generator was installed in a 12-by-20-foot metal shed; (f) the sanitary lines were cleaned out and the cesspool repaired; and (g) a two-way radio communication set was installed linking the lighthouse tower and the fort with Gulfport.[26]

In 1961, Duvic remodeled the interior of the tower. On the ground floor he installed a galley and head, the second deck became the ladies' dormitory, the third deck the men's dormitory, and the fourth or top deck was known as the honeymoon suite. The ladies' dormitory had a large picture window in its south elevation, while the honeymoon suite's dimensions were 17' by 17'.[27]

In the summer of 1964, the Coast Guard proposed not to renew Duvic's lease. Instead, the property, excepting Range Front Light ACLL No. 6774, a black square structure on piles 35 feet above water on the

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25. Telephone interview, Duvic with Bearss, Aug. 25, 1980.

26. Ibid.; Duvic to Comdr., Eighth Dist., Sept. 23, 1960, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th Dist. Files.

27. Telephone interview, Duvic with Bearss, Aug. 25, 1980.

north shore; the Range Rear Light ACLL, a black slatted day mark on white skeleton steel tower, on shore 655 yards, 144 degrees from the front light, 67 feet above water; and the 1886 wooden tower, adjoining the front range light, would be declared surplus.[28]

The proposal to dispose of the excess real estate was referred to the House of Representatives' Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries for review on February 11, 1965. Meanwhile, the Coast Guard notified General Services Administration that the 1886 tower had been disestablished as a day beacon and was available for transfer off-site.[29]

Because of the time lag, it was determined to extend Duvic's license until May 31, 1965.

On May 5, it was announced that proposals would be opened, on the 25th, by the Coast Guard, in the New Orleans Custom House, for sale of the day beacon tower. Prospective purchasers were informed that the structure was to be sold for removal from the site, and that the successful bidder must complete this operation within 90 calendar days subsequent to the United States' acceptance of his proposal. Bidders were advised that the structure was under permit through the end of the month.[30]

Residents of the Mississippi Gulf Coast protested this decision which would result in removal of the tower. This troubled Duvic, because he had become closely attached to the structure, and even today (August 1980) considers his association with the site the high point in his life. While on the island, Duvic and his guests had twice employed the marine telephone (two-way radio) in coastal rescue operations--once to

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28. Craik to Commandant, USCG, July 30, 1964, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th Dist. Files.

29. Trumble to Cmdr. Eighth Dist., March 15, 1965, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th Dist. Files.

30. Announcement of Sale, Ship Island Day Beacon, May 5, 1965, Ship Island Light Station, USCG, 8th Dist. Files.

summon a pilot to take a freighter, standing by offshore, into Gulfport, and then to go to the assistance of a airplane that had crashed a short distance off the island, killing one of the occupants.

Duvic therefore bid $250 for the tower. His was the only proposal, and he continued to use the site as his camp, although the Coast Guard transferred the property to the General Services Administration.[31]

K. Hurricane Camille Batters the Tower

Killer Hurricane Camille, which roared in from the Gulf of Mexico, on the evening of August 17, 1969, sent a wall of water sweeping over the barrier island. Although the tower lost the lower 12 feet of its weather board siding and had one of the four concrete piers cracked, it survived this blow as it had every tropical storm since 1886.

Philip Duvic and his family were at their Pass Christian home when the hurricane struck. They were fortunate to escape with their lives, but lost their home. Because of this economic and personal loss, Duvic, aware of plans to include the tower and lighthouse reservation in the proposed Gulf Islands National Seashore, made no effort to repair the damage caused to the station by Camille. His further visits to the site were limited to efforts to salvage personal property which had survived the winds and surf.[32]

L. Vandals Burn Tower

Vandals, within less than three years, accomplished what storms and strife had failed to do. On Tuesday evening, June 27, 1972, personnel at the Open Gulf Watch Radio Network sighted and reported the tower afire. Fanned by high winds, flames quickly reduced to charred

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31. Telephone interview, Duvic with Bearss, Aug. 25, 1980.

32. Ibid.; Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald, June 28, 1972. The 35-foot black, square tower, which was wrecked by Camille, the Coast Guard replaced with a steel tower to support the range light.

wood and smoke-blackened concrete footings and metalwork the 86-year-old landmark. Friends of the tower were heartsick, because coincidentally measures were far advanced to complete necessary paperwork for transfer of the tower from GSA to the recently established Gulf Islands National Seashore.[33]

33. Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald, June 23, 1972.

APPENDIX A

Keepers and Assistant Keepers, Ship Island Light Station, 1854-1932

NAME	POSITION	SALARY	DATE OF APPOINTMENT	HOW VACATED	DATE VACATED
Edward Havens	Keeper	$500	Dec. 25, 1856	deceased	
Mrs. Mary Havens	Keeper	500	June 29, 1855	deceased	
John Reid	Keeper	500	Nov. 25, 1856	deceased	
F.W. Spencer	Keeper	500	March 2, 1859	resigned	April 24, 1860
Munson Wilmot	Keeper	500	April 24, 1860		
Frederic Sheds	Keeper	500	Dec. 15, 1862	removed	
John C. Goodwin	Keeper	500	Feb. 13, 1863	resigned	Oct. 16, 1863
Jacob Jones	Keeper	500	Oct. 16, 1863	resigned	Jan. 19, 1866
William Stack	Keeper	640	Jan. 19, 1866	removed	Oct. 20, 1871
Ord.-Sgt. Robert McVey	Keeper	640	Oct. 20, 1871	removed	April 8, 1872
J.R. Todd	Keeper	640	April 8, 1872	removed	Aug. 12, 1872
Ord.-Sgt. James McCabe	Keeper	640	Sept. 2, 1872	removed	May 25, 1877
Daniel McColl	Keeper	640	Sept. 2, 1877	transferred	June 15, 1899
Peter Clarisse	Keeper	680	June 10, 1899	retired	June 30, 1932
T.M. Clarisse	Keeper				
Joseph Havens	Assistant	$300	May 10, 1854	declined	
Christian Ladnier	Assistant	300	Aug. 30, 1854	deceased	
John Reid	Assistant	300	June 29, 1856	promoted	
William Stanley	Assistant	300	Nov. 25, 1856		
Noel Buret	Assistant	300	Feb. 1, 1859	resigned	Sept. 13, 1860
W. Boslick	Assistant	300	Sept. 13, 1860		
Peter Richter	Assistant	300	Dec. 15, 1862	removed	
Thomas Pawley	Assistant	400	Feb. 13, 1863	resigned	Oct. 25, 1867
Josiah B. Newman	Assistant	400	Oct. 25, 1867	deceased	Jan. 18, 1868
Lorenzi Morechi	Assistant	400	Jan. 16, 1868	resigned	March 9, 1868
Joseph Florence	Assistant	400	March 9, 1868	resigned	April 13, 1868
James Burns	Assistant	400	April 13, 1868	resigned	April 13, 1869
Joseph Lawrence	Assistant	400	April 13, 1869	resigned	Sept. 7, 1870
Thomas Everead	Assistant	400	Sept. 7, 1870	removed	Sept. 5, 1871
Pontus Petriniz	Assistant	400	Sept. 5, 1871	deserted	Dec. 18, 1871
Charles Briggs	Assistant	400	Dec. 18, 1871	removed	April 8, 1872
James Cosgrove	Assistant	400	April 8, 1872	unable to qualify	April 23, 1872
Alexander Cockran	Assistant	400	April 23, 1872	resigned	Aug. 12, 1872
Alexander McNally	Assistant	400	Aug. 12, 1872	removed	Nov. 29, 1872
John Griffin	Assistant	400	Jan. 13, 1873	removed	Aug. 24, 1874
Charles C. Kennedy	Assistant	400	Sept. 29, 1874	resigned	Feb. 8, 1875
Daniel McColl	Assistant	400	Feb. 8, 1875	promoted	June 2, 1877
Bernard M. Campbell	Assistant	400	June 2, 1877	resigned	Oct. 2, 1877
James G. Plunkett	Assistant	400	Oct. 2, 1877	resigned	Jan. 17, 1878
Frank P. Ross	Assistant	400	March 12, 1878	office abolished	June 22, 1880

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ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE I

The Brick 45-foot Ship Island Lighthouse and Brick Keepers' Quarters. This lighthouse was lit in November 1853 and served as the light station until September 1886. Courtesy National Archives, file 26-LG-30-1.



PLATE II

New Ship Island Light Station, September 1, 1886. The frame tower lighthouse was lit for the first time on August 28, 1886. The structure east of the tower is the frame keeper's quarters and the frame structure west of the tower is the ordnance-sergeant's quarters. On the front porch of the keeper's quarters is Keeper Dan McColl, who had his left leg amputated in 1869. Courtesy National Archives, file 26-LG-39-2B.


Ship Island. 1 Sept. '86 -
8th Dist. Photog. [11 S.] filed 25 Jan. '00 -

PLATE III

Ship Island Light Station, looking from the Gulf of Mexico across Ship Island toward Ship Island Anchorage and Mississippi Sound. Note that the tower has been sheathed, so this photograph postdates December 1886. Courtesy National Archives, file 26-LG-39-2A.

8th Dist. Photos

Ship Island Lt. Sta

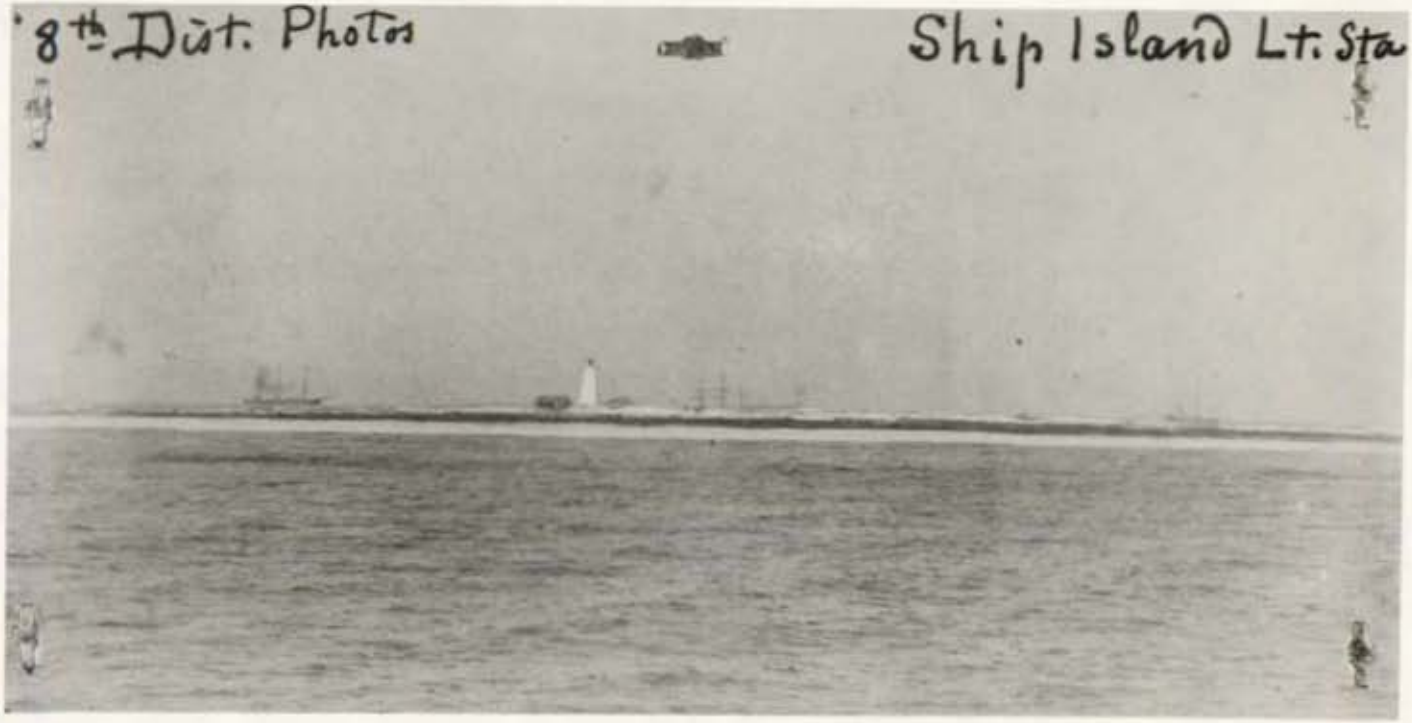


PLATE IV

Ship Island Light Station, circa 1896. View of station from the southeast, with the keeper's quarters and cistern in the foreground. Note ships lying at anchor in the Ship Island Anchorage. Courtesy National Archives, file 26-LG-39-3A.



PLATE V

Ship Island Light Station, circa 1896. View of the station taken from the southeast. The keeper's quarters, lighthouse, and ordnance-sergeant's quarters are in the foreground, while in the background are the frame buildings and wharf used by Quarantine Station. Courtesy National Archives, file 26-LG-39-3B.



PLATE VI

Ship Island Light Station, circa 1896. View of the station taken from the northeast, the keeper's quarters are in the foreground. Courtesy National Archives, file 26-LG-39-4.



PLATE VII

Ship Island Light Station, circa 1896. View of north elevations of keeper's quarters and lighthouse. Keeper McColl and his wife and dog are on a varanda of the quarters. Courtesy National Archives, file 26-LG-39-5.



PLATE VIII

Ship Island Light Station, circa 1905. View of north elevations of keeper's quarters and lighthouse from the wharf. Note that ordnance-sergeant's quarters have been relocated (1903) and that a shed has been erected northeast of the keeper's quarters. Courtesy National Archives, file 77-F-84-46-1076.



PLATE IX

Ship Island Light Station, circa 1927. The wharf and boathouse have been damaged by the hurricane of September, 18, 1926. Courtesy National Archives, file 26-LG-39-6A.



PLATE X

Ship Island Light Station, March 22, 1960. Aerial photograph of lighthouse, wharf, and range front light. Note the beach erosion. Courtesy of U.S. Coast Guard Eighth District, file 8CGD-032260-01.



THE SHIP ISLAND QUARANTINE STATION

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THE SHIP ISLAND QUARANTINE STATION: THE NATION'S FIRST

I. THE NATIONAL BOARD OF HEALTH AND THE STATION

A. Dr. Woodworth's Campaign

In 1879-80 Ship Island became the site of the United States' first national quarantine station. Three years before, in 1876, the nation's centennial year, the International Medical Congress met in Philadelphia, and Surgeon-General John M. Woodworth of the Marine-Hospital Service presented a paper describing the need for a national quarantine system. Among the conclusions he advanced were: the need for supervising ocean travel to secure satisfactory sanitary conditions; the importance of a system of port sanitation; the necessity for the inspection and detention, when required, of passengers and crews of vessels from infected ports; the need of prompt and authoritative information relative to prevalance of diseases such as yellow fever and cholera in foreign ports; and the necessity for international cooperation in the control of contagious diseases.

During the months following the Congress, Dr. Woodworth, whose remarks were will received, began maturing plans for a national system of maritime quarantine. He believed that efforts must be focused toward securing a more uniform system of inspection of arriving vessels, the medical examination of passengers and crews, and a shorter period of quarantine detention. Woodworth considered detention of a ship from an infected port, whether sickness existed aboard or not, as unjustifiable beyond the known period of incubations of the disease for which quarantine was to be enforced.[1]

World health conditions in the late 1870s and the continued failure by the United States Treasury Department to enforce the authority

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1. Ralph C. Williams, The United States Public Health Service, 1798-1950 (Washington, 1951), p. 73.

in quarantine matters it had possessed since 1799 caused Dr. Woodworth to campaign vigorously for action in developing an effective quarantine system to be supervised at the national level. Then, in the late summer of 1877, a severe yellow fever outbreak caused thousands of deaths in the Mississippi Valley. Taking cognizance of this and influenced by Dr. Woodworth's writings and lobbying, Congress on April 29, 1878, enacted "An Act to prevent the introduction of contagious or infectious diseases into the United States."

