

Negroes in Michigan During The Civil War

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This brochure has been prepared under the sponsorship of the Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission. It is one of a series dealing with the participation of Michigan in the War and the effect of that War on peace time activities of individuals and organizations.

It is the hope of the Commission that these studies will provide not only accurate information, but also a basis for understanding and appreciating the great contribution of Michigan during the War and changes which the War produced in the State.

The Commission is grateful to all the men and women who have generously contributed their time and talents to the preparation of these studies.

Special thanks are due to Norman McRae, the author, for providing the interesting and authentic account in this volume.

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Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission
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Foreword

The Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission has engaged in numerous appropriate activities. It has sponsored the erection of historical markers on the sites of important events related to the war, and it has had compiled for libraries and local Civil War committees a chronology of the war years and a list of Michigan regiments with the engagements in which they participated, and it has conducted a conference on patriotism.

A more ambitious publications program will present the activities of individuals and groups in Michigan during the years 1860 to 1865 and the changes brought about by the war. For example, there will be books or brochures on religion, medicine, agriculture, labor, industry and other social, economic, and political subjects. Eighteen of them have already been published.

The Commission has adopted this program because the members feel that sufficient information is available about battles, officers and soldiers in the war. In contrast, little has been published about conditions in the state during the war and significant resulting adjustments.

This brochure deals with the effect of the war upon Negroes in Michigan. It contains a detailed account of Negro life and a history of the First Michigan Colored Infantry.

Negroes in Michigan During The Civil War

By

NORMAN McRAE

Norman McRae is a native of Detroit. During World War II he served in the Navy. He received both B.A. and M.A. degrees from Wayne State University. His major subjects were history and journalism. He later did graduate work in the College of Education. Mr. McRae has taught in elementary, junior high, and high schools in Detroit, and he is now an administrator in the Personnel Division of the Detroit Board of Education. He has been an acting supervisor in the social studies department, and during the summer of 1965, he was project writer for the Great Cities School Improvement Project.

Negroes in Michigan During The Civil War

Before we can hope to understand the role of Negroes in Michigan during the Civil War, it is necessary for us to understand the events and forces which helped to set the stage for the drama which unfolded. This drama had its moments of tragedy and its moments of comedy. There were heroes, villains, and buffoons and an erstwhile Greek Chorus. All of the dramatic elements were present, and they unfolded on various planes. All of its dramatic elements were dwarfed, however, by the epic struggle of the Civil War and the building of American democracy. And yet, the final irony of it all was that this drama was a significant part of the whole.

The history of the Negro in Michigan is similar to that of his brothers in most states east of the Mississippi. He was brought there because he was an excellent and inexpensive source of labor. The French seigneurs tried to enslave the Indians, but this could not be done as easily because the Indians could take to the woods and find sanctuary among their people.

Negroes who were brought into the territory by Southerners who settled here. Slaves were purchased from Indians who raided southern plantations and from eastern slaveholders.

The following letters which are in the letter-book of Phyn and Ellice, slave brokers, indicate the cost of Eastern slaves. These letters are owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.¹

“Schenectady, 23 August, 1760.

“Mr. James Sterling, Detroit

“We have tried all in our power to purchase the wenches and Negro lads, but it is impossible to get any near your terms. No green negroes are now brought into the Province. We can purchase negroes for eighty pounds to ninety pounds, and wenches from sixty pounds

¹ Burton Historical Collection, *Negroes In Detroit* (Detroit, Michigan: Detroit Public Library), p. 1.

to seventy pounds. If such will be acceptable, advise and you shall have them in the spring and perhaps under if we can meet with Yankees in the winter.

"With great esteem,
"Yours, P. & E."

"To Mr. John Porteous, Detroit

"Dear Sir:

"We have contracted with a New England gentleman for some green negroes to be delivered here the first of August, and then your wench will be forwarded together with a negro boy, in case she may some time hereafter choose. We apprehend he will be useful or advantageous about the shop, or you can dispose of him as you find best. The price is fifty pounds each.

"Yours, etc., P. & E."

During the Revolutionary War, the British and their Indian allies used Detroit as a base of operations from which they attacked frontier settlements in Kentucky. By July of 1777, Lieutenant George Hamilton had launched 15 raids against various targets in Kentucky. Many settlers were killed and many captives were brought back to Detroit. It is recorded that during these chaotic days there were about 500 captives in Detroit and some of them were slaves.²

Slavery in the North was not an economic necessity but rather a manifestation of an aristocratic tradition. In the jargon of today, we would call it a status symbol. Many of Detroit's leading families owned slaves. Joseph Campau, James Duperon Baby, John Askin, Judge James May, George McDougall, and General John R. Williams owned one or more slaves. Slaves were employed as domestics and given as gifts. They were regarded as property and legacies; for this reason they were regarded as a taxable item. Slaves were also given as payments for debts.

The slaves of French families spoke the language of the household fluently. A few Negroes received a simple education and became valuable employees for their masters. At one time, General John R. Williams owned a newspaper, "*The Oakland Chronicle*." Hector, one of his slaves was placed in charge of the printing plant. Mullett was the property of Joseph Campau and

² F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1954), p. 80.

acted as his master's clerk. He was alleged to have been very shrewd and honest in business matters.

Although slaves in Detroit were not treated as badly as their brothers in the South, slavery northern-style could be ruthless. Ann Wyley, a Negro slave, was hanged for stealing the sum of six guineas (roughly thirty dollars) from the firm of Abbott and Finchley. She was accorded the ultimate disgrace of being buried face downward.³

In 1787 the Continental Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance as a constitution for the Northwest Territory, of which Michigan was a part. Article VI provided that

There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the Said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.⁴

There was no wholesale emancipation of slaves. Most masters took advantage of the confusion and ambiguity of living under two flags. Detroit was governed by the British and by the American government. She was part of Canada and part of the Northwest Territory until 1796. After the American government began to rule Detroit and the Northwest Territory, human bondage did not die because there was a clause in the Jay Treaty which gave British subjects, who owned slaves before the British withdrawal, the right to keep slaves since they were considered to be property. Americans, however, could not own slaves.⁵ In 1802, shareholders in the Northwest Territory petitioned Congress to suspend Article VI for ten years. This petition was refused. However, slavery continued to be taxable property until 1818. Some families owned slaves as late as 1836.⁶

It is interesting to note that during the administration of Governor William Hull, the Michigan Territory's first governor, Negroes were used to defend Detroit from attack by the Sauks, Kickapoos, Mascouten and other Indian tribes. Around 1805, Governor Hull gave his permission to former slaves who had run away to Canada to form a militia unit. Governor Hull placed Peter Denison, a Negro, in command of this unit.

³ Burton Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 6.

⁵ Bald, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁶ Burton Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Augustus B. Woodward, a judge of the territorial Supreme Court, and his committee opposed this decision. They brought charges of misconduct in office against the governor. This committee maintained that the arming of Negroes was an act that might tend to be injurious to the "proprietors of slaves." They requested that the governor show just cause for this action and submit a report to the territorial legislature on this matter.

Governor Hull reported that Peter Denison and his men while under arms had exhibited good conduct and loyalty to the government and citizenry. They were considered to be the legal arm of the local government and essential to the protection of Detroit. Governor Hull also stated that he felt that it was legal to use Denison and his men in this fashion since they were living in the Michigan territory as free people. Nevertheless, this company of territorial militia was abolished. During the War of 1812, Negroes from Detroit fought for the United States.⁷

One of the ironies of Michigan history is that most of the American settlers in Michigan had come from the East and had brought along many of the New England values and ideas about education and human rights. Nevertheless, their relations with Negroes in Michigan were unduly influenced by the "black codes" of their sister states. "Black codes" were laws enacted by states to limit Negroes from participating in the full privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. These laws generally prohibited Negroes from voting, attending schools with whites, entering and using public facilities such as hotels, theatres, and restaurants, and in some cases, it forced them to post a bond with the local government to insure good behavior and to guard against indigency.

CHART SHOWING PASSAGE OF BLACK CODES IN THE STATES OF THE NORTHWEST⁸

<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Indiana</i>	<i>Illinois</i>	<i>Iowa</i>
January 5, 1804	December 30, 1816	March 22, 1819	January 21, 1839
January 5, 1807	January 28, 1818	January 3, 1825	
February 9, 1831	January 22, 1824	January 17, 1825	
March 14, 1831		February 1, 1831	

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.
⁸ Dorothy Emmer, "The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest Before 1870" (Unpublished Masters Thesis, Dept. of History, Wayne University, 1935) p. 7.

On April 13, 1827, a law was passed which required all "black people to register at the county clerk's office after May 1, 1827." Those Negroes who did not have their "free papers" would not be permitted to reside in the territory. In addition, those Negroes who met all other requirements for residence had to post a five hundred dollar bond to insure their continuous "good behavior". All Negroes who could not meet the requirements were forced to leave the territory. Many merely crossed the river and entered Canada. Thus the Negro population of Detroit was reduced to sixty-six free Negroes.

This restrictive law of 1827 did not hinder Negroes from coming to Detroit on their way to Canada. Since the law of 1827 was never strictly enforced, many stayed here. Whenever their qualifications for residence were too closely checked, they merely crossed the river. One couple who stopped in Detroit rather than go into Canada was Mr. and Mrs. Thornton Blackburn. Their plight had a tremendous impact upon the future of Negroes in Michigan.

In 1831, Thornton Blackburn and his wife escaped from Louisville, Kentucky. They became members of the Negro community and were apparently well liked. In 1833, they were apprehended by their owner who invoked the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, and had Sheriff Wilson place them in the city jail until they could leave on the steamer, *Ohio* for Louisville. For this service the sheriff and his deputy received fifty dollars each. Meanwhile the Negro community was angered by the affair which in their point of view was a miscarriage of justice.

The steamer, *Ohio*, was to leave on Monday. On Sunday, Mrs. Madison Lightfoot and Mrs. George French, two of Detroit's most prominent colored matrons were allowed to visit Mrs. Blackburn in the city jail. Mrs. Blackburn exchanged clothing with Mrs. French and in this disguise left the jail and was quickly taken across the Detroit River to Amherstburg, Ontario. When Sheriff Wilson discovered the hoax, Mrs. French was threatened with the fate of permanently taking Mrs. Blackburn's place and this entailed being taken back to Kentucky where she would be sold into slavery to compensate the owner for the loss of one

female slave. Later that day, however, Mrs. French was allowed to leave the jail.