Dr. Woodworth, encouraged by this success, organized a yellow fever commission in 1878, which traveled throughout the south gathering information regarding the epidemics that had plagued that region. The commission's work was reported by representatives of the Marine-Hospital Service to the American Public Health Association.

More important, encouraged by the act of 1878, Dr. Woodworth planned to develop a national quarantine service. Unfortunately, early in 1879, Dr. Woodworth died. He was succeeded as Surgeon General by Dr. John B. Hamilton, who likewise concerned himself with the details through which he hoped to implement the quarantine act.[2]

B. Congress Responds to a Need

Consequently, on March 3, 1879, President Rutherford B. Hayes signed into law "an act to prevent the introduction of infectious and contagious diseases into the United States and to establish a National Board of Health." By a second act, passed three months later, Congress, instead of assigning quarantine duties directly to the Board of Health, authorized it:

> To co-operate with, and, as far as it lawfully may, to aid State and municipal boards of health in the execution and enforcement of the rules and regulations of such boards to prevent the introduction of contagious and infectious diseases

2. Ibid., pp. 74-6.

into the United States from foreign countries and into one State from another.[3]

Employing monies appropriated by the act of June 2, the Board undertook a sanitary survey of the Nation's various maritime ports from Portland, Maine, to the Rio Grande, with a view to ascertain what might be necessary to give efficiency to their quarantine machinery." Data compiled by the Board documented that an effective quarantine required: (a) a steam boarding vessel with boats and crews ready to convey the inspecting officer to the quarantine anchorage, where suspected vessels could be detained until released; (b) an isolation hospital where patients can be treated by competent physicians; (c) a lazaretto for accommodation of persons not sick but under observation; (d) officers' quarters; (e) a warehouse of sufficient dimensions to store cargoes from infected vessels, when it became necessary to discharge the cargo to permit disinfecting and cleansing the holds; (f) a wharf or wharves at which cargo could be landed; and (g) boats, etc., for administration purposes.[4]

It was apparent to those concerned that it would be financially impossible for the Board to establish a thoroughly equipped quarantine station at each of the many exposed ports not protected by State or municipal regulations or where they were adequately enforced. To solve this dilemma, the Board profited by the experiences of the Portuguese, French, and British, especially the latter.

Parliament had provided that all vessels, not having infectious diseases on board but not furnished with clean bills of health, arriving in the United Kingdom, and coming from "the Mediterranean Sea or from West Barbary on the Atlantic Ocean shall perform quarantine in Standgate Creek or Milford Haven, and nowhere else." In addition, Parliament had

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3. Annual Report of the National Board of Health for Fiscal Year 1882 (Washington, 1883), p. 18.

4. Ibid., pp. 19-20.

ordered that, if a plague broke out aboard any vessel bound for the British Isles, she must proceed to some lazaretto in the Mediterranean, if south of Cape St. Vincent, or, if to the northward thereof to Milford Haven, there to perform quarantine.[5]

Here, then, was a practicable method for executing the duties prescribed by the acts of March 3 and June 2 to prevent introduction of infectious diseases into the United States at a trifling expense. This could, the Board decided, be done by providing three or four refuge stations, where a good anchorage could be obtained, at such a distance from the shipping lanes to insure "perfect isolation, and thus avoid the risk of infecting other vessels." To such stations local health officials would be invited to send all infected vessels liable to quarantine, at the ports and harbors for which they were responsible. It was estimated that such a station could be established and placed in operation for about $30,000.

There was one problem, however; the act of June 2 did not invest the Board with authority to erect buildings or to acquire real estate. Upon being apprised of this, Congress enacted legislation approved by President Hayes, on July 9, 1879, providing that the

> Board of Health shall have power, when they may deem it necessary, . . . as a means of preventing the importation of contagious or infectious diseases into the United States, or into one State from another, to erect temporary quarantine buildings and to acquire, on behalf of the United States, titles to real estate for that purpose, or to rent houses. . . .

In accordance with provisions of this act, the Board, having secured the approval of Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman, proceeded to erect on Ship Island, with consent of the Secretary of War, a quarantine station. Before measures could be inaugurated to erect and man corresponding structures at two other desirable sites--Sapelo Sound,

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5. Ibid., pp. 20-1.

on the Georgia coast, and in Hampton Roads--Fiscal Year 1880 ended, and action had to be deferred, before the allotted funds could be obligated.[6]

C. Station is Established

1. Site is Selected

A.N. Bell, an inspector for the National Board of Health, spent the last ten days of September, 1879, reconnoitering the area east of New Orelans looking for a favorable site for the Nation's first national quarantine station. The 26th was spent at Ship Island. Bell found an "abundance of water and good anchorage within easy boarding distance of the whole north side of the island." At its west end, opposite the brick lighthouse, deep water extended to within several hundred feet of shore. Here, had formerly stood the quartermaster wharf to which deep-draft vessels had tied-up during the Civil War. The wharf had been destroyed by storms and teredoes, but the site was favorable for construction of a replacement and a warehouse. Between the light station and the masonry fort were the abandoned post quarters, several of which could be rehabilitated at slight expense as housing for stevedores.

At the lagoon, 4 miles east of the lighthouse, Bell found a desirable area for location of the hospital and officers' quarters.

Upon returning to New Orleans and submitting his report, Inspector Bell recommended Ship Island as the site of the Gulf Coast Quarantine Station. Measures should be promptly taken to provide it "with all the paraphenalia necessary to a complete establishment, fitted for the care of naval as well as mercantile vessels."[7]

Acting in the affirmative on Bell's report, the National Board of Health placed Dr. Samuel M. Bemiss, a member of the Board, in

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6. Ibid., pp. 21-2.

7. Bell to Turner, Oct. 9, 1879, found in Annual Report of the National Board of Health for 1879 (Washington, 1879), pp. 467-68.

charge of establishing and manning the Ship Island Quarantine Station. Dr. Bemiss, in turn, delegated immediate inspection and approval of the station development contract and oversight of the construction phase of the project to Capt. William H. Heuer of the Corps of Engineers.[8]

Before beginning construction, the Board of Health requested and received permission from the War Department to occupy two areas, as shown on the attached plat of Ship Island, for a quarantine station.[9]

Subsequently, the Board received authority to select and set apart "a portion of the ground on the south side of the lagoon. . . sufficient for the erection of a building or buildings for the care of passengers not sick, but removed from an infected ship."[10]

2. Facilities are Erected

By December 31, 1880, more than $30,000 had been expended on the station for construction of two wharves, a warehouse, hospital, lazaretto, and a small quarters for the medical officer-in-charge. One wharf and the warehouse were sited on the lighthouse reservation, while Wharf No. 2 and the other improvements were erected on the east end of the island, on both sides of the lagoon. The buildings were temporary in character, in that they were "constructed of cheap materials and at small expense," but coincidentally they were "strongly built and admirably designed for the purposes" they were "intended to subserve."

Included in the $30,000 disbursed for improvements was purchase of the yacht Annie. A steamer, she was employed during the

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8. Annual Report of the National Board of Health for 1880 (Washington, 1881), p. 602.

9. Damrell to Chief Engineer, Feb. 19, 1880, NA, RG 77, Ltrs. Recd., Chief Engineer. A copy of the subject plat is on file at the Mississippi Unit, GUIS.

10. Root to Secretary of the Treasury, May 18, 1901, NA, RG 26, Site File.

station's construction phase and was retained to support the Board of Health's quarantine program.

When Dr. Bemiss filed his annual report for Fiscal Year 1880, he proudly noted that he knew of only "two further items of expenditure necessary to render" the facility's equipment complete. These were a suitable appliance for burning sulphur in ship's holds and quarters, as well as in the disinfecting room at the warehouse, and a "floating-ballast sufficient to answer the purposes of at least three ships."[11]

3. Rules are Outlined Governing Gulf Quarantine

In the spring of 1880, preparatory to activating the station, Dr. Bemiss prepared and submitted to the Louisiana State Board of Health a proposed set of regulations. The mission of the Ship Island Quarantine Station was to: (a) diminish the danger of importation of infectious and epidemic diseases by detaining and disinfecting contaminated vessels at a distance sufficiently remote from the coast to prevent communication of diseases from those under quarantine; (b) provide for passengers and crews of infected vessels good hospital accommodations and treatment for the sick and comfortable and isolated housing for the healthy who may be detained for observation; and (c) provide a suitable warehouse for storing cargo while vessels are being cleaned, and suitable disinfecting rooms and appliances to insure that goods, clothing, etc., are promptly and thoroughly disinfected.

All vessels would be required to put in at the Ship Island Quarantine Station that: (a) had infectious diseases aboard; (b) had such diseases aboard during the voyage or their stay in a foreign port; (c) had sailed from a foreign harbor "dangerously infected with epidemic diseases or touched at such ports"; and (d) may be required by quarantine regulations of Louisiana, Mississippi, or Alabama to heave-to at the Ship Island Station.

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11. Annual Report of Board of Health for 1880, pp. 9, 602-03.

Vessels not included in the enumerated categories were not required to put in at the station. Coincidentally, these regulations were not to supersede or in any manner interfere with any state regulations currently in force or hereinafter to be enforced.

Nor was the Ship Island Quarantine to deprive local boards of health of any "revenues or pecuniary profits which would otherwise accure to them."

The station would cooperate with state and local sanitary organizations engaged in similar endeavors.[12]

4. War Department Authorizes Use of Certain Structures

To provide additional housing for Board of Health personnel during the quarantine season, Chief Engineer Horatio G. Wright recommended and Secretary of War Alexander Ramsey agreed to allow the inspection and boarding officers to take up quarters in one of the Corps' buildings, provided they vacated as soon as the Treasury Department erected additional housing on the island.[13]

D. Surgeon Scales and the 1881 Season

On March 17, 1881, Dr. T.S. Scales arrived on the island and opened the station for the season. From then until October 1, he boarded all vessels heaving-to in the Ship Island Anchorage. Of these craft ten were placed in quarantine. Among these were Emma Payzant, Dew, Lotus, and Ada Barton. The first of these out of Veracruz had put into Pensacola on July 4 with sickness aboard. Upon examining the men, the quarantine physician at the Florida city diagnosed the illness as yellow fever, and Emma Payzant was ordered to Ship Island, where she arrived on the 13th. While she was there, Dr. Scales treated ten patients whom he found to be suffering from yellow fever in a mild form.

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12. Ibid., p. 603.

13. Wright to Secretary of War, Jan. 23, 1881, NA, RG 77, Ltrs. Sent, Chief Engineer.

Dew had sailed from Aspinwall to Pascagoula, and, while en route, she had lost two men from sickness. She was diverted from Pascagoula to Ship Island. Though unable to document the presence of yellow jack, Scales treated the vessel "as though known to have been infected." After being discharged from quarantine, Dew returned to Pascagoula and shipped a cargo of lumber.

Lotus had sailed from La Habana for Mobile, with her captain and mate sick with yellow fever. She was intercepted off the Mobile bar and ordered to Ship Island. Upon her arrival, Dr. Scales found the mate recovered and the master improving. The vessel was placed in "the best sanitary condition possible" and discharged.

Ada Barton, prior to sailing from La Habana to Ship Island Anchorage, had sent her captain ashore with small-pox. At her arrival, Dr. Scales saw, on examining her papers, that she had been fumigated and the crew vaccinated. She was accordingly detained a sufficient time "to complete twelve full days from time of sailing" from La Habana and no other cases appearing, she was again fumigated and released from quarantine.[14]

As soon as word reached the mainland that Emma Payzant had been ordered to Ship Island from Pensacola with yellow fever aboard, Dr. Scales was told that all communication to Biloxi would be cut off. To mitigate the effects of such action, the sloop Annie was sent to Biloxi. Thenceforth until the scare passed, the station steamer thrice a week ran over to within one mile of the town and anchored. From this point an open yawl was sent out 500 yards and moored. The crew of Annie then came out in a second yawl bringing ice, fresh meat, etc., placed them in the anchored yawl, and retired. The crew of the steamer then recovered the yawl and returned to Ship Island with the supplies.[15]

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14. Annual Report of the National Board of Health for 1881 (Washington, 1882), pp. 273-74.

15. Ibid., pp. 274-75.

A number of improvements were made to the station in 1881. At the west end of the island, five railroad box cars were postioned on the wharf, and a 200-ton capacity coal bin constructed alongside the shore end of the wharf.

At the station proper, the foundations of the surgeon's quarters were framed to prevent sand from drifting underneath the flooring. An attached kitchen and cistern were added to the quarters, while a brick chimney was erected at one end of the quarters, and the room at that end of the structure ceiled. Dunes were leveled and the area enclosed by a wire fence.

The hospital grounds had also been fenced and wharves constructed on both the hospital and lazaretto side of the lagoon.[16]

E. The Station's 1882 Battle Against Yellow Fever

During calendar year 1882, a number of vessels with yellow fever aboard were diverted and processed at the station by Superintendent Scales and his staff. First to arrive was the bark Iris, which hove-to in the anchorage on the last day of June. She had sailed from La Habana and had been sent to the quarantine station from Pensacola, her first mate down with yellow fever. He died off Fort Morgan, on the evening of the 29th, and was buried at sea.

Upon boarding Iris, Dr. Scales found that the captain and the other 13 aboard showed no symptoms of illness, and that only one of them had previously been felled by yellow jack. Although the deceased's clothing and bedding had been thrown overboard, Scales told Captain Eskelin that his vessel must remain in quarantine.

On July 5, a sailor was admitted to the hospital with yellow fever. He recovered and returned to duty on the 15th, and the vessel

16. Ibid., p. 255.

was subjected to a second fumigation. Iris was released from quarantine by Superintendent Scales on the 16th, and the captain given a letter to report to the quarantine physician at Pensacola.

Iris reached Pensacola on the 18th, and, almost as soon as she dropped anchor, the second mate went to bed with yellow fever. Then, in rapid-fire succession, several others were stricken, one dying and being buried on Santa Rosa Island. Iris then returned to the Ship Island quarantine, where she arrived on the night of the 22d. Boarding the bark the next morning, Scales found the mate dying. He soon expired and was sent ashore and laid to rest in the station cemetery. Two other crewmen were evacuated to the hospital, to be followed by six others, of whom two soon died.[17]

On July 18, the British bark Windward arrived from Aspinwall (Colon) with Charges fever aboard. One man was landed, hospitalized, and recovered. Windward, no more cases occurring, was fumigated, on the 30th, and discharged.

There was another death at the station in the second week of August, when a Malayan cook aboard Gustie Wilson suffered a heart attack. The schooner was being fumigated at the time.

On August 26, the bark Rosa B. arrived in quarantine from Pensacola. Her mate, boatswain, and cook were ill with yellow fever, and within a few days the entire crew succumbed to the disease, five of them dying.

On Thursday, the 27th, the bark Vincenzo Accame came in from Pensacola with two men dead from yellow jack, another dying, and a third desperately ill. Soon thereafter, the mate named to command the bark

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17. Scales to Smart, Oct. 21, 1882, found in Annual Report of the National Board of Health for 1882 (Washington, 1883), pp. 465-66.

prior to her departure from Pensacola, was stricken and died, while the man who had been very sick expired.[18]

The last vessel to put in at the station, with yellow fever aboard during the sickly season, was the American steamer Sylvan Dell, out of Pensacola bound for New Orleans by way of Grant's Pass and Mississippi Sound. She was fumigated and discharged on October 13.[19]

Although yellow fever victims were under treatment in the Ship Island hospital and vessels with yellow jack and Charges fever aboard were in quarantine from July 5 through October 1, no cases were reported on the Mississippi Coast or elsewhere, other than on the ships carrying the infection to the station. This situation, Superintendent Scales observed, ought to refute the charges that the station was a failure.[20]

The only improvement made at the station, during 1882, was to fence the cemetery.[21]

F. Station is Closed and Transferred

Soon after preparing and submitting his annual report for 1882, Superintendent Scales placed the station "upon its winter basis" by sending the steamer Day Dream to New Orleans and discharging of all employees, except for a watchman at each of the principal buildings (the hospital and lazaretto) and a captain and two seamen aboard the sloop Annie.