The following day when Mr. Blackburn was to leave the jail to be returned to slavery a crowd of Negroes gathered outside the jail. They were angry, and the situation was rife with danger. As the sheriff, his deputy, the slave owner, and his slave approached the prison coach, the crowd drew closer. Blackburn asked the sheriff if he might speak to the crowd in order to allay their fears and to appease their anger. As the people crowded in to hear Blackburn, someone slipped him a pistol which he brandished and ran into the coach where he locked himself in, and promised to kill whoever attempted to recapture him. The remaining members of the original quartet ran back into the jail for safety.

The group of white people who had been looking on immediately came to the rescue of Sheriff Wilson. In the melee which followed, Blackburn was slipped from the coach by Sleepy Polly, and Daddy Walker whisked him away to Canada. Sheriff Wilson was fatally wounded by an unknown assailant. The prison coach was disabled so that the pursuit of Blackburn was impossible. Daddy Walker threw any possible pursuers off of the trail by going out Gratiot and then doubling back to River Rouge where he and Blackburn escaped by boat to Sandwich, Ontario. We have seen this particular scene played out in countless motion pictures. The only missing element is the man who said, "They went thata way".

Meanwhile back in Detroit a full scale race riot was in progress. In the subsequent examination, those persons involved were fined and sentenced to work on the street repair gang. Mr. Lightfoot was jailed for allegedly slipping the gun to Blackburn. Mr. and Mrs. French fled to Canada.

Many Negroes who had not been involved in the Blackburn Affair planned a march in order to protest mob brutality and various injustices. Mayor Chapin issued a proclamation which silenced the planners of this demonstration. The proclamation stated that all Negroes who could not prove that they were free would be expelled from Michigan. And once more there was an

exodus to Canada. Thus ended what the white citizenry of Detroit termed "The First Negro Insurrection."

Authorities in Michigan tried to convince the Canadian government that Thornton Blackburn was indeed the man who had mortally wounded Sheriff Wilson. The Canadian government, apparently not convinced, did not extradite him. Blackburn joined his wife in Amherstburg and moved on to Toronto where he became a highly respected member of the community. In 1843, Thornton Blackburn in a disguise slipped back to Kentucky and helped his mother to escape into Canada.⁹

The Blackburn Affair was not only a *cause celebre* but for some, an outlet for apparent guilt and shame at man's perpetual inhumanity to his fellow man. One writer has explained it this way:

During the 1840s and 1850s a great wave of reforming zeal swept across America. Scholars have traced its beginning to a series of religious revivals in western New York state led by Charles S. Finney in the 1820s. . . . This spirit expressed itself in many different ways: the movement for the abolition of slavery, the temperance crusade, the campaign for women's rights, anti-Catholicism, dietary reform, new religions, Utopian socialism, prison reform, new schemes for education, and others.¹⁰

In 1837, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Haviland and Elizabeth Chandler founded the first anti-slavery organization in Michigan. The majority of the members were Quakers. By 1842, however, there were 30 different anti-slavery groups operating in the state.¹¹

This feeling of brotherhood was not the dominant feeling of most white citizens of the state. Although slavery was abolished by the state constitution of 1835 and Michigan entered the union as a free state in 1837, Negroes were not allowed to wade into the main stream of Michigan life.¹²

In 1839, the Havilands opened a school called Raisin Institute. It was probably given that name because it was located near the Raisin River. They firmly believed that their school should

⁹ Burton Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 12-16.

¹⁰ Willis Frederick Dunbar, *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), p. 426.

¹¹ Burton Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

have both Negro and white students. "The Havilands were severely criticized, even by their abolitionist colleagues who felt that Freedom for the Negro was one thing but that his sharing a desk with their children was quite another." A number of white families took their children out of their school. The Havilands, however, never wavered in their moral commitment, and all Negroes eager to acquire knowledge and skills were welcomed as before.¹³

This contradictory dichotomy was apparent throughout the North. One of our contemporary historians expressed the idea this way:

The Mason-Dixon Line is a convenient but often misleading geographical division. It has been used not only to distinguish the Old South from the North and the Confederacy from the Union but to dramatize essential differences in treatment of, and attitudes toward, the Negro — to contrast southern racial inhumanity with northern benevolence and liberality. But the historian must be wary of such an over simplified comparison, for it does not accord with the realities of either the nineteenth or the twentieth century. The inherent cruelty and violence of southern slavery requires no further demonstration, but this does not prove northern humanity. Although slavery eventually confined itself to the region below the Mason-Dixon Line, discrimination against the Negro and a firmly held belief in the superiority of the white race were not restricted to one section but were shared by an overwhelming majority of white Americans in both the North and the South.¹⁴

Charles MacKay was an observer and commentator upon life in the ante bellum North. In his book, *Life and Liberty in America: or Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada in 1857-1858*, he made the following observation:

"We shall not make the black man a slave; we shall not buy him or sell him; but we shall not associate with him. He shall be free to live to thrive, if he can, and to pay taxes and perform duties; but he shall not be free to dine and drink at our board — to share with us the deliberations of the jury box — to sit upon the seat of judgement however, capable he may be — to plead in our courts — to represent us in the legislature — to attend us at the bed of sickness and pain — to mingle with us in the concert-room, the lecture-room, the theatre,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. VII.

or the church, or to marry with our daughters. We are of another race, and he is inferior. Let him know his place — and keep it.” This the prevalent feeling, if not the language of the free North.¹⁵

Anti-Negro riots in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1829 caused Negroes in that city to migrate into Michigan, Canada, western Pennsylvania, and New York. Negro leaders called for a convention in Philadelphia on September 15, 1830. Delegates came from New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. This body voted in favor of migration to Canada, but it opposed all plans for African colonization. This was also an attempt to found a permanent organization. They met annually for five years and then dissolved. It was called “American Society of Free Persons of Colour for Improving Their Condition in the United States, for Purchasing Lands and for the Establishment of a Settlement in the Province of Upper Canada.” It was generally known as the Negro National Convention. Some years later in 1843, a number of progressive Negroes used the same *modus operandi* as a means to rally support for an attack on injustice and racism in Michigan.¹⁶

The State Convention of the Colored Citizens of Michigan met in Detroit in October of 1843. William Lambert issued the clarion call in Detroit’s *Daily Advertiser* and *The Signal of Liberty*, an anti-slavery paper published in Ann Arbor:

“. . . For as we are an oppressed people, wishing to be free, we must evidently follow the examples of oppressed nations that have preceded us. For history informs us that the liberties of an oppressed people are obtained only in proportion of their own exertions in their own cause. Therefore in accordance with this truth, let us come up, and like the oppressed people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, band ourselves together and wage unceasing war against the high-handed wrongs of the hideous monster, Tyranny! . . . Yes, let us assemble, let us come together, and pledge ourselves in the name of God and bleeding humanity and posterity to organize until the green-eyed monster Tyranny shall be trampled under the feet of the oppressed. . . .”¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁶ Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 171.

¹⁷ Burton Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Then come dear brethern If we would be free,
We must demand our liberty,
And Strike the blow with all our might,
For Liberty is the balm of life.¹⁸

Negroes came from Jackson, Washtenaw County, Marshall and other Michigan communities in order to demand redress for their wrongs. They drafted the following resolution to the people of Michigan:

"That. . . . We the representatives of the oppressed of this State will continue to write, publish, cry aloud, and Spare not, in opposition to all political injustice . . . until the first and second articles of our State Constitution shall cease to conflict with each other. . . . That the Declaration of Independence is the textbook of this nation and without its doctrines be maintained, our government is insecure."¹⁹

No serious discussion of the Negro in Michigan would be complete without some mention of Cass County. Cass County became an important terminus on the Underground Railroad, but that is another story. How it became a significant enclave for Negroes is the main idea of the moment. Cass County is in the southwest part of the state, and one hundred thirty years ago, it was a thriving agricultural region. The irony of the Cass County Story is that the people who settled there were Southerners. They were Quakers who were implacable foes of slavery and left the South because of their hatred for the "Peculiar Institution." They came North and settled in Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio. The majority of those settling in Michigan moved to Cass County.

To Negroes Cass County became a "Promised Land" when the Reverend Henry Way brought the first fugitive slave into the area. Ten years later, in 1836, a Colony of free Negroes migrated into this agricultural region. Another important incident which shaped Cass County into a semi-utopia for Negroes was the bequest of a benevolent slave owner named Saunders.

In 1847, Mr. Saunders, a wealthy Virginia planter died. In his will, however, he made provisions to manumit his slaves. The executor of the will purchased land in Cass County's Calvin

¹⁸ Emmer, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁹ Burton Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

Township and brought all of the former Saunders slaves there on Christmas Eve of 1847. Each of the forty freedmen, irrespective of age, received an equal share. In the important test of survival in this new environment, the freedmen were aided and abetted by the members of the Quaker community. By 1850, Cass County was second only to Wayne County in Negro population. There were 376 Negroes in Cass County and 697 in Wayne County. Most of the Negroes who lived in Cass and Wayne County were fugitives. They had either escaped by themselves or were helped by the stockholders on the Underground Railroad.²⁰

Quakers, members of Protestant Churches, and free Negroes were the chief stockholders on the Underground Railroad. The only dividends they received were those of the spirit. They obtained their reward in the knowledge that they had struck a blow for freedom and one against slavery. This railroad system ran throughout the North, and Michigan was a significant part of it.²¹

Michigan, because of its location on the Canadian border, was one of the most important terminals of the road, and thousands crossed at various points on the Detroit River. Levi Coffin of Cincinnati generally has been considered the "president" of the railroad. He often raised money for rail tickets north and helped establish the many "stations" along the way that provided havens for those making the move to Freedom.

The routes from the South generally led through Toledo, Ohio, and Indiana towns such as Angola, Goshen, South Bend, and Michigan City. Some of the slaves moved to freedom by Great Lakes steamers which carried them from Chicago, Racine, or Milwaukee to Sarnia, Ontario.

Battle Creek was an important stop on the road from Indiana. This route came into Michigan near Cassopolis where the leader was Zachariah Shugert. At Cassopolis the agent was Parker Osborn, while at Schoolcraft it was Dr. Nathan Thomas. At Battle Creek it was Erastus Hussey. Jabe S. Finch was the agent at Marshall and Edwin M. Johnson at Albion. It was generally

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²¹ Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

assumed that Townsend E. Gidley was the man to see at Parma. There were two agents at Jackson: Lonson Wilcox and Norman Allen.

At Michigan Center the agent was Abel F. Fitch while there were also stops at Leoni and Grass Lake. At Dexter it was Samuel W. Dexter, while at Scio it was Theodore Foster. Foster was also, along with Guy Beckley, co-editor of *The Signal Liberty*, the organ of the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society. Beckley was in charge at Ann Arbor and John Geddes at Geddes. There were also stops at Plymouth and Ypsilanti. Agents in Detroit included Horace Hallock, Silas Holmes, and Samuel Zug.

One of the main "passenger depots" in Detroit was the livery stable at the corner of State and Griswold, now the site of the offices of the Detroit Bank and Trust Company. In a large livery stable owned by Seymour Finney, many Negroes were hidden until it was safe to move across the Detroit River. Finney also owned a hotel, and many of the slaveowners seeking their runaway slaves stayed with Finney, not realizing that their slaves were housed in Finney's livery stable.²²

In Michigan, some of the best conductors in this humanitarian endeavor were Negroes. George de Baptiste and John D. Richards, barbers; Joseph Ferguson, a physician; William Webb, a grocer; and the Reverend W. C. Monroe, an Episcopalian minister, were the best known. Of these, de Baptiste and Lambert were the most outstanding. When de Baptiste was a boy, he helped a slave to escape from Richmond, Virginia. In 1844, eight years before coming to Detroit, he maintained a station for the Underground Railroad at Madison, Indiana. Both de Baptiste and Lambert left interesting records of how the Underground Railroad operate.

Lines extended from these stations down through Kentucky, Missouri, and other nearby southern states. There were stations only a short distance apart along the Ohio River up to White Pigeon, Michigan. Underground agents went regularly to conduct Negroes from the plantations to the Ohio River. Station-

²² Philip P. Mason and Paul J. Pentecost, *From Bull Run to Appomattox: Michigan's Role in the Civil War* (Detroit, Wayne State University 1961), p. 13-14.

keepers on the northern bank of the River were notified the moment fugitives arrived.

De Baptiste, for instance, would receive a letter saying:

"There is a chance to purchase a horse that will suit your purpose. He is a mahogany bay, young, well-broken, large, and is just the thing for a minister. You can see him on Tuesday afternoon. Price \$100."

He understood from this letter that a large mulatto, a church member, would be at the Louisville station Tuesday night, with \$100 to cover his expenses. At other times he might receive word that a "light brown filly" was coming, and he knew that a young Negro girl was on her way north. If he was told that the "price" would be cheap he inferred that the fugitive had little or no money and must be helped at his own expense. Fugitive children were often described as "black and tan pups, good ratters but young." When agents were informed that the "Bays", "fillies", or "pups" were to be sent to them across the river, they would go down to the Ohio after dark and hide at the water's edge. Upon landing, the fugitives were escorted to the next station, traveling either in wagons, on foot, or on horseback.

Since the Ohio River was kept under scrutiny by patrols on the Kentucky side and by slavecatchers on the northern side, it was extremely dangerous to attempt a crossing with fugitives, especially if the crossing was to be made in skiffs. For if the skiff was captured, the white agents apprehended would be fined and imprisoned and the Negroes returned to bondage.

When crossing the river by steamboat, Underground agents took elaborate precautions to avoid arrest. The agent usually disguised himself as a southern planter or merchant, boarded the steamer at Louisville or farther down the Ohio, and secured a stateroom. He then asked the clerk of the vessel if anyone had brought a bundle aboard for him, feigning great anxiety. The answer expected and usually received was "No." The agent's next move was to signal a colleague on shore who would send the fugitive aboard carrying a bundle bearing the label of some well known clothing-store. Or the fugitive might arrive with a basket of laundry and inquire for "Massa Delmar," or some other name previously agreed upon. "Massa Delmar" would direct the bearer of the bundle to his stateroom, slipping him the key, and the

fugitive would go to the room and lock himself in. During the trip "Massa Delmar" stayed away from the room but remained on deck, playing cards or conversing with the other passengers. Under no circumstances would he speak to the fugitive while in the presence of others. If there were other agents aboard he avoided them so that in case one of them was discovered and arrested he would not be involved.

When the boat docked at Cincinnati, the fugitive either slipped off the steamer alone or left in company with the agent to simulate a slave accompanying his master. White women often brought Negro women to the North in similar manner.

William Lambert was born in Trenton, New Jersey in 1814. At the age of 24 he came to Detroit and opened a tailor shop on Brush Street. Lambert became a successful business man as well as an important figure in the Negro community. When he died in 1886, Lambert left an estate of over \$75,000. His memoirs first appeared in the Sunday, January 17, 1886, issue of the *Detroit Tribune*. He wove a fascinating story of the McKinseyites and the African American Mysteries.

Lambert's reminiscences of the Underground Railroad are among the few vivid accounts extant. They first appeared in the *Detroit Tribune* for Sunday, January 17, 1886, and begin with the story of the McKinseyites.

The McKinseyites were a band of 60 or 70 cutthroats who, in 1829 and for several years afterwards, were the terror of the Southwest. The McKinseyites, according to Lambert, were employed for awhile by Detroit agents as conductors on the Underground Railroad. Their endeavors on behalf of Negro freedom were not prompted by the slightest degree of altruism but were inspired by the opportunity to use fugitives for their own aggrandizement. The McKinseyites would steal a slave off the plantation and sell him. Later they would steal him from his new master and take him to Detroit. Sometimes they sold a slave to three or four different masters before bringing him to the North.

Lambert said of these men:

"It was a long time before we could make up our minds to use these scoundrels, but we at last concluded that the end justified the

means. Indeed, we went further than that before we got through with our work and held that any effort to secure liberty justified any means to overcome obstacles that intervened to defeat it. . . . Our associations with the McKinseyites were from the very necessities of the case of short life. They were sure to be caught sooner or later, and at last some more daring robbery than usual brought some of them to prison and dispersed the rest.

"We then began the organization of a more thorough system and we arranged passwords and grips and ritual, but we were always suspicious of the white man, and so those we admitted we put to severe tests, and we had one ritual for them alone and a chapter to test them in. To the privileges of the rest of the order they were not admitted."

The organization to which Lambert referred was "The African-American Mysteries: The Order of the Men of Oppression." It was at once a kind of cabalistic anti-slavery cult and Underground Railroad agency. The membership of this strange order was made up of fugitives, free Negroes, and white Underground operators. During the period of the Railroad's greatest activity (1840-1860) the Mysteries had many Negro members throughout the United States and Canada.

Lambert composed the rituals for the order and had charge of the Grand Charter Lodge, located in a building on Jefferson Avenue between Bates and Randolph Streets. The order was clothed "with a good deal of frumpery," as Lambert put it, to impress the members with the grave significance of its work.

In the first chapter of this order were three degrees: Captives, Redeemed, and Chosen. An extension of the first degree was the Degree of Confidence, from which Underground agents were chosen.

Every fugitive brought to Detroit by operators of the organization automatically became a member of the Mysteries. The following "test conversation," a dialogue between the agent and the fugitive, was taught to nearly 40,000 slaves.

Question: Have you ever been on the railroad?

Answer: I have been a short distance.

Question: Where did you start from?

Answer: The depot.

Question: Where did you stop?

Answer: At a place called safety.

Question: Have you a brother there? I think I know him.

Answer: I know you now. You travelled on the road.

After entering the first chapter, there were still other degrees which the ambitious fugitive, through diligent study, might attain. These were Rulers, Sterling Black Knights, Chevaliers of Ethiopia, and Knights of St. Domingo. As the candidate progressed, the tests and rituals became more difficult. Although mere "frumpery" on the surface, the elaborate symbolism and intricate ritual of the Mysteries served the practical purpose of winnowing out all but the most intelligent and trustworthy aspirants to leadership in the organization.

When an applicant had gained admission to the higher degrees, the purpose of the Mysteries was revealed to him. And that purpose was universal freedom. There was a voluminous ritual dealing with the principles of freedom, and candidates were required to study the works of authorities on government and revolution. About 60,000 entered the higher degrees.

Henry Bibb, a former slave, gained much recognition as an anti-slavery lecturer in the 1840's. At one time, he was sponsored by the Michigan Liberty Party. Later, he moved to Windsor where he published "The Voice of the Fugitive" which chronicled the activities of the Underground Railroad and its human cargo. The following quotations are examples of his editorial style:

"This road is doing better business this fall than usual. The Fugitive Law has given it more vitality, more activity, more progress and more opposition, which invariably accelerates business. We have been under the necessity of tearing up the old strap rails and putting down the regular T's, so that we can run a lot of slaves through from almost any of the bordering Slave States into Canada within 48 hours, and we defy the slaveholders and their abettors to beat that if they can.

We have just rescued a fresh lot today of hearty looking men and women, on the last train from Virginia and still there is room."

"In enumerating the arrivals of this week we can count only 17, ten of whom came together on the express train of the 'Underground Railroad'. This lot consisted of a mother with 6 children, and 3 men. The next day there came 4 men, the next day 2 arrived and then one came alone. The latter tells of having a warm combat with two slave catchers, in which he found it necessary to throw a handful of sand

in the eyes of one of them; and while he was trying to wash it out, he broke away from the other and effected his escape.”²³

One wag of this period noted that “the sublimest sight in North America was not Niagara or Quebec or Great Lakes but the leap of a slave from a boat to the freedom of the Canadian shore.”²⁴ J. P. H. Clairborne, a well known Southern writer of this period, claimed that between 1810-1850, the South lost over 100,000 slaves who were worth thirty million dollars. In his memoirs William Lambert claimed that the Michigan Lines of the Underground Railroad carried between 40,000 to 50,000 passengers into Canada.²⁵ Siebert in his study of the Underground Railroad estimated that after 1850 as many as thirty fugitives a day crossed the Detroit River into Amherstburg.²⁶

The loss of so many slaves and the Crosswhite incident helped to increase the South's determination to maintain and spread slavery. Thus the compromise of 1850 and its odious Fugitive Slave Act occurred.

This law meant that all Negroes who could not prove that they were free men were subject to seizure and removal to the Southern part of the United States, without due process of law. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 did much to change the hearts and attitudes of non-aligned people. This law was an amended version of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. The 1850 version forced any citizen to assist the authorities in the capture of any Negro suspected of being a fugitive or face the possibility of being fined.²⁷ Moreover, this law created doubt and hostility in the minds of free people.

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was not the primary cause of the heightened tensions between the two sections of the country, but rather, symptomatic of a tension already in being. If a liberal-minded man like Henry Clay could sponsor such a piece of legislation, what further demands might be expected from the Southern extremist? If Daniel Webster could find it in his heart to accede to what Mr. Clay

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁴ Fred Landon, “Amherstburg, Terminus of the Underground Railroad,” *The Journal of Negro History*, X (1925), 3.