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18. Ibid., pp. 466-67.

19. Ibid., p. 467.

20. Ibid., p. 469.

21. Ibid.

On May 1, 1883, Scales was authorized by the National Board of Health to travel to New Orleans and charter a steamer, with necessary crew, and to reopen the Ship Island Station for reception of infected vessels at the earliest possible date. In view of the heavy cost attendant upon chartering a steamer and the uncertainity as to allocation of the $100,000 epidemic fund at the disposal of the President, Scales decided to depend on sail rather than steam. He returned to Ship Island and announced that the station would reopen May 10.

When the facility opened, there were on duty besides the watchmen and captain and crew of Annie, a cook, laundress, and nurse assigned to the lazaretto and a cook and nurse to the hospital.

From the day a quarantine was established by local Mississippi Coast health boards until the station temporarily closed on June 30, only three vessels were subjected to quarantine regulations. They were: (a) the Spanish bark Rosa y Carmen out of La Habana. She had lost a man from yellow fever (buried at sea) the day before her arrival; (b) the Norweigian bark Almot from Veracruz was sent to Ship Island Anchorage from Round Island by Jackson County health officials. She had two yellow fever victims among her crew, one of whom died on June 28, and was interred in the station cemetery; and (c) the last vessel to arrive was the United States schooner Sequin inbound from Veracruz and diverted to the station from Round Island, though she did not have any sickness aboard.

At 7 p.m., on the last day of June, Superintendent Scales picked up a telegram from the Board directing him to close the station and to leave one or two men as watchmen. After sending Alma and Sequin to the state quarantine station at Round Island, Scales, leaving two watchmen at Ship Island, proceeded to Biloxi aboard Annie, where he landed about midnight on July 3. There, on the 5th, he transferred all property for which he was accountable to Dr. F. Finney of the Marine-Hospital Service and discharged the Board's employees.[23]

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23. Scales to Cabell, Oct. 4, 1883, found in Annual Report of the National Board of Health for 1883 (Washington, 1884), pp. 65-7.

II. THE MARINE-HOSPITAL SERVICE ADMINISTERS THE STATION: 1883-1889

A. Marine-Hospital Service Takes Charge

In the months following its establishment, the National Board of Health had taken aggressive measures to prevent introduction of yellow fever and other epidemic diseases into the United States. Besides establishing quarantine stations, it had named a commission to investigate yellow fever in Cuba. The act establishing the Board had authorized it to collect data relative to sanitary conditions and to conduct related investigations. Under this authority, the eastern and western United States was divided into districts or areas. The Board named eight inspectors who were assigned territory extending from Portland, Maine, to the mouth of the Rio Grande. Steps were taken by the Board to obtain uniformity in methods of reporting vital statistics.

Unfortunately, there was competition between the Board and the Marine Health Service. This was reflected in an act of August 7, 1882, providing appropriations for the National Board of Health, and restricting its activities so that "hereafter the duties and investigations of the Board of Health shall be confined to the diseases of cholera, smallpox, and yellow fever." The law under which the Board functioned expired on June 2, 1883, and it was not extended. Accordingly, the Marine-Hospital Service assumed responsibility for the national quarantine and administration of the quarantine law of 1878.[1]

Accordingly, on June 30, 1883, the National Board of Health turned the station over to the Marine-Hospital Service. Assistant Surgeon John Godfrey of the latter service, the sickly season at hand, was compelled to take immediate steps to staff the facility. The steamer Day Dream was inspected, repaired, and manned. Arrangements were

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1. Williams, United States Public Health Service, pp. 77-9.

made for transferring Dr. F. Finney and three other employees (one man and two women) from the New Orleans Marine-Hospital to Ship Island.[2]

B. Station and its Facilities in July 1883

To examine and evaluate the physical plant, Dr. Godfrey arranged for a visit to the island by Superintendent of Repairs John W. Glenn. Visiting the Lagoon, Glenn saw that the surgeon's quarters and hospital were east of the Lagoon and the lazaretto on its western shore. The three structures were in fair condition and would "answer for this year's use." The plank walk, connecting the quarters and hospital, should be rebuilt at a cost of $200.

At the west end of the island, midway between the fort and lighthouse, Glenn found and inspected the wharf, warehouse, coal bin, boathouse, and disinfecting room. The warehouse and sideroom were "so open" as to be valueless for disinfecting purposes. The boathouse, being out of water, was useless. Except for the landing and storage of coal, a wharf and warehouse at this site were worthless for quarantine purposes.

This situation was compounded by the problem of communicating between the two sites, because the quarantine anchorage fronted the Lagoon and the commercial anchorage the western one-third of the island. As a rule, there was an average of six vessels laying-to in the latter, loading lumber for foreign ports.

At the hospital site, there was no wharf nor other means of getting ashore except landing in small boats and wading. At ebb tide, small craft could not cross the bar at the entrance to the Lagoon. Communication between the eastern and western ends of the island, Glenn observed, was impracticable because of the sand.[3]

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2. Godfrey to Hamilton, July 9, 1883, found in Annual Report of the Surgeon General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1883 (Washington, 1883), pp. 58-90.

3. Glenn to Hill, July 8, 1883, found in Ibid., p. 57.

To improve what was an impossible situation, Superintendent Glenn recommended construction of two wharves fronting the hospital. The first of these, to be 1,500 feet in length and to cost $3,890, was to be employed for landing sick, disinfecting mail, etc. Attached to this wharf would be the boathouse and small disinfecting room currently at the station wharf. A second and more substantial wharf, 1,790 feet in length and costing $13,760, was to be erected nearby. Ships could come alongside this wharf to have their cargoes disinfected. The warehouse, railway tracks, and cars from the 1880 structure would be relocated onto this wharf.[4]

C. Surgeon-General Recommends Relocation

Surgeon-General J.B. Hamilton, upon reviewing the Godfrey-Glenn correspondence, recommended to Congress that the Ship Island station be relocated to one of the Chandeleur Islands or the Grand Gozier. In view of the high cost of improvements to the Ship Island facility, he held that either of the forementioned sites would be "a much better place for a quarantine, and would in the long run, be less expensive to manage." A new station in the Chandeleurs, in Dr. Hamilton's opinion, would cost little more than to make the required improvements to the rundown Ship Island facility.

In addition, Surgeon-General Hamilton saw other advantages for relocating the station. Vessels bound for Pascagoula, Biloxi, Pass Christian, and Lake Pontchartrain were liable to become infected while laying-to near the quarantine anchorage. For New Orleans-bound vessels, Ship Island was quite a detour, a problem constantly harped upon by the Louisiana State Board of Health.[5]

Congress refused to appropriate funds for either relocating the station or for effecting the recommended improvements, and the Gulf

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4. Ibid.

5. Surgeon-General's Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1883, found in Ibid., p. 59.

Coast Quarantine was fated to remain at Ship Island for another six years.

D. Gulf Quarantine is Relocated to North Chandeleur

1. Service Abandons its West End Facilities

On November 1, 1883, Asst. Surg. R.D. Murray assumed command of the station. Soon thereafter, having secured necessary approval from Surgeon-General Hamilton, Murray forsook control of the west end of the island, except as custodian and health officer. He permitted all vessels in the commercial anchorage to have access to the island and mainland, but kept the quarantine anchorage subject to his oversight and control.[6]

2. Operations from the Station in 1884-85

During Fiscal Year 1884, personnel from the quarantine station boarded 29 vessels, of which 21 were detained for disinfection, and treated 265 seamen. One case of yellow fever was diagnosed on a vessel bound from Aspinwall (Colon), Columbia, to Apalachicola, Florida.

Communication between the island and mainland was maintained by small boats. The steamer Day Dream and the schooner Annie, transferred to the Marine-Hospital Service by the National Health Board, saw little action during the 12 months, as they were seemingly under constant repair.[7]

In Fiscal Year 1885, the only repairs made to the station structures were of a "temporary character." The Surgeon-General, when he filed his annual report, informed Congress that "national quarantines

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6. Murray to Surgeon-General, June 4, 1896, found in Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1896 (Washington, 1896), p. 852.

7. Annual Report of the Supervisory Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1884 (Washington, 1884), p. 37. The city of Aspinwall was renamed Colon in 1890.

or 'inspection stations' are necessary, and they should be fully equipped with all the appliances needed for the proper performance of the work. The present arrangements being merely temporary, are inadequate."[8]

During the quarantine season there were boarded and inspected at the four national stations:

STATION	May	June	July	August	September
Ship Island	6	9	17	22	10
Delaware Breakwater		8	57	70	36
Cape Charles	8	9	9	17	27
Sapelo Island			1	4	19
Total	14	26	83	83	92[9]

3. Surgeon-General Calls for Needed Improvements While Recommending Relocation

In 1886, Surgeon-General Hamilton reported that the station was in "fair condition." Needed were an additional source of water and a building to serve as a convalescent ward, with rooms for the boatmen and male employees.

Once again, as had been recommended 36 months before, Dr. Hamilton called for construction of two wharves, one to serve as a landing for the medical officer and the other for the lazaretto. The lengths of the wharves, in accordance with the change in missions, were scaled down to 350 and 400 feet. These wharves, it was suggested, could be constructed with pilings and ballast from ships. The latter, which was free to the United States for the asking, could be employed as fill. Consequently, construction costs would be minimal.

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8. Annual Report of the Supervising Suregon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1885 (Washington, 1885), p. 13.

9. Ibid.

A boathouse was also needed.

Again, as recommended three years before, Surgeon-General Hamilton urged that the station be relocated. If not to one of the Chandeleurs or Grand Gozier, then to Pass a l'Outre, provided the channel could be deepened over the bar. Recently, owners of summer resorts and cottages along the Mississippi Gulf Coast had stepped up their clamor against the quarantine station's proximity. In addition, the Jackson County, Mississippi, board of supervisors had petitioned Congress to relocate the facility.[10]

The reason Pass a l'Outre had surfaced as an alternate site was the decision by the New Orleans Board of Health to abandon their substation at that point. If they could get the United States to take charge of that facility, the city government would be relieved of the expense.

On February 2, 1887, the Senate accordingly enacted legislation authorizing transfer of the station from Ship Island and acquisition of the Pass a l'Outre facility. Although the bill was reported back to the House favorably by the Committee on Commerce, it had not been acted upon at the time the 2d Session of the 49th Congress adjourned.[11]

4. March 7, 1889, Relocation

On March 5, 1888, the 1st Session of the 50th Congress enacted and President Grover Cleveland signed into law a bill authorizing and appropriating $45,000 for relocation of the Gulf Quarantine Station "to

10. Annual Report of the Supervisory Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service for the Fiscal Year 1886 (Washington, 1886), p. 35.

11. Annual Report of the Supervisory Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service for the Fiscal Year 1887 (Washington, 1887), p. 11.

some other island" in the Gulf, or "in such pass in the Mississippi Delta as may be designated by a Board named by the Secretary of the Treasury." Consequently, a commission appointed by the Secretary advised the removal of the station to North Chandeleur Island. This was done despite the condemnation of the Chandeleur site by the National Board of Health Committee in 1879 and the Treasury Department's 1883 committee.

The action of the 1888 commission cleared the way for a request by the Supervisory Surgeon-General to call on the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department to prepare plans for the necessary buildings and to have them constructed. By June 30, 1888, the plans and specifications had been prepared, the proposals advertised, and contracts awarded. Coincidentally, the superintendent of construction for the Revenue-Service prepared plans for the disinfecting machinery and a scow to serve as a transfer boat.[12]

The handsome frame buildings were completed by late February 1889, and, on March 7, the transfer of the quarantine station from Ship Island to North Chandeleur was effected by the officer in charge--Dr. H.R. Carter.[13]

E. The Mississippi Board of Health Mans a Ship Island Quarantine

Transfer of the United States Quarantine Station to North Chandeleur confronted Mississippi health authorities with a problem.

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12. Annual Report of the Supervisory Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service for Fiscal Year 1888 (Washington, 1888), p. 23; Annual Report of the Supervisory Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1896 (Washington, 1896), p. 853. Members of the 1888 commissions were: Surg. W.H.A. Hutton, Marine-Hospital Service; Capt. Parker, U.S. Revenue Marine Service; Passed Asst. Surg, H.R. Carter, Marine-Hospital Service; Dr. C.P. Wilkinson of the Louisiana Board of Health; and Dr. Maybin of the Mississippi Board of Health.

13. Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1889 (Washington, 1889), p. 111.

Because of the shoals paralleling the coast, vessels en route to Biloxi, Pass Christian, and Pascagoula to load lumber were compelled to lay-to in the Ship Island anchorage to receive their cargoes from lighters or rafts.

The Mississippi State Board of Health accordingly, in the 1889 and 1890 seasons, maintained a quarantine station at Ship Island. Dr. A. Parker Champlin was in charge, and he not only inspected but fumigated certain vessels, charging a $5 fee for inspection and $10 for disinfection. Among the vessels disinfected by Dr. Champlin and his people was a large steamer out of Veracruz and a number of vessels that had cleared from Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Rosario. Dr. Champlin also directed the pilots to conduct to the North Chandeleur Station all ships clearing from Brazilian ports, Colón, and all West Indian ports, except the Barbados, as well as any vessel with sickness aboard.

On November 1, 1890, Dr. Champlin closed down the station and doubts were voiced whether the State planned to reopen the facility for the 1891 season. This created a problem, because now there would be no quarantine officer nearer than Chandeleur to provide incoming vessels with requisite leprosy certificates. To cope with this situation and emphasize the United States' role, Surg. Walter Wyman, the officer in charge of the Gulf Quarantine Station, suggested transfer of the quarantine officer from North Chandeleur to Ship Island during the winter season, leaving Chandeleur in charge of a watchman.[14]

The state people, however, decided to continue to operate the Ship Island Station during the sickly seasons. The Mississippi inspectors retained possession until the 1893 hurricane.[15]

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14. Annual Report of the Supervisory Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1891 (Washington, 1891), pp. 46-7. Beginning in 1888 the state had stationed an inspector at the west end of the island.

15. Wyman to Secretary of the Treasury, April 27, 1903, NA, RG 26, Lighthouse Correspondence, 1900-10, Ship Island.

III. SHIP ISLAND AS FOCAL POINT OF THE GULF QUARANTINE: 1893-1916

A. The Gulf Quarantine Returns to Ship Island

1. October 2, 1893, Hurricane

The quarantine season opened at the Chandeleur station on April 7, 1893, when the infected vessel Walter D. Wallett arrived from Santos, Brazil. One month before the season was scheduled to end disaster struck. A hurricane, bringing death and destruction, hammered the Gulf Coast from west of the Mississippi River to Pensacola. Within hours, the winds and waves "wrecked the Gulf quarantine station, and almost obliterated the island upon which it stood." Three staff members and two patients lost their lives.

By noon on October 2, the sea tide had ebbed sufficiently to permit the officer in charge, G.M. Guiteras, to employ the only boat that had survived to visit and inspect the few battered structures still standing.

On the 3d, Dr. Charles Pelaez, assistant physician, was transferred to Ship Island, under instructions to carry on at that point the work of the station, insofar as the limited facilities would permit. Then, on the 8th, Dr. Guiteras removed with the surviving members of his staff to Ship Island, occupying the "old and half-ruined quarters" at the Lagoon abandoned in March 1889. The storm, it was found, had destroyed the warehouse and wrecked the wharf at the west end of the island.