²⁵ Burton Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²⁶ Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²⁷ Richard B. Morris (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, p. 210,

had proposed as a "compromise" to whom must the outraged North look for new leadership? Over and over again, the South had served notice that its trumpets would never call retreat. How long could the North afford to go on withdrawing."²⁸

During the 1850's, the volume of clandestine freight increased on the Michigan Line. However, few Negroes settled in Michigan because they feared recapture. In Detroit, a Refuge Home Society was organized. It purchased land near Sandwich, Ontario, and helped fifty families to settle there. Members of the American Missionary Society were also there helping these self-manumitted Negroes to establish their first homes. Most of the Negroes lived near Amherstburg, Ontario, which was an important terminus on the Underground Railroad System.

Many individuals including the Heinmans, a Jewish family, in Detroit, and the members of the *Detroit Socialer Turnverein*, "liberty loving Germans who came to America after 1848, worked valiantly to help make Negroes free."²⁹ The feeling about Negroes and slavery ranged from compassion to indifference. Moreover, a person's strong anti-slavery feelings did not necessarily make him in favor of the Underground Railroad. In most of the states of the Old Northwest, local governments were concerned that their states might be inundated with Negroes. People of color were allowed to move into Ohio, but their lives were restricted by the many laws which prohibited them from exercising the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Indiana and Illinois prohibited free Negroes from entering their state.³⁰ In Michigan in 1850, a coalition of Negroes and whites petitioned the State Constitutional Convention to add an amendment granting Negroes the right to vote. Immigrants and Indians were enfranchised, but Negroes were not.³¹

On January 31, 1855, Erastus Hussey of Battle Creek, one of the state's leading abolitionist and conductors on the Underground Railroad, introduced a bill in the State Senate which

²⁸ William Breyfogle, *Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad* New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958, 209.

²⁹ Burton Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

³⁰ Emmer, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

³¹ Broadus N. Butter, "The City of Detroit and the Emancipation Proclamation" (A Speech to Wayne State University Emancipation Centennial Announcement Luncheon, September 21, 1962), p. 10.

sought to protect the rights of Michigan's colored citizens. It became Michigan's famous "Personal Liberty Law." It directed all prosecuting attorneys to defend all persons arrested as fugitive slaves. Moreover, these persons accused of being escaped slaves were entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, trial by jury, the right of appeal through the county courts. All costs were to be borne by the state, and local jails were not to be used to incarcerate alleged fugitives. This law also handed out stiff punishment for those persons who bore false witness. Anyone falsely accusing a person of being an escaped slave could be punished by a fine or imprisonment. In all cases involving Negroes alleged to be fugitives, two witnesses were required. A second act prohibited state marshals from helping to recapture suspected fugitive slaves. After a month's deliberation, these bills became laws.³²

In May of 1858, William Lambert called a convention of the followers of John Brown in Chatham, Ontario. The Reverend W. C. Monroe presided over the meeting. This convention formulated a new constitution for the new state to be established for slaves by John Brown and his men. The delegates to the convention pledged men and arms to John Brown and his cause. The delegates sentiments about slavery were well illustrated by this portion of the constitution:

. . . Slavery throughout its entire existence in the United States is none other than a most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens upon another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude or absolute extermination; in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths set forth in our Declaration of Independence.³³

In 1859, John Brown provided one of the most dramatic chapters in the annals of the Underground Railroad. The John Brown Express carried eleven slaves from Missouri through Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and into Michigan. When this weary band arrived in Detroit, the number of fugitives had increased by one. A baby had been born on the way. On March 12, 1859, Brown saw them leave Detroit for Windsor aboard the

³² Emmer, *op. cit.*, p. 50-51.

³³ Burton Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

ferry. Their Odyssey was over and a new ordeal was to begin. This was a dramatic and heroic story because Brown had travelled through these middle western states during the months of December, January, and February when the weather is most severe. Moreover, he was a hunted man with the price of \$3,000 on his head.³⁴

That evening of March 12, 1859, Frederick Douglass spoke to a small group of Detroiters in the City Hall. Later Douglass met Brown at the home of William Webb, 185 E. Congress. George de Baptiste, Dr. Joseph Ferguson, John Jackson, William Lambert, the Reverend William C. Monroe, and Willis Wilson were present at this meeting. "There is no known contemporary record which reveals the exact nature of the Douglass-Brown meeting. One can only conjecture with a great deal of confidence that there was talk of emancipation. . . ."³⁵

Douglass and Brown met again at a Stone Quarry near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in August of 1859. Brown and Douglass had been friends for over ten years. Brown urged his friend to come with him, but Douglass refused. This was the last time these two implacable foes of slavery were to see each other. Two months later Brown attacked Harper's Ferry and started on his circuitous route to martyrdom.³⁶

In 1850, the Michigan legislature asked the Secretary of State to prepare a report showing the number and distribution of Negroes in the state.

Allegan	5	Jackson	64	Oakland	60
Barry	8	Ionia	0	Ontonagon	5
Berrien	215	Kalamazoo	97	Oceana	19
Branch	14	Kent	30	Ottawa	35
Calhoun	196	Lapeer	6	Saginaw	0
Cass	196	Lenawee	91	Shiawassee	10
Chippewa	5	Livingston	2	Schoolcraft	10
Clinton	2	Mackinac	31	St. Clair	23
Eaton	3	Macomb	27	Tuscola	23

³⁴ (Anon), "Freedom Via Detroit," *Yesterday's Headlines* published by Detroit Historical Society, March, 1960.

³⁵ John Chavis, "Then Freedom Came". . . . Detroit and The Emancipation Proclamation," *Detroit Historical Society Bulletin*, XIX (1963), p. 5.

³⁶ Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1948), p. 177.

Genesee	14	Monroe	54	Sanilac	0
Hillsdale	5	Midland	1	Van Buren	2
Houghton	0	Montcalm	0	Washtenaw	231
Huron	0	Mason	0	Wayne	697
Ingham	18	Marquette	0	Total	2,372

Ten years later, the population of Detroit had increased, but the distribution for the rest of the state remained basically the same. Detroit was the great population center for Negroes as well as whites.³⁷

The election of 1860 held as little promise for the Negroes in Michigan as in the rest of the North. None of the four major political parties championed his cause. The divided Democratic Party and the Constitutional Union Party were committed to perpetuate the "peculiar institution." The Republican Party was opposed to the extension of slavery into the territories. When the Democrats accused the Republicans of trying to abolish slavery and trying to make the Negro equal to the white man, Horace Greeley hastily replied, "That's not so. . . . Never on earth did the Republican Party propose to abolish Slavery. . . . Its object with respect to slavery is simply, nakedly, avowedly, its restriction to the existing states."

This stand by the Republicans caused the *Anglo-African*, a weekly newspaper in New York City to moan, "We have no hope from either (of the) political parties. We must rely on ourselves, the righteousness of our cause and the advance of just sentiment among the great masses of the . . . people." Frederick Douglass and some Negroes in the North supported Gerrit Smith for the presidency. Smith was the candidate of the radical abolitionists. This party advocated the abolition of slavery in all states and territories. When its convention was held in Syracuse, New York, in August, 1860, no one had any illusions about their chances of winning the presidency for Smith. Nevertheless, they felt that it was their duty to protest and to give people who were abolitionist an opportunity to cast a ballot for a candidate who opposed that evil called slavery. The majority of the Negroes in the North, however, supported the Republican Party. They

³⁷ John Dancy, "The Negro People in Michigan," *Michigan History Magazine* XXIV (1940), p. 228.

formed local Republican clubs such as the Colored Republican Club of Brooklyn and the Colored West Boston Wide Awakes.

When Lincoln was elected to the presidency, Douglass accepted it calmly. He wrote, "The masters of slaves have been masters of the Republic. Their authority was almost undisputed, and their power irresistible. They were President makers of the Republic, and no aspirant dared to hope for success against their frown. Lincoln's election has vitiated their authority, and broken their power. It has taught the North its strength, and shown the South its weakness. More important still, it has demonstrated the possibility if not an abolitionist, at least an anti-slavery reputation to the presidency."

When the Southern States threatened to secede from the Union, the Negroes in the North almost to the man and woman agreed with the statement made by H. Ford Douglass, Negro abolitionist from Illinois, who said, "Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once. . . . There is no union of ideas and interests in this country, and there can be no union between freedom and slavery." When the Crittenden Compromise was proposed, Negroes petitioned their state legislatures and state governments and held mass meetings to protest its possible enactment. The Crittenden Compromise proposed to institute a series of constitutional amendments to protect slavery in the slave states and the nation's capital; to prohibit any interference with inter-state slave trade; and to disenfranchise all free Negroes and to remove their "troublesome presence" by colonization. When this compromise failed to win approval in either house of Congress, free Negroes throughout the North gave a collective sigh of relief and unpacked their bags. The New York "Anglo-African" said it this way:

"(This) is but another step in the drama of American Progress. We say Progress, for we know that no matter what may be the desires of the men of Expediency who rule or seem to rule the affairs of the North — the tendencies are for liberty. God speed the conflict. May the cup be drained to its dregs, for only thus can this nation of sluggards know the disease and its remedy. . . .

The free colored Americans cannot be indifferent to the progress of this struggle. . . . Out of this strife will come freedom though the methods are not yet clearly apparent. . . . Public opinion purified by

the fiery ordeal through which the nation is about to pass, will rightly appreciate the cause of its political disquiet, and apply the remedy. . . . It must be that the key to the solution of the present difficulties, is the abolition of slavery; not as an act of retaliation on the master, but as a measure of justice to the slave — the sure and permanent basis of a more perfect Union.”

In April of 1861, Negro Americans like their white countrymen were caught up in the patriotic fervor of the approaching war. Jacob Dodson, a Negro who had been with Fremont on his expeditions, volunteered to fight. In Pittsburgh, some Negroes formed an organization called the “Hannibal Guards.” In Cleveland and Cincinnati, Negroes tried to join the army.³⁸ In Canada, Elijah Willis left his farm near Chatham and hurried to Detroit in order to organize a company of Negro volunteers.³⁹ In all cases, they were refused permission to join the Union forces. Some were told more politely than others, but the answer still meant no. This was a white man’s war. There seemed to be a great deal of certainty among the white people of the North that the war would be won by them before Negro troops could be organized and trained. So why bother?⁴⁰ Many Negroes who were fair enough to be mistaken for a white person did not let this refusal deter them. They simply passed for white and enlisted in the various state regiments.⁴¹

While all of this action and reaction was occurring what were the Negroes in Michigan saying and doing? We do not know the answer to this question because we have no records available to us at this time that will clearly answer this question. We are sure that de Baptiste, Lambert, Richardson, and Webb had points of view on these pressing and vital national problems. However, we do not have any of their letters or diaries. What is even more tragic is the fact that had they given their papers to a library or institution they may have been discarded because they were thought to be irrelevant. This is conjecture, and no one knows the answer.