Here, the staff resumed the task of inspecting and disinfecting vessels until the quarantine season closed on November 1. The latter mission was compounded by the grounding of the fumigating steamer William H. Welch, driven high and dry on the beach at Chandeleur during the hurricane. It took three weeks and cost $3,000 to refloat Welch.[1]

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1. Guiteras to Supervising Surgeon-General, Nov. 30, 1893, found in Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital

2. The November 26, 1893, Sou'easter Batters the Station

A sou'easter, on November 26, battered the reactivitated station. Two recently completed wharves were swept away, and a skiff and several oars lost. The winds battered shutters and broke window sashes, and the driving rain ruined furniture, bedding, clothing, tents, carpets, subsistence stores, medical supplies, and personal effects. Tents, covering gear and equipment salvaged from Chandeleur, were flattened, exposing the contents to further damage from the elements.[2]

Communicating this information to Washington, Dr. Guiteras protested that the station buildings were not adapted for use as even temporary dwellings or storehouses. If it were not deemed advisable to repair them immediately or build new ones, he recommended that the facility be closed and the property secured and left in charge of two watchmen.[3]

3. Congress Approves Reestablishment of the Ship Island Facility

The Marine-Hospital Service determined to authorize reestablishment of the Gulf Quarantine Station on Ship Island, and this was sanctioned by the 2d Session of the 53d Congress, when it enacted the Sundry Civil Expenses Appropriation for Fiscal Year 1895, which made $5,000 available for repair of the station. Whereupon, the Supervising Surgeon-General notified the health authorities in neighboring coastal ports and harbors that all infected vessels and yellow fever patients could be sent to Ship Island.

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1. (Continued) Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1893 (Washington, 1893), pp. 256-58; Murray to Surgeon-General, June 4, 1896, found in Annual Report of Supervising Surgeon-General for Fiscal Year 1896, p. 852.

2. Guiteras to Supervising Surgeon-General, Nov. 27, 1893, found in Annual Report of Supervising Surgeon-General for Fiscal Year 1893, p. 258.

3. Ibid.

During the late spring of 1894, the "old buildings" were rehabilitated and "put in condition fit for occupancy" at a cost of $982.02. To replace the disinfecting chamber, destroyed by the October 1 hurricane, the barge Zamora, housing a steam disinfecting chamber, was towed around from Wilmington, Delaware, to Ship Island by the Revenue-Cutter Service. She arrived on June 10.

Meanwhile, William H. Welch had received extensive repairs, the bichloride pump being "practically renewed; the main shaft bearings reset, new steam pipes put in,. etc." By the end of May, she was standing by with her sulphur fumigating furnace.[4]

B. Station in Fiscal Year 1895

1. Workload

During Fiscal Year 1895, 71 vessels, divided into three classes, called at the station. These brokedown:

Disinfected and detained for observation	38
Inspected and passed	37
Spoken and passed	1
Total	71

Three seamen were treated in the hospital, while a similar number were given out-patient treatment. There were no reports of yellow fever, or other contagious or infectious diseases on any craft putting in at the anchorage.[5]

2. Improvements: A Description

The station facilities, as they had been since their construction 15 years before, were separated by the Lagoon. On the

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4. Annual Report of Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1894 (Washington, 1894), pp. 216-18.

5. Guiteras to Supervisory Surgeon-General, undated, found in Annual Report of Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1895 (Washington, 1895), p. 289.

southwest side of that water body was the executive building (formerly the lazaretto), housing the main office; dispensary; acting assistant surgeon's, hospital steward's, and attendant's quarters; and kitchen and dining rooms. The structure was overcrowded and Surgeon-General Wyman had called for construction of two additional quarters nearby-- one to be used as housing for the medical officer in command and the other for attendants. The executive building could then be restricted to use as an office, dispensary, kitchen, pantry, and medical officer's quarters. The present medical officer's quarters would then be employed for a lazaretto, to resist as much as possible, the spread of communicable diseases.[6]

On either side of the executive building and slightly in front of it were two water closets.

From the front entrance of the executive building, a boardwalk extended to the shoreline, and from there continued out across the shallows for 900 feet. The great length of this wharf was dictated by the need to secure sufficient depth for the landing of small boats. The wharf, or gangway, was 6 feet wide and 8 feet above mean low water.

In front of and on each side of the executive building were two small buildings employed as storehouses. They were rudely built, and to make them presentable were frequently whitewashed.

A short distance in front of the executive building, flanking the boardwalk, were flagstaffs. The 80-foot staff was used to display the stars and stripes and for signaling, while the 50-foot staff flew the quarantine flag.

Behind and to the right of the executive building were the laundry and carpenters' shop. The former was in an outhouse, along with a sulphur gas closet.

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6. Ibid., pp. 289, 292-93.

A quarter mile northeast of the executive building, on the marge of the lagoon, was a boathouse and a pair of marine ways.

On the northeast side of the Lagoon, and about 400 yards from it, stood the commanding officer's quarters. Like the executive building, it had been erected in 1879-80.

Currently, there was under construction a hospital for accommodation of patients suffering from contagious or infectious diseases. It was sited about midway between the Lagoon and the commanding officer's quarters.[7]

3. Personnel and Their Duties

The station was manned during the quarantine season by a passed assistant surgeon (G.M. Guiteras) in command, an acting assistant surgeon, a first-class hospital steward, and a 15-man crew. The latter included William H. Welch's 6-man crew--pilot, engineer, 2 deckhands, fireman, and cook. The remaining 9 attendents were customarily detailed to these duties, although tasks could be changed to meet emergencies: Head boatman--to look after all boats and report to the officer in charge or hospital steward their condition, and to manage the naphtha launch and whaleboat. Carpenter--to make repairs to buildings, boats, furniture, etc. Four boatmen--to assist in manning launch and whaleboat, to assist in disinfection of vessels, to act as nurses and night guards when required, to paint and clean boats, to keep outside of buildings and grounds neat and clean, to keep a lookout for vessels entering quarantine, and to man lifeboats. Cook, laundress, and

7. Ibid., pp. 289, 293. During Fiscal Year 1895, the roofs of these structures were reshingled: the two storehouses, boathouse, carpenter shop, laundry, and front part of the medical officer's quarters. All buildings had been painted, except those whose exteriors consisted of rough lumber. The latter had been repeatedly whitewashed. A fumigating closet had been constructed at one end of the laundry for the purpose of fumigating mail, clothing, and other items to be sent from the station. Ibid., p. 291.

messenger--to keep clean the office, dispensary, and halls in the executive building, and to serve as messengers between the executive building and surgeon's quarters.[8]

4. Its Floating Equipment

The disinfecting plant was afloat and included:

(a) The disinfecting tug William H. Welch, 104 feet in length with a 16 1/2-foot beam. She housed two iron tanks, connected with a pump for washing out a ship with mercuric chloride solution, and a sulphur furnace, with Sturtevant fan and engine to run the furnace.

(b) The large Zamora of 116 tons had a complete disinfecting plant, consisting of a steam chamber for application of moist or dry steam to clothing, bedding, etc.; and a bichloride tank, pump, and a sulphur furnace with exhaust fan and engine for same. The barge was also equipped with a boiler to provide steam for running the disinfecting apparatus.

(c) Three scows--one used for stowing coal for the tug William H. Welch, the second employed for unballasting vessels for quarantine, and a "transfer barge" to provide means of "communication between the station and the outer world."

The station was also provided with a number of small craft, the two largest (the naphtha launch Aimee and a whaleboat) were used for boarding purposes, and as a means of communication between the buildings on either side of the Lagoon. The other small craft included: 3 yawls, 1 lifeboat, 2 skiffs, and Welch's lifeboat.[9]

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8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p. 290. During Fiscal Year 1895, these repairs were made to Zamora: a 1,000-gallon cypress tank to hold mercuric chloride was purchased; a new smokestack positioned to replace the one lost when the barge was driven aground; her bottom coppered; and a 1,000-pound mushroom anchor and 60 fathoms of 718-inch chain sent aboard. The tug William H. Welch was hauled up on the ways and her bottom scraped and painted. Ibid., p. 291.

5. Friction with State and Local Authorities

During 1895, friction between station personnel and state and local quarantine officials continued. No effort, Dr. Guiteras reported, had been made by the latter "to assist or act in concert with the national quarantine." This, however, did not impair the "reputation" of the federal operation. People of the adjacent coasts seemed satisfied as to the efficiency of the Gulf Quarantine's operations in contrast to their opinions of the local quarantines, which were viewed as an extension of local machine politics, affording an opportunity for spending the taxpayers' money.

In August 1895, there had been trouble with the Louisiana Board of Health, concerning two small vessels bound for New Orleans and disinfected at Ship Island. The state people wrote Dr. Guiteras an "impertinent" letter asking that they be informed in minute detail as to the disinfection process administered to each vessel. Both craft had come from healthy ports, and with clean bills of health attested to by the respective United States consuls.

Not deeming it advisable to provide the requested documentation, Dr. Guiteras wrote the Louisiana Board that any further data, other than that given in the "certificate of free pratique, would have to be secured from the Surgeon-General."[10]

C. The Staff in June 1896

On March 10, 1896, Dr. A.C. Smith replaced Dr. Guiteras as officer in charge of the station. Some two months later, on June 4, the Gulf Quarantine was inspected by Surg. R.D. Murray. At that time, it was staffed by: Dr. Smith, commander; Dr. J.A. Moncure, assistant surgeon; F.H. Peck, hospital steward; Oscar Frantzen, head boatman; Alfred Johansen, carpenter and nurse; Judson C. Batton, boatmen and nurse; Edwin Batton, boatman; W.S. Johnson, boatman; John Williams,

10. Ibid., pp. 291-92.

boatman and ballastman; Amanda Underwood, laundress; Joseph C. Delmas, master and pilot; J.J. O'Connor, engineer; Harvey Nelson, cook; D.G. Mitchell, fireman; and Barth Larsen and Irving Delmas, deckhands. The last six named were assigned to the steamer William H. Welch.[11]

D. Station in Fiscal Year 1896

1. Calendar Year 1895 Workload

During the 1895 calendar year, 100 vessels had put in at the station. The tabulation read:

Month	From Foreign Ports	From Foreign via Domestic Ports	From Domestic Ports	Cargoes Ballast	Cargoes Empty
January	4	0	0	4	0
February	8	0	0	8	0
March	4	0	0	4	0
April	5	0	0	4	1
May	12	1	0	8	5
June	6	0	2	5	3
July	8	0	0	5	3
August	15	0	1	10	6
September	8	1	2	8	3
October	8	1	2	6	5
November	6	0	1	7	0
December	4	1	0	4	1
TOTAL	88	4	8	70	30

Of the 100 vessels, 19 came from the British Isles, 15 from Brazil, 17 from Mexico, 14 from Cuba, 8 from the West Indies, and 27 from European and domestic ports. Forty-nine of the craft were inspected and passed, 29 discharged ballast, and 51 were disinfected. Fifty-eight of the vessels were bound for the Ship Island loading berth, 35 for Pascagoula, 1 for Shieldsboro, 1 for Moss Point, and 5 for Mobile.

Facilities for discharging ballast at the station were insufficient, while the expense thereof should not be met by the Service.

11. Murray to Surgeon-General, June 4, 1896, found in Annual Report of Supervisory Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service for Fiscal Year 1896 (Washington, 1896), pp. 845-86.

Currently, ballast was discharged onto a 35-ton station ballast barge by the vessel's crew. If rock it was placed inshore to form a small-boat breakwater. If sand or rubbish it was thrown into shoal water.

To break this bottleneck, it was recommended that the masters be given the privilege of hiring lighters at their vessel's expense.

Vessels laying-to in the anchorage had been treated as follows:

	Inspected and Passed	Discharged Ballast	Disinfected	Character of Ballast				
				Water	Sand	Earth	Stone	Rubbish
January	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
February	7	1	1	1	6	0	0	1
March	2	2	2	1	0	0	2	1
April	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	0
May	6	3	7	2	4	0	2	0
June	2	2	6	2	2	0	1	0
July	3	3	5	1	2	0	1	1
August	7	4	9	0	3	0	7	0
September	3	4	8	1	2	0	2	0
October	4	3	7	1	3	1	1	0
November	6	2	1	2	2	1	0	2
December	3	2	2	0	4	0	0	0
TOTAL	49	29	51	12	29	2	20	7

2. Arrivals and Departures During the First Six Months of 1896

During the first six months of calendar year 1896, there arrived in the anchorage:

	From Foreign Ports	From Yellow Fever Ports	From Domestic Ports	Cargoes	
				Ballast	Empty
January	7	0	0	7	0
February	17	0	1	15	2
March	7	0	0	(a) 6	1
April	13	0	3	15	1
May	19	0	0	13	6
June	9	1	4	10	4
TOTAL	72	1	8	67	14

Of these vessels, 20 had arrived from the British Isles, 10 from Mexico, 7 from the West Indies, 6 from Cuba, 8 from United States ports, and 19 from scattered harbors. Sixty-seven of these craft were inspected and passed, 9 discharged ballast, and 14 were disinfected.[12]

3. Improvements and Repairs

Surgeon Murray found that, during Fiscal Year 1896, the yellow fever hospital had been completed and occupied. It stood on the site of the 1879-80 hospital, 100 yards northeast of the Lagoon. The single-story frame structure was 56 by 66 feet, and was surrounded by a piazza. A corner at the south end of the piazza was enclosed as a bathroom. The hospital was divided by a 8-foot hall, a 8-bed ward was on the west side of the central hall and four rooms on the east side. The latter were occupied by the surgeon, kitchen, nurse, and dining room.

West of the Lagoon there had been erected, during the same months, a crew dormitory.[13]

A board fence barred the western land approach to the reservation, while there were several plank walkways.[14]

Cisterns (3 at the executive building, 3 at the surgeon's quarters, and 2 at the yellow fever hospital) provided the station with water.[15]

4. The Anchorages

Surgeon Murray pronounced the two anchorages ample to accommodate a reasonable number of vessels, both infected and

12. Ibid., pp. 850-51, 856.

13. Ibid., pp. 846, 849.

14. Ibid., p. 849.

15. Ibid., p. 846.

noninfected, and permit the mile leeway required by Mississippi law between classes. The holding ground was excellent, and ships drawing as much as 22 feet could be accommodated.[16]

5. Surgeon Murray Describes the Disinfecting Apparatus

The apparatus for disinfection of vessels and baggage, Murray saw, consisted of dutch ovens for staterooms, hand pumps for carbolic solutions, and steam pumps for salt water and bichloride solutions, and two vessels. William H. Welch had a large boiler, bichloride pump and tanks, and a sulphur furnace and fan. Zamora had a boiler, steam pumps, sulphur furnace and fan, and an 8-by 15-foot rectangular steam chamber.[17]

E. Murray Makes a Case for Retaining the Quarantine at Ship Island

In June 1896, Surgeon Murray reassured the Surgeon-General that the United States Gulf Quarantine should remain at Ship Island as long as "sand and earth ballast vessels are in existence." It would be good policy, however, to direct all steamers, rock ballast or rubble-ballast vessels, and all swept-hold craft to the Dry Tortugas. But, the latter facility, he added, would never be an acceptable place for vessels carrying ballast which should be discharged as part of the cleansing process.

Given a few additions to the Ship Island station and some modification in the rules, there would be no need for the Mississippi inspector at Round Island or Biloxi.

Since 1879, including four years at North Chandeleur, the Gulf Quarantine had cared for all contagious diseases from Apalachicola to

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16. Ibid.

17. Murray to Surgeon-General, undated, found in Annual Report of Supervising Surgeon-General for Fiscal Year 1896, p. 854.

English Lookout, excepting those hospitalized at Dry Tortugas in 1894 and 95. In 1888, there had been 19 cases of yellow fever at Ship Island and one death, and 26 cases at Chandeleur in 1891, with no deaths.