³⁸ James M. McPherson, *The Negro’s Civil War* (New York: Pantheon Books 1965), p. 3-23.

³⁹ Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁴⁰ Bruce Catton, *Never Call Retreat* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965), p. 74.

⁴¹ Victor Hicken, “The Record of Illinois’ Negro Soldiers in the Civil War,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, LVI (1963), 529.

Michigan's Negro community was a microcosm of the world inhabited by the free Negro in the North. The feelings, fears, and frustrations of those brown Michiganians were reflected by their counterparts in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and elsewhere north of the Mason-Dixon Line. Like all people since the beginning of human history, some tried to escape their responsibilities, some became involved in the struggle for freedom, and some marched to the tune of different drummers as they trudged off on various highways and byways. Of all the drummers, Frederick Douglass' beat was the steadiest and more people were able to follow his cadence.

Frederick Douglass was America's noblest Negro. He was the Negro white America listened to most. This abolitionist orator and journalist was the tribune of his people. (He was no blood relation to H. Ford Douglass of Illinois. They were, however, brothers of the skin and spirit.) Frederick Douglass spoke out against the government's policy of having no policy where the Negro was concerned. He had hoped that the North would place the war upon a higher moral plane and emancipate the Negro. He persistently pointed out to the war leaders that they were fighting with one hand tied behind them when they allowed slaves to be returned to their masters by Union generals and disqualifying Negroes from the armed forces. The tribune of his people also chided Negroes for saying they had nothing to fight for. He understood their reasons for following this course of action, but he answered them with his clarion call of "Men of colour to arms!"⁴²

In Michigan, the Negro's search for acceptance in his country's armed forces is the tale of two newspapers: *The Detroit Free Press* and *The Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*. The *Free Press* was Democratic, anti Civil War, and generally anti Negro. The *Advertiser and Tribune* was Republican, pro Civil War, and generally pro Negro. This was the age of personal journalism when newspapers were often house organs for the political party of their choice and less objective in their reporting of news. At times, the Negroes seemed to be their pawns to be manipulated,

⁴² McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 24-40.

fought over, castigated, and ignored. *The Free Press* more than the other local newspaper was the extension of one man's personality, that of Wilbur F. Storey.

Storey owned the *Free Press* from 1853 to 1861, and it reflected his eccentricities and prejudices. In many ways, it was his alter ego. Storey felt that the federal union was "the fairest work of man and nature." To him, it could be the answer to all of man's perennial problems if only men would leave it alone and allow it to work. Early in his career, Storey was a "printer's devil" on the New York Journal of Commerce. The editor of that newspaper, Davis Hale, was an avowed anti-abolitionist, and he influenced Storey's thinking. This experience seemed to make him forever a believer in the Jacksonian faith of the common man and left him with violent anti Negro attitudes.

Storey did not consider the Negro even remotely worthy of consideration for freedom. At best, in his view, the Negro was a sub human species who should preferably return to Africa but under no circumstances was it possible for him to co-habit the continent with white men in Freedom.

Like most men with extreme views, Storey was a mass of contradictions. He considered States Rights to be the most important vehicle for freedom, and yet he opposed States Rights in the southern political sense of the term. In fact, he denounced the Doctrine of Nullification and that of secession as "damnable doctrines." He hated Negroes, but he championed the cause of the Indian by advocating that the government should help Indians to maintain their individual identity.

In 1861, Storey sold *The Free Press* and moved to Chicago. Although he left the Michigan scene, his influence and personality remained as though it were ingrained into the type and news print of which this newspaper was made. As a result of all of these factors, both Detroit papers had some provocative editorial battles. It was a rule of thumb that if *The Free Press* said it was green, *The Advertiser Tribune* said it was purple.⁴³

During 1862, the idea that the war may have something to do with slavery began to creep into the conscience of the nation:

⁴³ Justin E. Walsh, "Radically and Thoroughly Democratic: Wilbur F. Storey and the Detroit Free Press, 1853-1861. *Michigan History Magazine* XLVII, 1943, 346.

Prior to ordaining emancipation in the District of Columbia, Congress had passed an article of war which forbade the Federal forces to be used in apprehending slaves. All during the winter, contradictory orders about the treatment of fugitives had been issued by various generals, some excluding Negroes from their lines, some still using soldiers to hunt them down and return them to their masters. Contrabands in increasing thousands, however, were being employed in the army. In Washington, in the spring of 1862, there was evidence that a year of war had softened the soldier's attitude toward fugitives.⁴⁴

During the summer of 1861, *The Detroit Free Press* noted that a slave found in the debris around Alexandria, Virginia, by the First Michigan Regiment returned to Michigan with the Coldwater Cadets and was now working on a farm near Coldwater. It also reported that a group of slaves belonging to a rebel in Fairfax County, Virginia, offered their services to their benefactors from the Second Michigan Regiment and were accepted.⁴⁵

On July 12, 1862, Congress granted the President permission to employ Negroes as army laborers at the rate of six dollars a month. These laborers had to be the slaves of rebel masters. There was an added provision which made it possible for "contrabands" to win freedom for themselves and their families.⁴⁶

In a letter home, a Michigan soldier stationed in Kentucky noted:

Fears of a slave insurrection are becoming quite prevalent. Slaveholders assert that our soldiers have circulated reports that the slaves are to be free on and after the first of January by law and that hence, the slaves are preparing to arise and demand their freedom. At the same time, the slaveholders are wondering whether these Northern soldiers can be depended upon to suppress a slave insurrection. It has occurred to me that if they approved of the officers in command of this department of the army, treating fugitives who enter our lines in accordance with the proclamation of the President upon that subject and had had a little more respect for Northern soldiers than they have evinced by calling them "Nigger Hunters," "Slave Stealers" etc., they might sleep a little more quietly now.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1941, p. 244.

⁴⁵ *Detroit Free Press*, June 26, 1861.

⁴⁶ Leech, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁴⁷ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, December 27, 1862.

In December, 1862, President Lincoln issued the following message, the prelude to The Emancipation Proclamation which proved to be the sweetest music in all the world to the Negroes in the United States. "In giving freedom to the Slave, we ensure Freedom to the Free, honorable alike in what we give and what we receive. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope on earth. Other means may succeed, this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just. A way which if followed, the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless."⁴⁸

On that historic day of January 1, 1863, the Negro community in Detroit praised God and President Lincoln. "At the Lafayette Street African Methodist Episcopal Church expression was given to the overwhelming feel of freedom. John Molane, J. Bird, and G. Hodges were commissioned on the spot to write resolutions of gladness. And while this committee adjourned to frame the resolutions, the congregation sang "Blow ye the Trumpet, Blow," and listened to messengers of good tidings.

When the resolution committee returned to the meeting, they presented these resolutions to the body:

RESOLVED, That we thank God for putting it into the heart of Abraham Lincoln, to proclaim liberty to the colored race; because it works benefit not only to four millions of colored men but to five millions of white men, called in the South "poor white trash" who have no education, and their masters, the slave-owners, are determined they shall have none, and they are, therefore, fit only for filibustering, and carrying out the cursed designs of the slavery propagandists at the South, and their vile supporters at the North. We believe that slavery makes labor disresponsible, and any country in this state, must necessarily remain under the curse of God, until such evils are removed. We hail the emancipation as a great good to mankind. We hail it with joyful acclamation, and shall only await for the morrow to see more plainly and perfectly developed the idea and principles of the President. May God bless Abraham Lincoln and the people.

Five days later on January 6, 1863, a second and better known meeting was held at the Second Baptist Church. *The Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* reported that

⁴⁸ *Advertiser and Tribune*, December 17, 1862.

The colored residents of this city met in the Baptist Church, Croghan Street, last evening, for the purpose of celebrating the noble act of the President in freeing over three millions of slaves, by his proclamation of January 1st, 1863. The church was crowded to its utmost capacity with young and old, wealthy and poor, of African descent. . . .

At the meeting a letter was read which gave expression to the feeling of a group of white citizens for the joyous occasion.
Detroit, Jan. 6, 1863

To John D. Richards, William Webb and William Lambert:

It is proposed to have 50,000 copies of the President's Emancipation Proclamations of September 22d and January 1st, printed and sent by Express to the Michigan regiments now in the field. The cost will be \$350, and while \$250 will be raised by the white people of our town to defray this expense it is thought that the colored people will cheerfully contribute the remainder for the purpose of sending this Great Bill of Rights to their friends in the Southern States at their homes who are to be benefitted thereby. C. A. Trowbridge.

After the necessary speakers had presented their sentiments to the body, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The Institution of Slavery has existed in this country from the foundation to the present hour, brutalizing its victims, and at times depriving them of every means of elevation, closing upon them every avenue to knowledge, and shrouding their minds in the gloom of artificial night; and

WHEREAS, In the progressive march of events this monstrous iniquity has in the Province of God been swept from the land — the chains loosened from the heads of the captives — the prison doors opened and the oppressed set free — the year of jubilee proclaimed throughout the land, And, whereas, our hearts have been made to rejoice, by this triumph of truth over error — this accomplishment of the object for which in the silent watches of the night we have poured out our souls to Him who controls the destinies of nations — this achievement for which the blood of Lovejoy was shed, and for which a band of martyrs, countless in number, but bold in the sacred cause of truth, have been sacrificed on the altar of Liberty; and

WHEREAS, We recognize in this dispensation of Divine Providence an evidence of that irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces; which must at last culminate in the establishment of universal right and the overthrow of universal wrong; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That when, in the course of human events, there comes a day which is destined to be an everlasting beacon light, marking a joyful era in the progress of a nation and the hopes of a people, it seems to be fitting the occasion that it should not pass unnoticed by those whose hopes it comes to brighten and to bless.

RESOLVED, That we render, first to God and then to Abraham Lincoln, our most profound and heartfelt thanks for the great triumph of Liberty over Slavery, in which four millions of our oppressed brethren have been raised from the depths of slavery to the level of free American citizens.