The revival of the canard that there was yellow fever at Biloxi in 1886, because there were yellow jack victims at Ship Island, Dr. Murray noted, "should shame the parties interested, and have reason to believe it will shame the original panic shriekers." Murray argued that "a man charged to protect the whole coast will have more communities in his mind and on his heart than a local official who only cares to be free from the charge that the disease got in through his port."[18]

F. Station in Fiscal Year 1897

1. Its Workload

In Fiscal Year 1897 there were inspected at the station these vessels:

Flag or Nationality	Number
United States	70
Norweigian	61
British	59
Russian	9
Swedish	4
Italian	4
Austrian	2
Dutch	1
Spanish	1
Portuguese	1
Mexican	1
Total	213

Classification as to ports of departure, by months:

Months	(a) From Foreign Ports	(b) From Foreign Ports in Yellow Fever Zones	(c) From Domestic Ports
July	22	5	3
August	15		

18. Ibid., p. 859; Biannual Report of the Mississippi State Board of Health, 1886-1887 (Jackson, 1888), pp. 11-25.

Months	(a) From Foreign Ports	(b) From Foreign Ports in Yellow Fever Zones	(c) From Domestic Ports
September	8		
October	14		
November	12		
December	9		
January	21		
February	9		1
March	24		
April	17		
May	36	1	1
June	16		
Total	202	6	5

Counties or regions from which vessels came:

Country	No.	Country	No.
Great Britain	27	Mexico	35
France	2	Central America	2
Germany	1	Domestic ports	5
Netherlands	1	South America, except Brazil	19
Norway & Sweden	2	Brazil	36
Italy	2	West Indies, except Cuba	26
South Africa	20	Cuba	
Cape Verde Islands	1	(a) La Habana	20
Canary Islands	3	(b) other ports	12

Destination of vessels:

Mississippi ports	202
Mobile	10
Apalachicola	1
Le Havre (in distress)	1

Cargo:

Lumber	4
Ballast alone	142
None	68

Kind of Ballast:

Water	32
Stone	31
Clean sand	23
Rubbish and various materials	56

History as to health:

Infectious disease aboard on arrival	1
Infectious disease arising in quarantine	0
Infectious disease reported in course of voyage	7
Clean history reported	206

Treatment of vessels, by months:

Months	Passed without disinfection	Disinfected and held
July	9	21
August	4	11
September	2	6
October	2	12
November	12	
December	9	
January	21	
February	10	
March	24	
April	16	1
May	18	20
June	1	9
Total	128	69

During these 12 months, only one patient with a quarantinable disease was received at the station hospital. This man, who was felled by yellow fever, had sailed from La Habana seven days before. The remainder of the medical and surgical work reported involved treatment of people injured or taken sick on vessels in quarantine. The number hospitalized was 26, while 38 out-patients were attended to.[19]

19. Smith to Surgeon-General, Oct. 18, 1897, found in Annual Report of Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1897 (Washington, 1897), pp. 495-96.

2. Improvements, Maintenance, and Repairs

At the end of the 1896 quarantine season, William H. Welch had been laid up on Crooked Bayou, near Moss Point, Mississippi. During the winter, she had been repaired, and was returned to commission on May 1, 1897. Zamora had been kept at the station until a new deckhouse could be built over a part of the deck for protection of the machinery. She was then sent across Mississippi Sound to Crooked Bayou, where she was laid-up until spring.[20]

The small boat flotilla had been reinforced by a sailboat and a skiff, both built at the station.

As the ballast lighter was unseaworthy, it was replaced by one constructed under contract.[21]

At the station, in the off-season, the hands made a number of improvements. A telephone line was run across the Lagoon and between the principal buildings. This line connected the surgeon's quarters, hospital, and executive building, with a telephone in each.

To make the rooms more comfortable in the winter, two chimneys, with four grates, were added to the executive building.

The executive building and surgeon's quarters were painted.

To delinate better the limits of the quarantine reservation and anchorage, two signboards, labeled "U.S. QUARANTINE," were positioned on the island, near the north and south boundaries and four

20. Ibid. p. 497.

21. Ibid.

buoys placed on the limits of the quarantine anchorage. The transfer barge was also marked with an iron quarantine flag.[22]

3. Mississippi Authorities Fail in their Campaign to Relocate the Station

Members of the Mississippi Board of Health, in late April 1896, spent several days on the Gulf Coast investigating the "danger to the seacoast towns" inherent in "having a yellow fever refuge station at Ship Island." The Board found that: (a) the quarantine station was only seven and a half miles in a straight line from Biloxi; (b) "an infected ship had to be brought through the shipping of Ship Island harbor. . . to be placed in quarantine at the quarantine station"; (c) the quarantine anchorage was frequently encroached upon by local fishermen; (d) employees of the Marine-Hospital Service were in the habit of "surrepitiously visiting the mainland," even when they had infected shipping in quarantine; (e) local traders by means of bum boats and other light craft were in the habit of carrying on business with seamen aboard vessels laying-to in the anchorage; and (f) the economic vitality of the Gulf Coast resorts was jeopardized by having "a yellow fever refuge station so near to their doors."

To cope with this situation, the Mississippi Board sought to station an inspector on the west end of Ship Island, "for the purpose of guarding against the possible infection of healthy vessels by the inspection service of the yellow fever refuge station, and thus introduce yellow fever into a seacoast town." Rebuffed in this, the Board established a state quarantine station on Cat Island. It soon became apparent to the Board, however, that "nothing less than a State quarantine against Ship Island quarantine station could promise any degree of safety to the people of the seacoast towns from yellow fever infection." The Board, rather than seek a confrontation with the Marine-Hospital Service, called upon Governor Anselem J. McLaurin to communicate with Secretary of the Treasury James E. Carlisle, for the

22. Ibid.

purpose of securing return of the station to Chandeleur Island. The Secretary rejected this proposal first in writing and then in a meeting with Governor McLaurin.[23]

G. Station in Fiscal Year 1898

1. Its Workload

In Fiscal Year 1898, personnel from the station inspected 308 vessels. These crafts were registered:

Nation	No.	Nation	No.
United States	161	Italy	5
Great Britain	61	Netherlands	4
Norway	60	Spain	3
Sweden	2	Austria-Hungary	1
Russia	4	Portugal	1
Germany	5	Mexico	1

These vessels had arrived as follows:

Months	From Foreign Ports	From Foreign Ports in Yellow Fever Latitudes via Domestic Harbors	From Domestic Ports
July	27	2	
August	19	1	
September	16		22
October	18	1	33
November	17		18
December	13		1
January	11		
February	7		
March	12		1
April	29		1
May	22		5
June	23		9
Total	214	4	90

23. Report of the Mississippi State Board of Health from March 24, 1896, to Sept. 30, 1896, and from Sept. 30, 1896 to Sept. 30, 1897 (Jackson, 1897), pp. 3-5.

The countries or regions from which the vessels had cleared brokedown:

British Isles	20	East Indies	1
France	2	Mexico	44
Germany	1	Central America	3
Netherlands	2	Brazil	42
Norway & Sweden	4	South America, except Brazil	22
Denmark	1	Cuba:	
Italy	3	La Habana	16
South & East Africa	16	Other ports	14
Cape Verde Islands	1	West Indies, except Cuba	19
Canary Islands	3	United States	94

The vessels passing through quarantine were bound for:

Mississippi Sound Ports	277	Apalachicola and Carabelle, Fla.	7
Mobile	18	Dry Tortugas	2
New Orleans	1	Key West	3

These inbound vessels carried:

Lumber	15	Hardware	2
Coal	3	Ballast (alone)	174
Charcoal	1	None (swept holds)	123
Groceries and Provisions	20		

The types of ballast reported:

Water	32	Sand	29
Iron	3	Sand and Stone	32
Stone	35	Rubbish	17

Seven of the 308 vessels, three from foreign ports and four from domestic harbors, were found upon arrival at quarantine to have yellow fever aboard. On two others, yellow fever appeared during their detention in quarantine.

In addition to these craft, 8 others--six from foreign and two from domestic ports--had a history of yellow jack during their

voyage, but, by the date of arrival, the victims had recovered or died. Four vessels had a suspicious but uncertain history. Aboard the remaining 288, station surgeons found no evidence of infection or contagion.

Figures on the monthly breakdown of the station workload revealed:

Month	Vessels Inspected and Passed	Vessels Disinfected and Held
July	5	24
August	6	14
September	6	32
October	10	42
November	19	16
December	13	1
January	10	1
February	7	
March	11	2
April	15	15
May	14	13
June	15	17
Total	131	177 [24]

2. Yellow Fever Returns

During Fiscal Year 1898, 23 yellow fever patients had been treated in the station isolation hospital. None of them died, because most of the cases were mild. Other medical and surgical work consisted of "such miscellaneous cases as were found on vessels in quarantine." All told, 63 people were admitted to the hospital while 45 were given out-patient treatment.[25]

Yellow fever had returned to the Gulf Coast, in the late summer of 1897, extending from New Orleans to Mobile. As had happened

24. Smith to Surgeon-General, Oct. 11, 1898, found in Annual Report of Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1898 (Washington, 1899), pp. 730-31.

25. Ibid., p. 731.

before, a campaign was undertaken by the Mississippi State Board of Health to trace the fever to the Gulf Quarantine Station. These efforts were unsuccessful. But to rebut them occupied much time and energy on Surgeon Smith's part.

Early in September, as soon as an emergency was declared, every community in the region, large and small, affected a quarantine against its neighbors. Small craft engaged in intercoastal trade could only pass from point to point by securing a "pratique" from the Gulf Quarantine Station. They were accordingly received and subjected to quarantine. Likewise, whenever yellow fever was suspected on a local vessel it was diverted to Ship Island.

The staff's workload was compounded by implementation of a scheme for protection of shipping in the anchorage against infection from the mainland. This plan was prepared by the Mississippi State Board of Health, in conjunction with the Marine-Hospital Service, but its execution fell upon station personnel. All disinfections were done at the station, and yellow fever victims detected were cared for in the Ship Island hospital.

Because of traffic between the shipping and the mainland, with bum boats and stevedores and masters going ashore to transact necessary business, it was difficult to protect the vessels lying-to in the anchorage from contagion. Nevertheless, the Service, except in one instance, met the challenge. Then, two cases of yellow fever were reported on the Norwegian steamship St. Andrews just before she put to sea. The victims were sent to the hospital, their quarters disinfected, and the ship sailed. All other vessels remained healthy while riding at anchor.[26]

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26. Ibid., pp. 731-32. Along the Mississippi coast, there were a number of deaths from yellow fever--35 in Biloxi, 11 in Ocean Springs, 14 in Scranton, 2 in Pascagoula, 5 in Barkley, and 8 in McHenry.

The season, because of the mainland yellow fever, was continued until mid-November. William H. Welch and Zamora were then taken out of commission and laid-up in Crooked Bayou, on the 26th. The annual repair and fitting up of these vessels was accomplished during the winter, Welch being hauled to Mobile for this purpose.[27]

3. Changes in Procedures Wrought by War

In accordance with revised regulations, the season opened on April 1, 1898, three weeks before the United States declared war on Spain. Coincidentally, a night patrol of the anchorage was inaugurated by two men in a small boat.

On May 23, an inspection post was established and manned on the west end of the island. Its mission was to keep all vessels under observation from the time of their approach, to inspect vessels from healthy ports at that point thus saving them from coming up to the main station, and to maintain a general supervision over the health of the harbor. Asst. Surg. C.A. Sheely and two boatmen with a sloop and yawl manned the substation. Sheely and his men were housed in tents.

Closing of the Tortugas Quarantine Station on April 4, because of its reoccupation by the military as a base, directed additional shipping to the Gulf Quarantine.[28]

4. Improvements, Maintenance, and Repairs

During the year, it became necessary to rebuild the two wharves. A new whaleboat, christened Lily, was constructed under contract, while the attendents built two skiffs.[29]

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27. Ibid., p. 733.

28. Ibid.; Wyman to Lighthouse Board, June 25, 1906, NA, RG 26.

29. Smith to Surgeon-General, Oct. 11, 1898, found in Annual Report of Supervising Surgeon-General for Fiscal Year 1898, p. 733.

H. Station in Fiscal Year 1899

1. Its Workload

In Fiscal Year 1899, personnel from the station disinfected 210 vessels, and inspected and passed 119. The inspector at the west end of the island boarded vessels from ports against which there was no quarantine.

Seven vessels arrived in the anchorage having had yellow fever aboard at the port of departure, in course of the voyage, or while in quarantine. The captain of a ship inbound from Colón reported that, in the days since she had sailed, there had been one death from Charges fever, while three more crewmen were under quarantine. A second vessel, besides having one sailor down with yellow fever, had a man suffering from leprosy. Three Norwegian barks had arrived from Brazilian ports with crew members down with beriberi.[30]

2. Maintenance, Repairs, and Improvements

The barge Zamora, before the opening of the season, had received needed repairs to her disinfecting gear and a new boiler. Her hull, however, was so far deteriorated as to mandate, in the near future, either a new craft or some other means of disinfecting. The steamer William H. Welch also needed extensive repairs.[31]

The Sundry Civil Bill, approved by President William McKinley on July 1, 1898, appropriated $4,000 for a new steam launch; $3,500 for additional quarters; $15,000 for a noninfectious hospital; $800 for an isolation ward; and $2,000 for a transfer barge and ballast lighter. The transfer barge and ballast lighter was built under contract by Frank

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30. Kalloch to Surgeon-General, Oct. 10, 1899, found in Annual Report of Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1899 (Washington, 1901), p. 816. Surg. P.C. Kalloch had relieved Assistant Surgeon Smith as station commander on December 28, 1898.

31. Ibid., pp. 816-17.

Tultavull of Biloxi, and was delivered and ready for service, when the new season opened on April 1, 1899.

As of October 1, 1899, the steam launch had been built but not delivered. Work on the other new construction had not been started by that date, because of lack of "initiative in the office of the supervising architect."[32]

During the year, the small building heretofore used as a sail loft was ceiled and partitioned on the inside and its exterior weatherboarded to serve as sleeping quarters for crews during inclement weather.

The hospital was painted--the exterior receiving one coat of lead and oil, and the roof a coat of metallic brown. The employees repaired the roof gutters and the walkways.[33]

I. Station in Fiscal Years 1900-05

During fiscal years 1900 through 1905, the Gulf Quarantine was superintended in 1900-02 by P.C. Kalloch, in 1903-04 by S.B. Grubbs, and in 1905 by E.W. Wille. These were busy years at the station. The workload for each of these years was:

	Vessels Inspected and Passed		Vessels Disinfected	
Year	Steamers	Sailing Craft	Steamers	Sailing Craft
*1900	105		117	
*1901	124		97	
*1902	117		103	
*1903	80		76	
1904	262 arrived		14	61
1905	47	139	8	53

32. Ibid., p. 816.

33. Ibid., pp. 816-17.

* For fiscal years 1900-1903, the superintendent did not give a breakdown as to sailing ships vis-à-vis steamers. In fiscal year 1904, Superintendent Grubbs noted that there had been a proportionate increase in tonnage because of the increased number of steamers and the greater size of the sailing ships.

In 1904 four cases of yellow fever were evacuated from vessels in quarantine to the lazaretto, of whom two died. The following year, two yellow fever victims were hospitalized at the station.[34]

Surgeon Kalloch and his family spent nearly three years at the station, and, during that time, his son Parker (who was born in 1889) only left the island once for a three-day visit to Biloxi.

Parker's sister kept a diary. In it she made entries describing how, during the quarantine season, food and supplies for the station were brought out by boat from Biloxi and left on the pier. The Kalloch children were tutored by their mother and young Parker spent much of his time hunting and fishing.[35]

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34. Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1900 (Washington, 1900), p. 638; Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1901 (Washington, 1901), p. 476; Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1902 (Washington, 1902), p. 424; Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1903 (Washington, 1903), p. 302; Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1904 (Washington, 1904), p. 345; Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1905 (Washington, 1906), pp. 185-86.

35. "Wife's Husband Lived on Ship Island as Boy" found in Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald. Mrs. Parker Kalloch visited the site of the quarantine station on March 16, 1968. She was accompanied by Jim Stevens and others. She told Stevens that she had in her possession her sister-in-law's diary. In 1968, Mrs. Kalloch's address was 717 Carlisle Blvd., S.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico, 87106.

J. Station in Fiscal Year 1906

1. Yellow Fever's Last Visit

Yellow fever for the last time returned to the Gulf Coast in the summer of 1905. The Ship Island station that year was commanded by Asst. Surg. C.W. Wille.