RESOLVED, That the name of Abraham Lincoln shall be treasured by us in holy remembrance as a man, who, despite the opposition of the Border States, or the weak-kneed of his northern friends, had the courage to declare, that freedom for all men was hereafter to be the policy of the government; that we will teach our children to thank him for this great act of Emancipation and seek to send his name down the pathway of the future, with that of Moses, as the deliverer from bondage of an oppressed people.

RESOLVED, That in this hour of the Nation's peril, we are ready when called up on to buckle on our armor in defence of the Liberty which has been given to our Southern Brethren, and if in the fort or the field, on shipboard or meeting the enemies of constitutional right in the deadly conflict, we will prove that we are not traitors, but willing to defend the land of our birth.

RESOLVED, That although Judge Taney in the Dred Scott case sought to establish the idea, that we had no rights which white men were bound to respect; we are glad to know that Edward Bates, the able Attorney General of the U.S., in a clear and forcible letter to the Sec'y of the Treasury, has scattered the sophistries of the prejudiced Judge, like chaffs before the wind, and established the fact beyond the power of refutation, that birth on the soil always secures the right of citizenship.

Thus ended what seemed to be a quiet and dignified celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation, a proclamation which was to stand for freedom for all men in this great country and to bring to Lincoln the title — "The Great Emancipator."⁴⁹

To no one's surprise, *The Free Press* attacked the Emancipation Proclamation and had many things to say about "the descendants of the Congo in Detroit." It alternated between derision and argumentation. Using the constitutional argument, it

⁴⁹ Chavis, *op. cit.*, p. 5-7.

contended that President Lincoln had no power to free the slave. However, they used their derisive gibes as the main instrument of assault. In an article called "The Ethiopians on the Proclamation" *The Free Press* reported, "The colored portion of our free American population are highly jubilant over the Presidential Proclamation and are expressing their joy in various and sundry ways such as only these brutish beings can invent. 'Fader Abe' as he is familiarly termed by his colored brethren has given them their Fourth of July."⁵⁰

The other local journal admitted that the Emancipation was not Nirvana, but it was a step in the positive direction. "The Text of the Proclamation shows that it was issued purely as a war measure. There is no pretense of philanthropy, although in this regard the most magnificent results will flow from it."⁵¹

Now that the Negro Americans had gained their paper freedom, the burning questions of the day hinged around whether or not the Negro would be allowed to fight and if he was taken into the army would he fight. *The Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* reprinted a story that had appeared in *The New York Tribune* which seemingly illustrated the point that Negro-Americans would make excellent fighters. The colonel of the Eighth Michigan Infantry Regiment, had been wounded in a skirmish on James Island, South Carolina. In this encounter with the enemy, he was captured and later exchanged. This colonel and his Negro servant were waiting in the depot at Falmouth, New York, when a white bully appeared and began to make life unpleasant for the Negro. At first, the Negro tended to ignore these unpleasanties. As the bully grew bolder, "The Negro began to grow darker than his natural hue, a nervous twitching could be seen in the vicinity of his fists, but still he refrained from any open manifestation of displeasure and soon resumed his usual cheerful and good natured expression." The bully still persisted and finally, the colonel's servant punished the ruffian severely and caused him to make a hasty and strategic withdrawal. At the sight of this the colonel laughed and said if he had 5 regi-

⁵⁰ *Detroit Free Press*, January 3, 1863.

⁵¹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, January 3, 1863.

ments of such fellows, he would return to Charleston and take the city.⁵²

Also in the same edition there was an announcement of a flag which had been presented to a colored regiment.

HANDSOME COLORS FOR COLORED REGIMENT

"Tiffany and Co., the celebrated New York jewellers have just completed a very handsome silk flag which is to be presented to the First Regiment South Carolina Volunteers — an organization composed of Negroes — of which the Rev. T. W. Higginson, a well known writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, has assumed the command. The flag is a beautiful national banner of the ordinary size (six feet, six inches in length and six feet in width) and is made in the most finished style. Upon it is inscribed: "1st, Reg. S.C. VOLRS. — GOD gives liberty to all."

The staff, which is of ebony, is silver mounted, with a silver spear at the top. The large silver hand band bears the following inscription: "Presented to the 1st. S.C. Volunteers by a Daughter of Connecticut." The flag was made at the cost of \$100 and will be forwarded to Port Royal by the first transport which leaves New York for that place."⁵³

Again this cry was heard. Will the Negro fight? The question was partially answered when the report of the expedition to Doboy River, Georgia was reported in the Northern newspapers. Three companies of the First South Carolina Volunteers took part in this engagement. The expedition was commanded by Lt. Col. Oliver T. Beard of the 48th New York Volunteers. It was a successful mission. In his report to the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, Brigadier General Saxton said, "It gives me pleasure to bear witness to the good conduct of the Negro troops. They fought with most determined bravery."⁵⁴

During the latter part of January, 1863, this trial balloon was launched by Detroit's Pro Union paper.

It is a matter of authentic history that Negroes make brave and efficient soldiers. Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, has given unequivocal testimony upon this point. No one doubts the loyalty of the Negro population of Michigan, nor will anybody question their courage and determination to act in an issue such as is now

⁵² *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, January 4, 1863.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, January 8, 1863.

pending between the North and the South. The bare announcement of the fact that the government is discussing the expediency of introducing such an element in its military organization creates the most lively satisfaction among the Negro population of our city, and the greatest eagerness is manifested by them that immediate measures be adopted for enlistment; a feeling which we understand is cordially participated in as far as heard from, by the Negroes in Canada. The number of Negroes in Michigan capable of bearing arms is not far from five hundred which would doubtless be augmented by many hundreds of sympathisers from the other side of the river.⁵⁵

Early in February General Saxton reported that the organization of the First South Carolina Volunteers at Beaufort, South Carolina, was completed. This regiment was composed of ten companies with 86 men in each. General Saxton said, "This regiment is not surpassed by any white regiment in this department. I am glad to report that the experiment is a complete success."

On Monday, February 2, 1863, the House of Representatives passed the Negro Regiment Bill 83 to 54. This bill guaranteed each Negro soldier ten dollars per month. It stated that no recruiting offices could be opened in slave states and states excepted by the Emancipation Proclamation. It also prohibited the slaves of loyal men from enlisting.⁵⁶

A very important fear of that era was that Negroes once freed would move in masses to the North, thereby depriving free white laborers of jobs and creating new social problems. One of Detroit's newspapers reprinted an elaborate exposition from *The Chicago Tribune* which attempted to prove with chart and figures that although the Negro population of the North had increased from 1830 to 1860, it would soon decline because "Negroes did not congregate much where the largest political latitude is allowed them, but select their homes with regard to climate, preferring a mild temperature and signal disabilities to cold temperature and political equality. They will not only not come North, but thousands of these now North will seek a more natural climate in the South."⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, January 29, 1863.

⁵⁶ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, February 5, 1863.

⁵⁷ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, January 27, 1863.

In the sixth decade of the nineteenth Century, the population of Wayne County was 75,284. Of these inhabitants, 1,570 were Negroes. As we noted earlier, this figure tended to fluctuate according to the arrivals and departures of the Underground Railroad and political pressures. Most of the Negroes lived in the city of Detroit which had a population of 45,619 inhabitants. In terms of population, Detroit was the nineteenth city in the United States.

Most of Detroit's Negro residents were unskilled laborers. There were a few Negroes, however, who were ministers, tradesmen, and craftsmen. Negro children, those able to attend school, went to a segregated school which was located near East Forest and St. Antoine.⁵⁸

Then as today Negroes were a highly visible minority group. They were in competition with other immigrants for jobs and housing. Moreover, this was an era when the fire under the melting pot was barely lighted. Only a small segment of Detroit's population was considered to be honest-to-goodness American. Immigrants were more often identified by their place of national origin. The newspapers of the day made a point identifying persons as "Irishmen," the "Germans," etc. Although most of the immigrants were not fully accepted as Americans, they were accorded more rights of citizenship than those given to Negroes. This feeling was reinforced by the press, religion, education, and all facets of the social system. "The Negro," as he was often called, was an entity and a syndrome not a group of individuals with varying needs and abilities. He was a thing of property, a thing to fear, a thing to ridicule and a state of mind. The following newspaper account reflects some of the local points of view:

ROWDYISM IN OUR STREETS

We hear of frequent assaults being made upon civil colored people, particularly on Sunday nights as they are going to and from their places of worship, by a set of low rowdies, who make it a point to use insulting language towards them, and sometimes too often personal violence in some of its most offensive forms. We know of no

⁵⁸Henry D. Brown, "The Detroit Scene; The 100 Years Since the Emancipation Proclamation."

better way to abate such nuisances, than to make an example of the offenders and subject them to the penalty of the law. Let the colored men bring a clear case into court, and we shall then see whether they will not be protected in their rights.⁵⁹

In March of 1863, a race riot erupted in Detroit. Quite often this event is not completely reported. The end result is chronicled, but the series of incidents which caused this violent reaction is not fully explained. People are given the impression that the Detroit Riot of 1863 was triggered by the same set of circumstances which caused the Draft Riot in New York. This is true to a point. The poor people of the North were unhappy when the Union Draft Law was passed in March, 1863. Many of them looked upon the Civil War, at this point, as a war to free the Negro to become his competitor. The draft law was unpopular because it favored the rich and well born. Also the fire under the cauldron of hate was fanned by gusts of specious oratory and irresponsible journalism.

The Faulkner Case was the main cause of the Detroit Riot of 1863. Mary Brown and Ellen Hoover, the former white and the latter Negro, accused William Faulkner of molestation. Both of the girls were nine years old, and Faulkner was a forty-two year old Negro who owned a restaurant. Faulkner was brought to trial. The attorney for the People of Wayne County was J. Knox Gavin, and A. M. Henssler was the attorney for the defense.

This trial caused great excitement and every bit of information concerning it was avidly read by the citizenry. While "The Negro Faulkner" as he was referred to in the press, was being taken back to jail from the court house, a mob allegedly tried to take him from custody. The sheriff anticipated some hostile reaction and had requested aid from the military. When the crowd threatened the prisoner, one of the soldiers fired into the crowd killing Charles Langer. The crowd now became a mob and went on a rampage of arson and mayhem. It became a headless monster wreaking destruction upon all bits and pieces of humanity painted black, brown and beige. The following excerpt is from an eyewitness account of a Negro citizen who was caught up in violence and trauma of that day.

⁵⁹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, January 5, 1863.