From late June through September, the station and its personnel were taxed to their capacity. Diverted to the Ship Island Anchorage from "infected points" on the mainland for "quarantine treatment before proceeding to clean or noninfected territory" were 15 steamships, 201 sailing craft, and 85 barges. On these vessels 5 cases of fevers were identified, of which 3 proved to be mild cases of yellow jack.

While the yellow fever scare gripped the region, three anchorages were delinated and maintained by station personnel: the quarantine station proper, the ballast grounds, and the west end loading area, where all vessels were kept free of contagion by disinfection, daily inspections, etc.[36]

2. Workload

During Fiscal Year 1906, there were inspected at the station 305 ocean-going vessels (96 steamers and 209 sailing vessels). Of these, 107 were disinfected. Upon these craft, 4,452 persons were examined. Twelve vessels were found to be infected with yellow fever on arrival, 5 of which were remanded from the Mobile Quarantine Station; 3 from coastwise ports; 3 from foreign ports direct; and 1 from the Dry Tortugas, the infection of which could not be traced.

In the station hospitals there had been treated the yellow fever victims from the aforementioned vessels, and patients suffering with malaria, 9; enteric fever, 2; tapeworms, 1; inflammation of tonsils, 1; fractured radius, 1; and inflammation of the stomach, 1. In addition to

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36. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1906 (Washington, 1907), pp. 197-98.

these, 28 cases of malarial fever, 9 malarial cachexia, 1 bubo, 1 tuberculous, 1 rheumatism, and 1 beriberi were diagnosed on vessels, treated, and permitted to proceed with their ships to their destinations.[37]

K. Hurricane of September 1906

The September 26-27, 1906, hurricane caused terrible damage to the station. All "floating properties," except the small boats, were swept away, and several buildings "practically destroyed."

Funds were promptly allotted by the Surgeon-General for rehabilitation of the station. By June 30, 1907, this work was in progress.[38]

L. Station in Fiscal Year 1909

1. 1909-10 Construction Program

During the weeks following the storm, Inspector J.S. Raymond spent several days on Ship Island. He found that the executive building, the assistant surgeon's and pharmacist's quarters, the attendant's dormitory, the bathhouse and marine ways, the copper-wire screening of about 150 doors and windows, and the bridge spanning the Lagoon had been destroyed. The water storage and distribution system was badly battered and should be replaced. A power whaleboat, used in boarding and inspecting vessels, had been wrecked, and the engine of the auxiliary schooner Hermes, employed as the transfer boat between the station and mainland, should be replaced. Three yawls were required as substitutes for the trio destroyed.

To replace the facilities destroyed and enable the station to resume effective operation, Raymond called for construction of an:

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37. Ibid., p. 198.

38. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1907 (Washington, 1908), p. 96.

Executive building and general kitchen and dining room	$ 7,200
Assistant surgeon's and pharmacist's quarters	7,000
Attendant's dormitory	5,900
Copper-wire screening for about 150 doors and windows	900
Lagoon bridge	4,600
Boathouse and ways	4,000
To provide a water supply at adequate pressure for fire protection, etc.	3,500
New whaleboat	500
New engine for schooner Hermes	572
Three yawls at $140 each	420
Total	$33,992
Lighting plant (acetylene) to reduce the danger of fire from handling and storing kerosene	1,500
Total	$35,492[39]

The 2d Session of the 59th Congress accordingly appropriated $35,492 for improvements to the station to include a new executive building, assistant's and pharmacist's quarters, and attendent's quarters.

Construction was commenced in the spring of 1909, and, by June 30, the structures were nearly completed. The executive building and the assistant's and pharmacist's quarters were positioned on concrete piers and the attendant's quarters on pilings. This type foundation should, it was theorized, enable these structures to weather the hurricanes, which periodically hammered the Gulf Coast. Upon completion of the new executive office building, the old one was relocated and converted into a medical officer's quarters.

Meanwhile, a new wharf, about one-half mile in length, had been built. Sited in front of the executive building, it constituted the principal approach to the station. A boathouse and ways, for accommodation of the station's craft, was located near the pier head.[40]

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39. Executive Documents of the House of Representatives of the 2d Session of the 59th Congress, Dec. 3, 1906-March 7, 1907 (Washington, 1907), Series 5154, pp. 13.

40. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1909 (Washington, 1910), p. 110.

2. Disinfection Apparatus, Circa 1910

For disinfecting vessels, the station continued to be equipped with pots and tubs and a disinfecting barge containing a bichloride pump, steam chambers, and sulphur furnace and fan. Disinfection with formaldehyde gas was accomplished by the permanganate of potash and formalin method.[41]

3. West End Inspection Station

Personnel assigned to the west end inspection station were quartered in a four-room house, positioned on pilings. In Fiscal Year 1909, this facility was operated only during the "closed season."[42]

4. The Workload

When he submitted his annual report for Fiscal Year 1909, the station commander, Asst. Surg. John T. Burkhalter, reported that personnel had boarded and passed 20 steamers and 5 sailing vessels; inspected and passed 57 steamships and 66 sailing craft; fumigated and passed 7 steamers and 21 sailing vessels; and fumigated and held 3 steamers and 19 sailing ships. These vessels carried 3,121 seamen and 21 passengers.

Nine cases of malaria were identified among the crews, and necessary medical attention given aboard ship.[43]

M. Final Active Ship Island Years

1. Station in Mid-July 1915 as Seen by a Reporter

In mid-July 1915, a special correspondent for the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion-Ledger spent the day on Ship Island. In a feature article, supplemented by a number of photographs, he described his visit to the Gulf Quarantine Station, commanded since the previous year by Asst. Surg. W.R.P. Thompson.

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41. Ibid.

42. Ibid. The west end station, the former ordnance-sergeant's quarters had been transferred to the Marine-Hospital Service in 1900 and relocated.

43. Ibid., pp. 110-11.

By this time, the station included 24 structures: the administrative building (formerly the executive building), pharmacist's quarters, surgeon's residence, attendent's quarters, yellow fever hospital, general hospital, west end inspection station, storehouse, blacksmith shop, carpenters' shop, boathouse, stables, landing, lighting plant, crematory, hurricane refuge, water tank and tower, pumphouse, boatways, wharf, paint shop, coalhouse, and gasoline power house. All the buildings, except the west end inspection station and the yellow fever (isolation) hospital, were concentrated on the southwest side of the Lagoon. The latter was northeast of the Lagoon. A pile bridge, spanning the Lagoon, provided access to the yellow fever hospital from the main station.

All principal buildings were connected by board walkways, while the approaches to most of these structures was over granite brought to the island as ballast.

To capitalize on the artesian wells, drilled in 1901, Surgeon Thompson had installed 25 to 30 sprinklers and lawns and gardens had been laid out.

The major buildings, the reporter noted, were similar in their architectural appearance, all being frame and single-story, except the surgeon's quarters which was two-story. There was a common color scheme. The roofs were painted red, the shutters green, and the exterior elevations white. As the island was swept by sea tides, during hurricanes, the buildings were rodded and bolted to concrete piers, to keep them from being ripped from their foundations.

The hurricane refuge, the personnel's "storm cellar," was 30 feet above mean flood tide. Built of heavy timbers, it was anchored to huge pilings driven 25 feet into the ground.

Gas was generated by a cetaline machine.

All the quarters, as well as both hospitals, were provided with kitchens.[44]

2. 1915 Hurricanes

The hurricane refuge saw heavy use during the next several months. On August 17 and again on October 3, tropical storms roared in from the Gulf of Mexico. The first hurricane caused no serious damage to the station proper, though it swept away a number of dunes on the Gulf side of the island. The second blow was much worse. The remaining sand hills, which had afforded protection to the station improvements, were flattened. The approaches to the Lagoon bridge were destroyed, as were the landing stages along the wharf. Fencing was dislodged and floated away. A large part of the big dune fronting the hospital was washed away, while the tidal bore cut a gapping channel through a similar sand hill west of Surgeon Thompson's quarters. Considerable damage was done to the bulkhead shielding Thompson's quarters from the Sound. If the winds had suddenly veered to the north-west and held there, his quarters would have been damaged or destroyed.

The day following the storm, came an invasion of snakes, marsh animals, and fowl. They sallied forth from an immense drift of logs, grass, and other debris flushed out from flooded wetlands, which grounded on the sound side. This raft was heavily populated by snakes, principally moccasins, raccoons, minks, otters, muskrats, etc. "The snakes twined about the boat fittings, wharf timbers, etc.; and escaped to the shore in great numbers." At least 300 were killed within the next seven days, half of them on or near the station upon the first day of their arrival. Many more were killed before cold weather brought an end to the invasion, but for many weeks it was dangerous to wander about the grounds at night.

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44. Clarion-Ledger, July 18, 1915.

In the months following the October 3 hurricane, the men, when not engaged in duties associated with the quarantine, were employed cleaning up and burning debris, rebuilding walkways and fences, and landscaping.[45]

3. Fiscal Year 1916 Workload

With Europe at war and steamships forcing more and more sailing vessels to be laid-up because they could no longer compete economically, the number of vessels entering quarantine declined in Fiscal Year 1916. When Surgeon Thompson submitted his annual report, he listed:

Sailing vessels entering quarantine	87
Steamers entering quarantine	36
Total vessels entering quarantine	123
Vessels inspected and passed	37
Vessels spoken and passed	9
Vessels fumigated and passed	77
Vessels held for observation	2
Total crews inspected	1,801
Stowaways inspected	1
Rats killed by fumigation	704[46]

4. Hurricane of July 5, 1916

Ship Island and the station were battered by the July 5, 1916, hurricane. Chimneys were toppled, windows broken, and several of the buildings partially deroofed. Several hundred feet of decking from the 1,290-foot wharf were torn off and some of the pilings uprooted.

The fumigation barge was driven out to sea and lost; the launch Hermes driven aground and damaged beyond repair, but her engine was salvaged. The launches Evelyn and Helen suffered slight damage.

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45. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1916 (Washington, 1916), p. 133; Times-Picayune, Oct. 7, 1915.

46. Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1916, p. 133.

Utilizing emergency funds made available by the Surgeon-General, the physical damage to the station property was promptly repaired. The continued erosion of the dunes, however, was a more serious problem, because they had afforded considerable protection to the buildings and grounds.[47]

47. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1917 (Washington, 1917), p. 97.

IV. THE RESERVE AND RECREATION CENTER YEARS: 1916-72

A. The Gulf Quarantine Relocates

The hurricane of September 18, 1916, caused additional damage to the station and dunes. Taking cognizance of the increasingly exposed situation of the facilities resulting from destruction of the sand hills, the Public Health Service determined to transfer quarantine inspection of vessels from Ship Island to Gulfport, where two years before there had been established a relief station. This move was made on December 20, 1916, and the Ship Island facilities placed under custodianship of two watchmen. Henceforth, the barrier island station would be used when necessary for detention and treatment of infected vessels.

Relocation of the Gulf Quarantine resulted in a less expensive operation, with no improvement of the station's efficiency. In addition, it was a move long urged by Gulfport shipping interests.[1]

On April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Imperial Germany. Once again, as in the previous fiscal year, there was a decline in number of vessels passing through the station. During Fiscal Year 1917, Surgeon Thompson reported:

Sailing vessels entering quarantine	74
Steamers entering quarantine	33
Total vessels entering quarantine	107
Vessels inspected and passed	43
Vessels spoken and passed	11
Vessels fumigated	40
Vessels held for observation	1
Total crews inspected	1,705
Passengers inspected	1
Stowaways inspected	4
Rats killed by fumigation	647 (2)

1. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General for Fiscal Year 1917, pp. 97-8.

2. Ibid., p. 97.

B. Initial Caretaker Status Years

During fiscal year 1918, the Public Health Service maintained the Ship Island facility in caretaker status for detention of persons from infected vessels. As they had been since mid-December 1916, most Gulf Quarantine activities were carried out from Gulfport. Vessels were now boarded and inspected in Gulfport Channel, just before entering port.[3]

The annual reports submitted by the Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service for fiscal years 1919-24 make no mention of the Ship Island facility beyond that it was in charge at various times of one or two caretakers. In Fiscal Year 1925, funds were obligated for several maintenance-oriented projects at the station. Workmen replaced a number of piles supporting the hospital and water tower and tank; repaired and repainted the hospital and water tower; took down and dismantled the hurricane refuge tower; and set a number of piles supporting the wharf in concrete.[4]

C. 1927 Survey and President Coolidge's Executive Order

In Fiscal Year 1927, the Public Health Service, to secure permanent title to the land formerly used as the Gulf Quarantine Station, had an engineering survey made of the reservation. As of the date of the survey, four additional structures on the station inventory (the stables, No. 8; marine ways, No. 19; bridge across the Lagoon, No. 20; and west end inspection station, No. 23) had been dropped. The bridge and west end inspection station had been destroyed by fire and the materials salvaged, and the other two structures had been razed.

As a result of the survey, President Calvin Coolidge, by Executive Order No. 4586, dated February 15, 1927, transferred to the

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3. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1918 (Washington, 1918), p. 180.

4. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1925 (Washington, 1925), p. 129.

Treasury Department the land necessary for a quarantine station on Ship Island, heretofore occupied under a revocable license from the War Department, dated May 3, 1880.[5]

D. Repair and Maintenance 1927-33

1. Razing the Lazaretto

In Fiscal Year 1927 workmen were sent to the island and demolished the lazaretto. All useable materials were salvaged.[6]

2. Oriop Urges Repair of the Wharf, Walkways, and Medical Officer's and Pharmacist's Quarters

Inspection Engineer Stephen Oriop of the Public Health Service spent four days on Ship Island in early October 1928. He found the 1,260-foot wharf in need of general repairs, including replacement of some of the piles and about one-third of the decking. As the wharf, extending as it did out over the shallows for a long distance, was essential to operation of the station, he recommended its early repair.[7]

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5. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service of the United States for Fiscal Year 1927 (Washington, 1927), p. 139; Plan of "Gulf Quarantine Station on Ship Island, Mississippi," NA, RG 153; Oriop to Surgeon General, Nov. 10, 1927, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. A copy of the subject plan is on file at the Mississippi Unit, GUIS. The surveyor, in a maginal note, wrote, "Land is practically all Sand Dunes, with Marshes and Ponds. Elevations given are not constant because of shifting Dunes. Land mostly bare Sand, except in Marshes and in vicinity of Station Buildings, and North of Lagoon, where there is scrub oak, Scrub Pines, Palmetto, and other low growth, and Cactus. Farther north of Lagoon are tall Pines.

6. Grubbs to Sheeley, March 18, 1927, and Sheeley to Surgeon-General, March 22, 1927, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

7. Oriop to Supervising Architect, Nov. 29, 1928, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. The wharf, at its shore end forked into a "Y," one leg of which led to the shops and coal shed. On the wharf, about two-thirds of the distance from shore, was a landing platform for skiffs; and at the far end of the wharf was the frame "boathouse," a landing stage for launches.

In addition to the wharf, Orlop urged early repair of the galleries of the medical officer's quarters; the walkways between buildings; and necessary work (repairs to roofing, flooring, siding, etc.) as needed to other station structures.

All the buildings were frame, he reminded his superiors, and their interiors had been painted from time to time by station personnel. Most of them were again in need of a good coat of paint to their exteriors.[8]

3. Condition of Station in March 1930

Inspecting Engineer Orlop returned to Ship Island in March 1930. When he filed his report, Orlop reminded the Treasury Department that all the structures (15 buildings, a wharf, and wooden water tank) were frame and one-story, except the two-story medical officer's quarters. Some of them were on piles and others had brick foundations. Most of them had been standing about 25 years.

The station, as it had been since December 1916, was in reserve status, local Public Health Service activities were carried on at Gulfport, except when the Ship Island facilities were required for detention. Consequently, the station was in charge of a caretaker, usually one, until 1929 when he was given an assistant. No repair work had been done by contract for years, provided they discounted the dismantling of the storm-racked hurricane tower, the repair of the wharf and walkways, and repainting of the hospital, all accomplished in 1925.