THE MOB, in its first appearance to me, was a parcel of fellows running up Lafayette street after two or three colored men. They then returned back, and in a short time I saw a tremendous crowd coming up Croghan street on drays, wagons and foot, with kegs of beer on their wagons, and rushed for the prison. Here they crowded thick and heavy. After this, while I was standing on the corner, with half a dozen other gentlemen, a rifle ball came whistling over our heads. After which we heard several shots, but only one ball passing us. "I am shot in the thigh." And another came with his finger partly shot off. A few minutes after that another ruffian came down, saying: "If we are got to be killed up for Negroes then we will kill every one in this town."⁶⁰

A very little while after this we could hear them speaking up near the jail, and appeared to be drinking, but I was unable to hear what they said. This done, they gave a most fiendish yell and started down Beaubien street. On reaching Croghan street, a couple of houses west on Beaubien street, they commenced throwing, and before they reached my residence, clubs, bricks, and missiles of every description flew like hail. Myself and several others were standing on the sidewalk, but were compelled to hasten in and close our doors, while the mob passed my house with their clubs and bricks flying into my windows and doors, sweeping out light and sash!

They then approached my door in large numbers, where I stood with my gun, and another friend with an axe, but on seeing us, they fell back. They approached four times determined to enter my door, but I raised my gun at each time and they fell back. In the meantime part of the mob passed on down Beaubien street. After the principal part had passed, I rushed up my stairs looking to see what they were doing, and heard the shattering of windows and slashing of boards. In a few moments I saw them at Whitney Reynolds, a few doors below Lafayette street. Mr. Reynolds is a cooper; had his shop and residence on the same lot, and was the largest colored cooper establishment in the city — employing a number of hands regular.

I could see from the windows men striking with axe, spade, clubs, &c., just as you could see men thrashing wheat. A sight the most revolting, to see innocent men, women and children, all without respect to age or sex, being pounded in the most brutal manner.

Sickened with the sight, I sat down in deep solicitude in relation to what the night would bring forth; for to human appearance it seemed as if Satan was loose, and his children were free to do whatever he might direct without fear of the city authority.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Detroit Free Press*, March 7, 1863.

⁶¹ Anon, "A Riot in Detroit," ed., by Milton Miltzer in *In Their Own Words: A History of the American Negro, 1619-1865*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), p. 150-51.

More troops were called out from Fort Wayne and the Twenty-Seventh Infantry was brought from Ypsilanti to quell the riot and to restore order. It was estimated that between 30 to 35 dwellings belonging to Negroes was destroyed; over 200 Negroes were homeless; two Negroes had been killed and countless others badly injured. The real tragedy of the whole affair was that Mary Brown had lied. Seven years later she admitted that she had not told the truth. William Faulkner was released from Jackson Prison. Again his friends rallied to his side and helped him to obtain another business. Faulkner's health, however, had been impaired, and he soon died.⁶²

For the remainder of March 1863, *The Advertiser and Tribune* assumed a holier-than thou pose and chided *The Free Press* for its blatant racism and demagoguery. It seems to have intensified its efforts to illustrate the Negro's contribution to the war effort. One such story was that of William H. Tiflin. Tiflin was a servant for Captain Graves of the First Regiment, Michigan Volunteers. During the first Battle of Bull Run, the regiment's color sergeant was killed. Tiflin dashed forward, picked up the fallen colors and bore them proudly until he was wounded.⁶³

Several weeks later this newspaper bemoaned the fact that many fine Negro prospects were going to Massachusetts in order to enlist in its fine Negro regiment. "Why cannot we raise a Negro regiment in this state and thus save them the necessity of a journey to Massachusetts and considerably reduce our own quota under any future draft that may be made."⁶⁴

Charles Lenox Remond, one of the great Negro abolitionists, spoke in Detroit at the Colored Baptist Church on Croghan Street. The title of his speech was "The lesson of the Hour to Colored Men." The text of the speech was not printed. One can only assume, however, that it was an oration which sought to infuse the spirit of his brown brothers with patriotism.⁶⁵

Gradually, "the Negro" became the man of the hour. In an

⁶² Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁶³ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, March 21, 1863.

⁶⁴ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, April 2, 1863.

⁶⁵ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, April 4, 1863.

editorial entitled, "The Colored Men and Their Claims," *The Advertiser and Tribune* exhorted the colored men North and South to take up arms for the cause of freedom. It estimated that one fine regiment could be raised from the old Northwest. It concluded, "give the colored men of Michigan the chance they have been so long wishing for."⁶⁶

Two days later, it lamented that a dozen colored men at Battle Creek have enlisted in the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment. It protested that was unfair for those fine Michigan men to be credited elsewhere, thereby helping another state to reach its quota and lessening the prospects of men from that state of being drafted.⁶⁷ In the same edition of this newspaper, there was a comment by the recruiting officer from Massachusetts stationed in Detroit. He was reported as having said that over 200 Negro men were enlisted at Detroit for the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts.

Meanwhile the opposition press questioned the motives of the party in power. It wondered aloud why the President hesitated to allow Michigan to have a Negro regiment. It said that the idea of a Negro regiment from Michigan was an enormous fiction, a political trick. It contended that the Democratic Party of Michigan was in favor of sending every Negro out of the state in order to fight in the war. It added, "in case enough Negroes cannot be found the balance should be made up from the ranks of the abolitionists without regard to their age."⁶⁸

This problem of meeting quotas was a national one. One writer has observed that "annoyance of the capital was vented on recruiting agents and substitute brokers who quietly made their way into town, and in spite of the vigilance of the provost marshal's detectives at the depot, carried off a number of contrabands to fill quotas of Northern states. The Negroes attracted by large bounties were willing to go. The indignant District called it kidnapping. A Washington citizen might be averse to educating Negroes or sitting next to them in the streetcar, but

⁶⁶ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, April 14, 1863.

⁶⁷ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, April 16, 1863.

⁶⁸ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, April 22, 1863.

his heart yearned toward his black brother as a man who could shoulder a gun."⁶⁹

There were a number of war meetings held in Detroit to encourage the enlistment of Negroes in the Massachusetts brigade.⁷⁰ There is no detailed agenda of the program. However, the general format was that of singing, patriotic exhortations, and poems calling the Negro to action. One can only surmise, but it is quite possible that it could have been one of these.

SLAVERY CHAIN DONE BROKE AT LAST SLAVERY CHAIN

Slavery chain done broke at least, broke at least, broke at last,
Slavery chain done broke at last,
Going to praise God till I die.

Way down in-a dat valley, praying on my knees;
Told God about my troubles, and to help me ef-a He please.
I did tell him how I suffer, in de dungeon and de chain,
And de days I went with head bowed down, and my broken flesh
and pain.

Slavery chain done broke at last, broke at last, broke at least,
Slavery chain done broke at least,
Going to praise God till I die.

I did know my Jesus heard me, 'cause de spirit spoke to me,
And said, "Rise my child, your chillun, and you too shall be free.
"I done 'p'int one mighty captain for to marshal all my hosts,
And to bring my bleeding ones to me, and not one shall be lost."

Slavery chain done broke at last, broke at last, broke at last,
Slavery chain done broke at last,
Going to praise God till I die.⁷¹

"WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE CONTRABANDS?"
Shall we arm them? Yes, arm them! Give to each man
A rifle, a musket, a cutlass or sword;

Then on to the charge! let them war in the van,
Where each may confront with his merciless lord,
And purge from their race, in the eyes of the brave,
The stigma and scorn now attending the slave.

⁶⁹ Leech, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁷⁰ *Detroit Free Press*, May 8, 1863.

⁷¹ *In Their Own Words*, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

I would not have the wrath of the rebels to cease,
 Their hope to grow weak nor their courage to wane,
 Till the Contrabands join in securing a peace,
 Whose glory shall vanish the last galling chain,
 And win for their race an undying respect
 In the land of their prayers, their tears and neglect.

Is the war one for Freedom? Then why, tell me, why,
 Should the wronged and oppressed be debarred from the fight?
 Does not reason suggest, it were noble to die
 In the act of supplanting a wrong for the right?
 Then lead to the charge! for the end is not far,
 When the contraband host are enrolled in the war.⁷²

Henry Barns, editor of *The Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, was working feverishly to gain for Michigan a Negro regiment. Washington would have to give the authority for Michigan to raise a regiment of Negro troops. The state legislature in 1862 had revised the militia act so that only white males could be accepted for military service.⁷³ However, the need for meeting the quota and the exceedingly long casualty lists helped to erode this obstacle. The following citations are facsimiles of the correspondence that made the raising of a Negro regiment an actual fact.

WAR DEPARTMENT

Washington, July 24th, 1863.

GOVERNOR, — H. Barns, Esq., of Detroit, has applied to this department for authority to raise a regiment of colored troops in your State. The department is very anxious that such regiments should be raised, and authorizes you to raise them by volunteering under the regulations of the department, a copy of which is submitted to you by the chief of the bureau, and it would be gratifying if you should give such authority to Mr. Barnes. It seems to me that there has been some misunderstanding upon this subject, and I am informed that you were under the impression that the department would not authorize it. Until suitable arrangements could be made for the organization of a bureau, it was not deemed advisable to raise such troops, but the organization of colored troops is now a distinct bureau in the department, and as fully recognized as any other branch of

⁷² McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁷³ *Detroit Tribune*, March 22, 1914.

the military service, and every encouragement is given by the department to the raising of such troops.

Yours truly,

EDMIN M. STANTON

Secretary of War.

His Excellency, AUSTIN BLAIR,
Governor of Michigan, Jackson.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., July 25th, 1863.

His Excellency, Austin Blair, Governor of Michigan, Jackson, Mich.

SIR, — I am instructed by the Secretary of War to inform you that you are hereby authorized to raise one regiment of infantry to be composed of colored men, to be mustered into the United States service for three years, or during the war.

To these troops no bounties will be paid. They will receive ten dollars per month and one ration per day, three dollars of which monthly pay may be in clothing.

The organization of the regiment must conform in all respects with the requirements of General Orders No. 110, War Department 1863, a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

The prescribed number of commissioned officers will be appointed in accordance with the provisions of General Orders Nos. 143 and 144, War Department, current series, copies of which please find enclosed. The officers thus appointed will be mustered into service on the presentation to the mustering officers of their appointments, signed by the Secretary of War. The appointments will be made to keep pace with the muster into service of the several companies. Thus, on information being received from you that the first company has been mustered into service, the necessary appointments for the company will be made. When four companies have been mustered in the lieutenant colonel of the regiment will be appointed, and so on in accordance with the "Revised Mustering Regulations."