Before the 1929 maintenance program, it had been years since the station had been provided with materials to effect needed repairs. Discounting the two buildings (the boathouse and pharmacist's quarters) painted by the staff in 1929 and the hospital, it had been more than 20 years since the exteriors of the other station structures had been

8. Ibid.

painted. It was accordingly fortunate that high grade lumber had been used in their construction, along with wooden ceilings and wall linings.

The surf, Orlop saw, had cut away much of the bank north of and close to the medical officer's quarters. To check this erosion, he had turned the station crew to positioning a timber cribbing and filling in behind.

The galleries of the medical officer's quarters had continued to deteriorate and were now dangerous in several places, particularly on the second floor. The screening and some of the framing must be replaced. The blacksmith and carpenters' shops had been "blown out of plumb by storms." The crew straightened them by use of wire cables secured to deadmen and turnbuckles, after which they would be braced.

The station continued to be supplied by good quality water from its 700-foot artesian well. For fire protection water from the well was pumped by a Fairbanks-Morse engine into a 12,000-gallon tank standing on a 65-foot tower. From the tank water was distributed by gravity to 12 hydrants.[9]

Funds were accordingly made available by the Public Health Service and, in September, station personnel repaired the wharf, walkways, medical officer's quarters, and pharmacist's quarters.[10]

4. R.N. Heath Repairs the Wharf and Builds Bulkhead and Crew Paints Station

The bulkheading was more than the crew could handle, so it became necessary to accomplish part of this project by contract in the

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9. Orlop to Supervising Architect, March 31, 1930, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

10. Sheeley to Surgeon-General, Sept. 23, 1929, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

autumn of 1931, coincident with replacement of a number of wharf pilings by the same contractor--R.N. Heath. When he visited Ship Island at that time, Orlop found all buildings "approaching a good state of repair due to greater efforts in upkeep work made in recent years by the station force." There was much more to be done, however, "to bring the buildings to a condition when only current repair and preservation needs will be required."

Especially urgent was the need to paint the buildings' exteriors. As this task was extensive, it would be expensive if done by contract. He accordingly urged that the station be provided by the Service with a gasoline engine and paint-spray apparatus.

This was done in January 1932, and the shingle roofs spray-painted with a mixture of red iron oxide, raw linseed oil, and pine tar; and the remainder of the exteriors with a mixture of white lead and zinc in oil, with a pinch of lampblack to break the glare, except for the trim which was green.[11]

When he made an inspection on March 24, 1932, Orlop found the painting and repairs well advanced. The paint spray apparatus had enabled the crew "to perform exterior painting. . . in far better manner and much faster than could be done by hand, particularly as most of the buildings had not been painted in . . . years and the wood is very porous."

All the structures were now in good repair, he reported, except an old shack called the laundry. This building, said to be about 50 years old, was in terrible condition, and might collapse at any minute. To document its condition and support his recommendation that it be

11. Orlop to Supervising Architect, Nov. 17, 1931, and Jan. 30, 1932, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

demolished, Orlop photographed the structure and forwarded a copy of the print to the Department.[12]

5. Demolishing the Laundry

The Surgeon-General's Office concurred in the recommendation, and the laundry was razed.[13]

6. Dredging a Boat Basin and Channel

Orlop was back on Ship Island on October 2, 1932, and discovered that, since his April visit, the crew had expanded the landward wings of the bulkhead. The area between the bulkhead and medical officer's quarters had been filled and shrubs planted. The wharf, a number of pilings of which had been replaced in October 1931 by contract, was again in good condition, but would continue to be a problem because of the teredoes in the waters of Mississippi Sound. On the whole, pilings treated with 16 pounds of creosote per cubic feet of lumber would survive for years.

Another problem had developed, however. The building up of a shoal, which had been going on for years, had now reached a point where the approach to the wharf was so shallow that it was a problem, even at high tide, to bring the station's two light-draft craft alongside. In heavy seas this was particularly dangerous. Orlop therefore recommended that estimates be secured from the War Department of the cost of deepening the boat-basin to a depth of between 7 and 9 feet at mean low water and dredging a 50-foot approach channel of a similar depth from present deepwater to the boat anchorage and boathouse landing.[14]

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12. Orlop to Supervising Architect, April 16, 1932, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

13. Carmelia to Supervising Architect, April 21, 1932, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

14. Orlop to Supervising Architect, Jan. 15, 1933, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. To document the need for dredging, Orlop attached to his report photographs and a plat of the wharf and its approaches.

Acting on Orlop's suggestion, the Surgeon General's Office secured an estimate of dredging costs from the War Department. The study was made by the Corps of Engineers, and, on May 11, 1933, Secretary of War George H. Dern informed the Surgeon General that the cost of dredging a 80-foot channel and boat anchorage with a 9-foot depth at mean low water would be $3,250.

This figure was within the Public Health Service's budget, and, on May 25, Secretary of the Treasury William H. Wooden signed a letter transferring the necessary funds to the War Department. Corps of Engineer personnel and equipment reached Ship Island in mid-June, and in five days accomplished the requisite dredging.[15]

E. Station as a Summer Resort

1. Its Physical Condition in September 1937

Senior Surgeon D.J. Prather made an inspection of the station in the first week of September 1937. He found the:

Pharmacist's quarters in good condition, requiring only minor repairs to the roof, replacement of window and door screens, and painting.

Executive Building, though in good condition, it required minor repairs to plumbing, new window and door screens, minor roof repairs, and reconstruction of one brick flue.

Attendant's quarters were in fair condition, requiring minor repairs to roof and plumbing, and replacement of door and window screens.

Hospital was in very poor condition. To make it habitable for the purpose intended required repair of the roof; replacement of

15. Carmelia to Supervising Architect, March 29, 1933, and Williams to Medical Officer in Charge, Gulf Quarantine, June 7, 1933, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

door and window screens and most of gas and water piping; painting inside and out; rebuilding of gangway; reinstallation and repair of plumbing fixtures; and refurnishing.

Paint Shop, Pumphouse, Lighting Plant House, Blacksmith Shop, Lumber Shed, and Boathouse--these structures were in fair condition, rquiring only exterior painting and minor repairs.

Condemned Property Room--the foundations should be replaced with creosoted wood blocks.

Medical Officer's Quarters, though in good structural condition, it needed to be painted inside and out; minor repairs to shingle roof; renewal of door to back hallway; first and second floor porches should be extended from the west elevation to enclose the south elevation; front and back entrances should be provided with small screened in vestibules; and a small bathroom with shower should be installed on the second floor.

Wharf--though in fair condition some pilings and railings should be replaced.

Lighting--A Kohler electric plant had been delivered to the station, but the caretaker needed assistance in installing lights and fixtures in the medical officer's and pharmacist's quarters, the executive building, and the exterior lights.[16]

2. Rehabilitating the Station as a Resort

The Public Health Service determined to assign George Beasley, former engineer at the Portland, Maine, Quarantine Station to Ship Island to oversee necessary repairs and improvements. Consequently, Surgeon Prather returned to the island on January 9,

16. Prather to Surgeon General, Sept. 15, 1937, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

1938, to make arrangements for quarters, etc. He found only two unoccupied buildings suitable for housing--the attendant's quarters and the executive building--but both would require minor repairs. In addition, the former would have to be provided with some provision for lighting and several coal oil stoves if it were to be occupied; and the latter, since it had never been used as housing, would have to have a bath installed, as well as heating facilities and screening.

In either case, Surgeon Prather forecast problems, because Station Engineer Beasley, although the senior, would have less desirable quarters than Attendant-Keeper William Frantzen, who was housed in the pharmacist's quarters.

In view of the Service's decision to rehabilitate the medical officer's quarters as a summer vacation resort for its senior staff, Surgeon Prather noted that arrangements for laundering linens, bedding, etc., could be made by contract with a Gulfport firm. Accommodations for family servants were available in the small room on the ground floor of the medical officer's quarters, which had an outside entrance.[17]

The problem involving housing was solved by assigning Beasley to the pharmacist's quarters and sprucing up the attendant's quarters for Frantzen. Rehabilitation of the medical officer's quarters as a vacation resort and other necessary station repairs were undertaken in May and June. A June 6 lightning storm added to the cost of the project, when a bolt struck the chimney of the medical officer's quarters, "splitting it from top to bottom." The chimney had to be rebuilt at an additional cost of $80.20 for materials.[18]

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17. Prather to Spencer, Jan. 11, 1938, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. Surg. C.B. Spencer was a senior Public Health Service official in the Washington Office.

18. Prather to Surgeon General, June 9, 1938; Williams to Supervising Engineer, June 11, 1938; and Prather to Spencer, June 26, 1938, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

3. Defending the Policy

From the summer of 1938 through 1941, the medical officer's quarters was made available to officers and nurses of the Public Health Service and VIPs desirous of spending vacations on the island. Among the VIPs taking advantage of this policy, either for themselves or their friends, were Senator Pat Harrison and Representative William Colmer of Mississippi.[19]

This led to a complaint by a man signing his name as "John Q. Citizen." He protested that for several years Public Health Service employees from New Orleans and Mobile hospitals had been spending their vacations on Ship Island. "They come to Gulfport, use Government boats to go and come, chase all over the Gulf fishing in Government boats on Government gas and we the taxpayers of Mississippi, help pay the bill."[20]

Dr. E.M. Townsend, officer in charge of the Mobile Quarantine Station, replied to "John Q. Citizen." He held that use of two sets of quarters for vacation purposes was desirable and that this privilege had not been abused. The quarters were seldom employed for this purpose, except during the four or five summer months. It had been the practice to assign the quarters to the officers, interns, and occasionally to some of the nurses from the Mobile and New Orleans hospitals desirous of spending a weekend on the island. Employees assigned to the station had been repeatedly cautioned regarding use of the vessels unnecessarily and to arrange the boat schedules to and from Gulfport in such a manner as to eliminate superflous trips.

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19. Williams to Carnes, April 30, 1938; Williams to Harrison, June 3, 1938; Williams to Mills, June 21, 1939; King to Colmer, Aug. 6, 1941, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

20. "John Q. Citizen" to Surgeon General, May 1, 1941, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

Most of the fishing, Dr. Townsend explained, was done from the station pier or small boats.[21]

F. Joe Graham Post Fails to Get the Station

In late summer and early autumn of 1933, the Joe Graham American Legion Post of Gulfport, which had acquired by act of Congress title to the Ship Island Military Reservation and Fort Massachusetts, acting through Mississippi Senator Pat Harrison, sought to gain possession of the quarantine station. Surgeon General H.S. Cumming resisted this grab. In his letter to Senator Harrison, Surgeon General Cumming pointed out that the Gulf Quarantine was the Service's only station capable of serving the State of Mississippi. Although maintained since 1916 in a reserve status, it was ready for use in an emergency. "Even temporary occupancy for other purpose," he reminded the senator, would militate against instant availability and use of the station for the purposes for which it was established by the Congress.[22]

The legion chose to press the issue. When the Surgeon General's Office next responded to Senator Harrison, it was pointed out that the island was uninhabited, except for the lighthouse keeper and three custodial people living at the quarantine station. During the summer people occasionally came over from the mainland and established vacation camps. But their stay was generally brief, because Ship Island was infested with mosquitoes and except at the station, the only sources of water on the island were catchment basins. In addition, certain parts of the island were heavily populated by rattlesnakes.[23]

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21. Townsend to Surgeon General, May 11, 1941, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

22. Harrison to Cumming, Sept. 19, 1933, and Cumming to Harrison, Sept. 21, 1933, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

23. Pierce to Harrison, Nov. 14, 1933, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

G. Public Health Service Opposes Inclusion of Reservation in Proposed Ship Island National Monument

As a result of the National Survey of National Parks, Historic Sites, Building, and Monuments, Acting Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman wrote Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, announcing that the National Park Service was interested in establishing a national monument on Ship Island. The island, Chapman informed Morgenthau, possesses "considerable historical significance," spanning a time frame from the French colonization of Louisiana through the Civil War. Before preparing an executive proclamation establishing the Ship Island National Monument, Chapman wished to know whether any part of the island included in the quarantine reservation was necessary for Public Health purposes, "and, if not, whether there is any objection to the transfer of jurisdiction to this Department for national monument purposes."[24]

On June 16, 1938, after a thorough investigation, the Public Health Service concluded that it would be in the interest of safeguarding the public health to retain for the present all the station buildings and a reasonable buffer of about 35 acres.[25]

Some two and a half years later, the Department of the Interior again broached the proposal to designate Ship Island as a national monument. Relaying this information to Paul V. McNutt, whose Federal Security Agency was now responsible for the Public Health Service, Assistant Secretary Chapman noted that President Franklin D. Roosevelt favored the proposal.

Because the station was not being used for quarantine purposes, Chapman suggested that it be transferred to the Department of

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24. Chapman to Secretary of the Treasury, Jan. 13, 1938, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

25. Gibbons to Secretary of the Interior, June 16, 1938, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. Stephen B. Gibbons was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

the Interior so the entire island could be administered as part of the proposed national monument. This was especially desirable, because preliminary plans called for "development of public accommodations on the [wooded] eastern end of the island in the vicinity of the quarantine station."[26]

After touching base with senior officials of the Public Health Service, Administrator McNutt informed Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes that, in the mid-1930s, a number of quarantine stations had been abandoned and transferred to other governmental agencies. At that time the advisability of abandoning Ship Island had been carefully reviewed. But it had been concluded that as long as "a threat of yellow fever returning" to the Caribbean remained, it would be unwise for the Public Health Service to abandon all its isolated quarantine stations. With the rapid increase in commercial air travel from South America, it was probably only a "matter of time until infection will be introduced from that source into some infectable area." Thus airplane traffic might give rise to a yellow fever quarantine problem.

Consequently, it was deemed advisable that the Public Health Service retain its facilities on Ship Island. Moreover, no one could foresee the course World War II might take.[27]

The involvement of the United States in the shooting war frustrated Department of the Interior plans for early establishment of a Ship Island National Memorial.

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26. Chapman to McNutt, Jan. 17, 1941, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

27. Williams to Guthrie, Jan. 28, 1941; and McNutt to Ickes, Feb. 5, 1941, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. C.L. Williams was Director, District 4, Public Health Service, and M.C. Guthrie was the Assistant Surgeon General.

H. Military Secures a Special Use Permit

1. Coast Guard Takes Charge

On June 18, 1942, six months after the attack on Pearl Harbor catapulted the United States into World War II, the War Department approached the Surgeon General with a request that the Public Health Service permit Air Corps personnel stationed at Biloxi's Keesler Field to have access to the Ship Island station for recreational purposes. Because of local conditions on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, there were few available swimming beaches. If permission were granted, the War Department proposed to implement a ferry service and install a post exchange and certain sanitary facilities.[28]

After studying the situation, Surgeon General Thomas Parran and his staff concluded that there was no objection to granting the War Department a temporary permit for use of the quarantine station as a recreation center for the duration of the national emergency. Upon the end of hostilities, the property would revert to the Public Health Service, along with all equipment and supplies.

Before the transfer was effected, however, appropriate arrangements would have to be made by the Service for reassignment of personnel billeted at the Gulf Quarantine.[29]

But, before any papers were signed, United States Coast Guard authorities at Mobile approached E.M. Townsend, medical officer in charge of the Mobile Quarantine, and requested that the guard be allowed use of the station for "maintaining patrol duty on the gulf side"

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28. O'Brien to Surgeon General, June 18, 1942, and July 28, 1942, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. Col. John J. O'Brien was chief of the Corps of Engineers' real estate division.

29. Parran to Commissioner, Public Buildings Administration, Parran to O'Brien, and Guthrie to Medical Officer in Charge, U.S. Quarantine Sta., Mobile, Aug. 5, 1942, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

of the barrier islands. Recent successes scored by German submarines in carrying the war into the Gulf of Mexico and landing agents on isolated beaches in Florida and Long Island had focused Coast Guard interest on the barrier islands. In recommending that the Coast Guard be given precedence over the Army, because their request involved national defense, Townsend pointed out that there was "a municipal pier and bathing beach at Gulfport and a new USO and recreation building with a large beach at Biloxi."[30]

Townsend's immediate superior concurred in the stance taken, writing the Surgeon General that the facility could "be reasonably utilized by the Army for recreation purpose only during the summer months." Moreover, he had heard "unofficially" that the proposed Ship Island recreation area would cater principally to Kessler Field officers.[31]

Surgeon General Parran accordingly took the position that the Service had no objection to the Coast Guard's use of the station, provided the Service "secures withdrawal [of] War Department's request on basis that defense and patrol stations more vital than use as recreation center."[32]

To hammer out an acceptable compromise there was an onsite meeting attended by Cmdr. L.C. Mueller of the U.S. Coast Guard and Col. William J. Hauton of the Air Corps on September 2. After examining the buildings and facilities, they agreed: (a) the quarantine station contained adequate resources to meet the requirements of both the Army and Coast Guard; (b) the two-story medical officer's quarters and adjacent grounds

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30. Townsend to Surgeon General, Aug. 15, 1942, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

31. Williams to Surgeon General, Aug. 13, 1942, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

32. Parran to Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard, and Parran to Commissioner, Public Buildings Administration, Aug. 18, 1942, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

was to be occupied by the Army for recreational purposes for the duration, after which it and its furnishings and equipment were to revert to the Public Health Service; (c) the remaining buildings and facilities were to be used by the Coast Guard; and (d) the electric generating machinery, potable water supply equipment, wharf, and other operating facilities were to be "available to both the Army and the Coast Guard on an equitable basis."[33]

Upon receipt of this welcomed news, the Surgeon General recommended that, in the interest of all concerned, custodial responsibility be vested in one agency--the U.S. Coast Guard--for the duration of the present emergency, with the priviso that the guard permit the War Department to use such station facilities as were mutually agreeable.[34]

On November 18, 1942, the requisite understandings having been certified by all interested parties, Surgeon Townsend transferred the Ship Island Quarantine Station to the U.S. Coast Guard. In addition to the agreement pertaining to the assignment of the medical officer's building to the Army, it was agreed that: (a) the Federal Public Works Agency would not be involved in any expense for maintenance or repair of the property; (b) no buildings or improvements would be removed or relocated without authority from Federal Public Works; and (c) when the property was no longer required for the authorized purposes, it was to be surrendered to the Public Health Service.[35]

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33. Chalker to Surgeon General, Aug. 24, 1942; Commandant, USCG to District CG Officer, Aug. 24, 1942; Memorandum of Agreement, Sept. 2, 1942; Goobrick to Surgeon General, Sept. 5, 1942, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. L.T. Chalker was Assistant Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard, and Col. Robert E. M. Goobrick was commanding officer, Keesler Field.

34. Draper to Commissioner, Public Buildings Administration, Sept. 9, 1942, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

35. Fleming to Commandant, Sept. 21, 1942, and Chief Engineer to Commandant, Sept. 28, 1942, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. Philip B. Fleming was Administrator, Federal Works Agency. The Public Health Service's boat, Sandpiper, was also turned over to the Coast Guard.

2. Station as a Kessler Field Recreation Center

By January 1944, the German U-boat menace was mastered in the battle of the Atlantic and few, if any, of the Third Reich's submarines had penetrated the Gulf of Mexico since April 1943. The Coast Guard therefore determined to cut back on its beach patrol stations. One of those scheduled for early abandonment was the Ship Island station.

Learning of the guard's plans, Col. Robert E. M. Goolrick, who commanded the Army Air Forces Technical Training Command at Kessler Field, sought authority to occupy the former quarantine station as a recreation and swimming center for enlisted personnel from his command. Because of limited gulf coast recreational facilities and water pollution near the post, there were "no suitable places available for swimming" by his enlisted people.

A survey of the quarantine station had identified 12 buildings--five of which were capable of housing personnel, the remainder being employed as utility buildings, i.e., workshops, storage sheds, light generators, storage, battery sheds, and water pumps. One of the five buildings, the medical officer's quarters, was already occupied by the Air Corps as a recreation center for officers and their families, and was managed by the Kessler Field Officers' Club. It was proposed to continue this operation in addition to the proposed expansion of activities. The remaining four buildings were capable of housing 100 enlisted men, without double bunking. Utilities were deemed sufficient to support 75 to 100 people at a time without overcrowding.

Under the Army's master plan, mess personnel for the center would be made available by the Keesler Field mess officer. Transportation to and from Ship Island would not constitute a problem, because the officers' club was already operating a 60-passenger boat on a daily schedule between the mainland and the station.[36]

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36. Leslie to Commandant, Jan. 4, 1944, & Goolrick to Surgeon General, Jan. 11, 1944, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations. (Continued)

It was May 15 before the Coast Guard finally withdrew its personnel manning the beach patrol station.[37] Upon being apprised of this, the War Department moved to implement Colonel Goolrick's proposal. On June 19, 1944, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson wrote the Commissioner, Public Buildings Administration, requesting that his department be given a permit "to use the 120 acres of the Ship Island Quarantine Station and the improvements thereon as a recreation area for Kessler Field personnel for so long as the military necessity exists."[38]

The Public Health Service was agreeable, and, on July 7, Commissioner of Public Buildings W.E. Reynolds issued to the War Department a permit to use as a recreational facility for Kessler Field, the Ship Island Quarantine Station and the buildings thereon. This permit was subject to the same restrictions as the one issued by the Administrator, Federal Works Agency, to the U.S. Coast Guard on November 18, 1942.[39]

I. Military Returns Station to Public Health Service

In the spring of 1945, soon after V-E Day, Kessler Field authorities determined to phase out the Ship Island recreation facility, and the quarantine station was returned by the War Department to the Public Health Service.[40] During Fiscal Year 1946, the structures were rehabilitated, preparatory to reopening the station.[41]

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36. (Continued) For details on the Coast Guard beach patrols the reader is referred to The United States Coast Guard at War: Beach Patrols (Washington, 1945), Vol. XVII, pp. 87-95.

37. Mueller to Medical Officer in Charge, Marine Hospital, Mobile, May 13, 1944, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

38. Stimson to Reynolds, June 19, 1944, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

39. Bodet to Negus, June 27, 1944, and Reynolds to Secretary of War, July 7, 1944, NA, RG 90, General Classified Records, Domestic Stations.

40. Annual Report of the Federal Security Agency for Fiscal Year 1945, for U.S. Public Health Service (Washington, 1945), p. 74.

41. Annual Report of the Federal Security Agency for Fiscal Year 1946, for U.S. Public Health Service (Washington, 1946), p. 319.

J. September 1947 Hurricane

Six people (Mr. and Mrs. Herman Williams of Gulfport, Mr. and Mrs. George M. Beaseley of Mobile, and Mr. and Mrs. D. McCarter, address unknown) were at the quarantine station, when the September 18-19, 1947, hurricane ravaged the area. The three couples had plenty of food, freshwater, and clothing, and weathered the storm without ill effects. The station buildings, however, took a terrible battering, ten of the thirteen suffering fearful damage.

The three couples were evacuated on Monday, the 22d, by the crew of Venturer and landed in Gulfport.[42]

K. Military Again Uses Station as Recreation Area

On April 22, 1955, the Public Health Service Reservation was transferred, along with all improvements thereon, to the Department of Defense by the General Services Administration. The reservation and facilities would be made available to Kessler Air Force Base personnel for recreation, as they had been under the World War II special use permit from 1944-1945.

The Ship Island recreational facilities were popular with the military. Water and air temperatures were favorable for bathing from April 1 through mid-October, while fishing was excellent, except for January and February, when the weather was chilly and rainy.

By the end of the summer of 1956, the facilities were receiving such heavy use that the assistant wing commander submitted a proposal for their expansion. The plan was dependent upon authorization of personnel to operate the recreation center and funds for its enlargement. At the time Kessler was experiencing "extreme difficulty in manning the . . . facility as no personnel are authorized for this operation." A

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42. Gulfport Daily Herald, Sept. 23, 1947.

second factor was the allocation and retention of boats to ferry personnel to and from Ship Island.[43]

Kessler Air Force Base personnel continued to use the facilities at the former quarantine station until about 1960, when their use was abandoned. The reason for this action was an economy move, calling for employment of personnel and equipment employed in shuttling people to and from the mainland to the island for other missions.[44]

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43. Campbell to Cdr., Technical Training Air Force, Sept. 7, 1956, Ship Island Reservation Planning Folder, Kessler Air Force Base, Recreation Office. George D. Campbell was Deputy Commander, 3380th Technical Training Wing.

44. Telephone interviews, De Coux and Singleton with Bearss, July 30, 1980. George De Coux is Recreation Director at Kessler Air Force Base and H.R. Singleton was formerly Grant Administration Officer at Kessler.

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U.S. Quarantine Station, Ship Island, Mississippi. (View 1) 1895. The yellow fever hospital is in the foreground. Courtesy Library of Congress.

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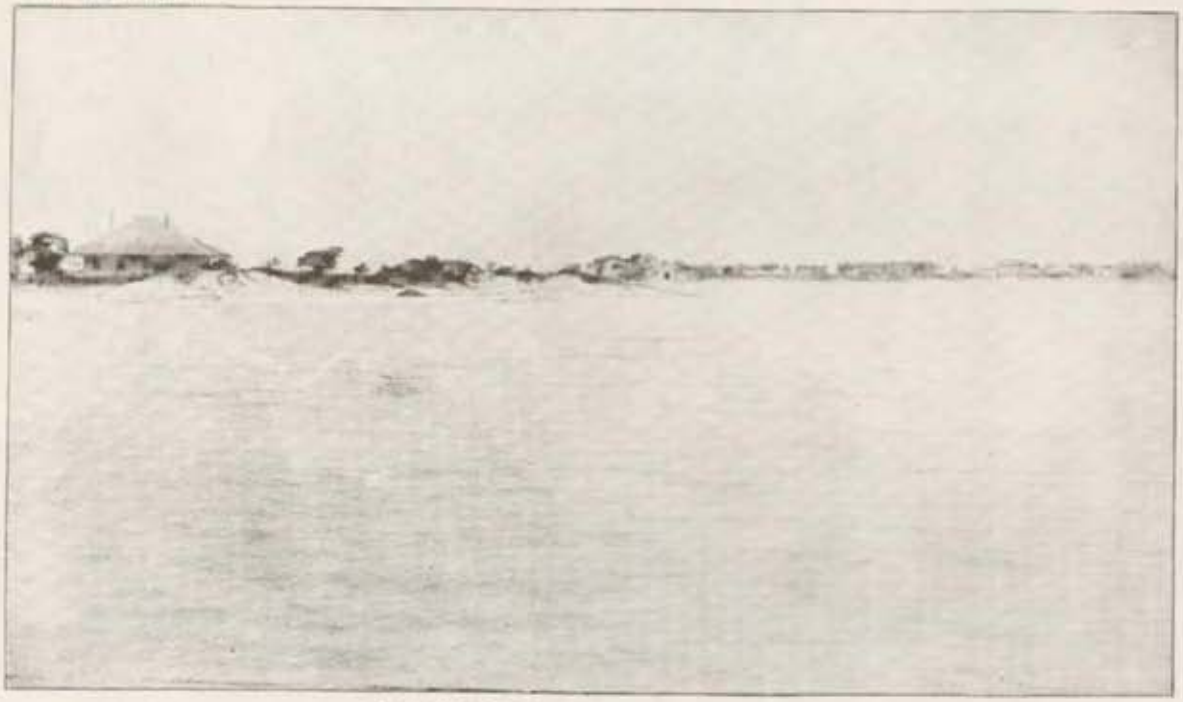
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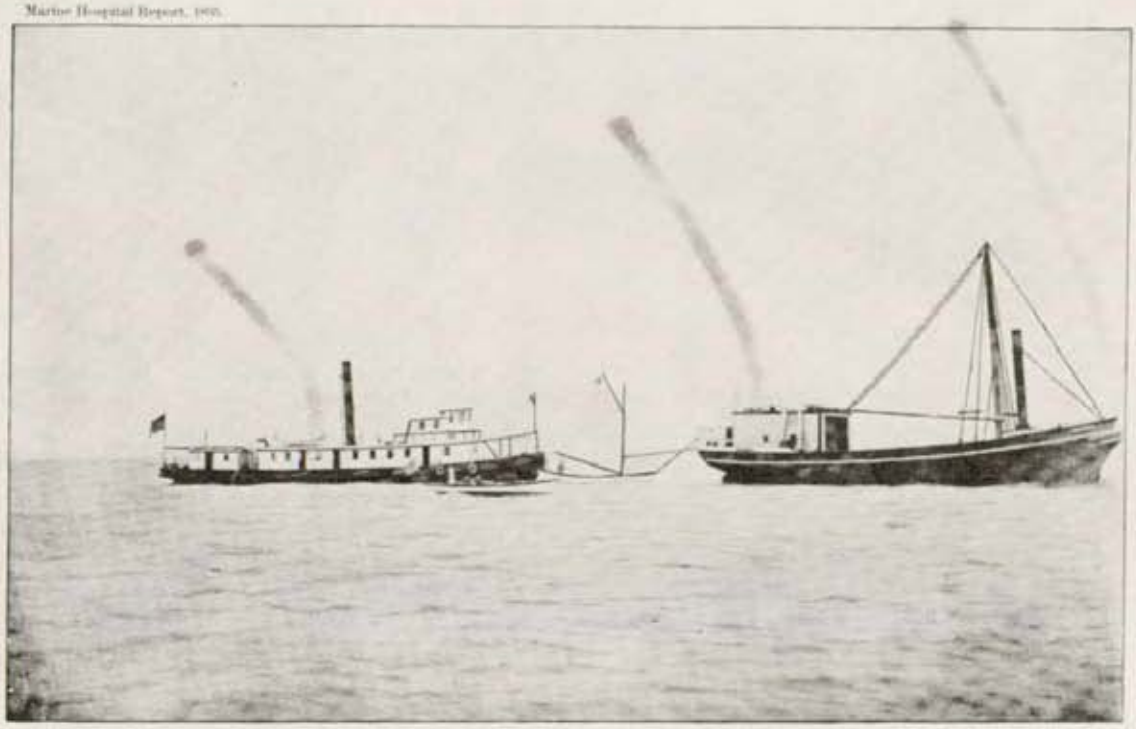
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U. S. QUARANTINE STATION, SHIP ISLAND, MISSISSIPPI. (VIEW 1.)

PLATE II

Fumigating Steamer Welch and Disinfecting Barge Zamora, U.S. Quarantine Station, Ship Island, Mississippi. (View 2) 1895. Courtesy Library of Congress.



FUMIGATING STEAMER WELCH AND DISINFECTING BARGE ZAMORA, U. S. QUARANTINE STATION, SHIP ISLAND, MISSISSIPPI. (VIEW 2.)

PLATE III

Medical Officer's Quarters, U.S. Quarantine Station, Ship Island, Mississippi. (View 3) 1895. Courtesy Library of Congress.



MEDICAL OFFICER'S QUARTERS, U. S. QUARANTINE STATION, SHIP ISLAND, MISSISSIPPI. (VIEW 1.)

PLATE IV

Executive Building, U.S. Quarantine Station, Ship Island, Mississippi. (View 4) 1895. The two structures in the foreground were used as storehouses. Note the 80-foot flagstaff and the shore end of the 900-foot wharf. Courtesy Library of Congress.



EXECUTIVE BUILDING, U. S. QUARANTINE STATION, SHIP ISLAND, MISSISSIPPI. (VIEW 4.)

PLATE V

Yellow Fever Hospital, Completed in Fiscal Year 1896, U.S. Quarantine Station, Ship Island, Mississippi. (View 5) 1895. Courtesy Library of Congress



NEW HOSPITAL, U. S. QUARANTINE STATION, SHIP ISLAND, MISSISSIPPI. (VIEW 1.)

PLATE VI

The Quarantine Station, circa 1954-1955. The building in the foreground, dating to the Gulf Coast Quarantine, was now being used by personnel from Kessler Air Force Base. Courtesy Gulf Islands National Seashore.



As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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