MICHIGAN IN THE WAR

To facilitate the appointment of the officers, it is respectfully suggested that it would be well to forward to the Adjutant General of the army, as early as practicable, the names of such persons as you wish to appear before the examining board now in session in Cincinnati, or the board in session in Washington, if more convenient for the parties.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. W. FOSTER,

Assistant Adjutant General.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT, MICHIGAN,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Detroit, Aug. 12, 1863.

Henry Barnes, Esq., Detroit:

SIR, — The Governor of this State has been requested by the Secretary of War, in a letter under date of the 24th ultimo, to give you authority to raise a regiment of colored troops in this State.

I am instructed by the Governor to inform you that you are fully authorized and empowered to raise and organize such a regiment, under the instructions from the War Department which are herewith enclosed, and under such restrictions as the Governor may deem proper to enjoin on you.

Very respectfully, your obed't serv't,⁷⁴

GENERAL ORDER, WAR DEPARTMENT,

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

No. 143

Washington, May 22, 1863.

I. Bureau is established in the Adjutant General's Office for the record of all matters relating to the organization of Colonel Troops. An officer will be assigned to the charge of the Bureau, with such number of clerks as may be designated by the Adjutant General.

II. Three or more field officers will be detailed as Inspectors to supervise the organization of colored troops at such points as may be indicated by the War Department in the Northern and Western States.

III. Boards will be convened at such posts as may be decided upon by the War Department to examine applicants for commissions to command colored troops, who, on application to the Adjutant General, may receive authority to present themselves to the board for examination.

IV. No persons shall be allowed to recruit for colored troops except specially authorized by the War Department; and no such authority will be given to persons who have not been examined and passed by a board; nor will such authority be given any one person to raise more than one regiment.

V. The reports of Boards will specify the grade of commis-

⁷⁴ Robertson, JNO, *Michigan in the War*, Lansing, Michigan: W. S. George & Company 1882, p. 488-9.

sion for which each candidate is fit, and authority to recruit will be given in accordance. Commissions will be issued from the Adjutant General's Office when the prescribed number of men is ready for muster into service.

VI. Colored troops may be accepted by companies, to be afterwards consolidated in battalions and regiments by the Adjutant General. The regiments will be numbered seriatim, in the order in which they are raised, the numbers to be determined by the Adjutant General. They will be designated: "— Regiment of U. S. Colored Troops.

VII. Recruiting stations and depots will be established by the Adjutant General as circumstances shall require, and officers will be detailed to muster and inspect the troops.

GENERAL ORDERS, WAR DEPARTMENT,

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

No. 144.

Washington, May 22, 1863.

The following Rules are prescribed for the guidance of Boards in examining applicants for commissions in Regiments of colored troops:

1. The Board will sit every day, except Sunday, from 9 o'clock a.m. to 5 o'clock p.m. The place of sitting to be provided by the Quartermaster Department, and public notice given.
2. The Board will make to the Adjutant General, for record in the Bureau for Colored Troops, reports of all persons examined, whether approved or rejected; the reports will be made weekly, or oftener when specially called for.
3. Each applicant must exhibit to the Board authority from the Adjutant General to appear before it. Such authority will be given upon satisfactory recommendations of good moral character and standing in the community in which the applicant resided; or, if in the military service, on testimonials from his Commanding Officers. All such recommendations will be filed in the Bureau for Colored Troops.
4. Each applicant shall be subjected to a fair but rigorous examination as to physical, mental, and moral fitness to command troops.

5. The Board shall specify for what grade of commission the several applicants are fit; and shall also classify and number them according to merit or proficiency.

6. Appointments to each grade shall only be made from the candidates approved by the Board, and in the order of merit recommended by it.

7. The report of the Board, if adverse, shall be conclusive; and no person rejected by it shall be re-examined.

8. Other instructions will be communicated to Boards, if required.

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.⁷⁵

The journal of Democratic opinion charged that the recruiting of Negro troops was merely the lowest form of chicanery. "It is plainly a game of plunder, for patronage, for commissions, for contracts. Neither the editor of the Advertiser nor the Negro men under him can be induced to go out of the state into the field of actual war."⁷⁶

The journal of Republican opinion countered by attacking its opposite number's stand on the formation of the Michigan branch of the "Sable Arms" and the return of John S. Bagg to the editorial staff of that paper. "John S. Bagg has recently re-joined the editorial corps of the Free Press and has been placed in supreme control of its columns. The association is congenial. The 'amalgamation', Negro-hating, mob-inspiring copperhead character of the paper will, of course, become more intensified than ever."⁷⁷ Three days later, *The Free Press*, to the surprise of everyone, editorialized that although the idea of a "black regiment" was repugnant to them, they would rather have the regiment than the draft.⁷⁸

In July, Sergeant George Johnson, a former Detroiter, serving

⁷⁵ Michigan Historical Commission. *Regimental Service Records*, 102nd Colored Infantry.

⁷⁶ *The Detroit Free Press*, August 21, 1863.

⁷⁷ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, August 22, 1863.

⁷⁸ *Detroit Free Press*, August 25, 1863.

with the 54th Massachusetts, wrote this letter home. It was reprinted in one of the local newspapers.

"I suppose you have heard of the fight we had on James Island, and also the charge on Fort Wagner, where we lost about half of our number. Your humble servant went through the engagement unharmed. We charged up to the cannon's mouth, which cut our ranks down right and left, but not a black man shrunk from death. We were supported by the 9th Connecticut which mistaking us for rebels fired on us.

After we had lost about 500 men the rebels wanted us to surrender; but there was a general cry along the lines 'we will die first' and when the order was given to retreat all the men obeyed with heavy hearts. We wanted to charge it again, but the General would not let us. We could have taken Wagner, but Sumter opened on us, and played havoc with our ranks.

We expect to have another engagement and then we will try to get even with the "rebs." We lost our Colonel and every Captain but one. The General gives us great praise but says we were too brave in not retreating before. I am glad you are coming to the war. Of the squad that was brought from Detroit there are 19 left. We lost Corporal Proctor in the last engagement. Our gunboats are shelling Fort Sumter and Wagner, and you may expect to hear before long that the Stars and Strips float over their ruins."⁷⁹

"Negro Men to Arms" was now a *fait accompli*. It was an odious fact of life for some, but nevertheless it was a reality. Many states, it seemed, were pursuing a policy of obtaining as many Negroes as possible for their state regiments so that it could reduce the number of men drafted from their state. Sergeant Matthews of the Massachusetts Negro Brigade was reported to have a recruiting office on Beaubien near Croghan Street. Captain A. J. Works of the Rhode Island artillery was recruiting Michigan Negroes for his state. This conflict of interest caused ill will among the various groups interested in Negro recruitment. Many of these groups had their confrontation at the Lafayette Street Colored Church.

This meeting was advertised as a "Meeting of Colored Patriots." It was called to order by Mr. Webb. The first speaker was Captain Work of Rhode Island, who contended that Governor Blair may be for the Negro, but he is more interested in filling

⁷⁹ *Advertiser and Tribune*, August 7, 1863.

his quota than in helping their cause. Dr. Delany, a resident of Chatham, Ontario, warned his colored brothers to beware of enlisting in military units from other states. He also brought up the matter of civil rights, or rather the lack of civil rights for Negroes. He reminded his audience that now it was all right to enlist and possibly die for some of the states, but could Negroes vote in the state of their choice. When Barns addressed the crowd, he asserted that after the war Negroes would have the same political rights as white citizens.

Mr. Whipper, a Negro from Ypsilanti, eschewed the idealism of the moment and spoke to the point of state bounties. "He stated that necessity had compelled the government to call upon the blacks to assist in crushing out the rebellion, and he could not see the propriety of depriving them of the best chances offered. He should recommend the acceptance of the best chance offered. If it was Rhode Island, go there. If Michigan, stay. After three years of bitter experience, the government calls upon the despised African, and Michigan wishes to deprive him of the privilege of obtaining the greatest amount offered in compensation."⁸⁰

The day after the meeting, the following announcement appeared in one of the newspapers. "COLORED MEN BEWARE. Do not enlist in Captain Work's Rhode Island Artillery. The only man authorized to recruit Colored men in the North was Major George L. Stearns, the assistant to the Adjutant General of the United States Army." In September the dialogue over recruitment of Negroes came to a close. However, the concern over the payment of bounties and the transactions and machinations involved in converting them into cash lingered on.⁸¹

The system of bounties added a new set of words to the language.

"BOUNTIES. To stimulate Northern enlistments, military bounties were given by Federal, state, and local authorities. In the militia draft of 1862 the Federal government gave \$25.00 to nine months' volunteers and \$50.00 to twelve months' volunteers. For three-year men Congress voted \$100 in July '61, and this was offered to draftees

⁸⁰ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, September 17, 1863.

⁸¹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, September 18, 1863.

during the conscription who would volunteer for a longer time. After the Enrollment Act of 3 Mar. '63, \$100 was given to conscripts and substitutes; \$300 to three-year volunteers; and \$400 to five-year volunteers. The bounties were paid over a period of time rather than as one lump sum. The state bounties were raised to fill the ranks without CONSCRIPTION, which was considered a disgrace to the congressional district that had to resort to it. This resulted in wealthy districts luring soldiers away from the poorer areas with a high bounty. Shannon estimates that the Federal government paid over \$300,000,000 in bounties, and in the last two years of the war state and local agencies paid about the same amount. Total bounty payments for the war came to around \$750,000,000.

The Confederate government authorized a \$10 enlistment bounty on 16 May '61 and on 22 Jan. '62 increased this to \$50. There were various provisions for deferring payment of the total amount, but an act of 17 Feb. '62 prescribed "That the bounty of fifty dollars, allowed by existing laws to soldiers enlisting for the war, or re-enlisting for two years, or recruited, shall be payable as soon as the volunteer entitled thereto shall have been sworn into the Confederate service, and shall have been pronounced by any surgeon, or assistant surgeon of the Confederate States, after inspection, as being fit and able to do military service" (C.S.A. Statutes at Large, 1864, 278).

BOUNTY BROKER. Agents who recruited men and robbed them of much of their Bounties. They also enlisted men unfit for service who would have to be discharged after their bounties had been paid.

BOUNTY JUMPER. Such men, aided by BOUNTY BROKERS, would enlist, collect BOUNTIES, desert, and then repeat the cycle until apprehended. One man confessed to deserting 32 times and was sentenced to four years in prison. The large bounty payment, rather than having the amount spread over the period of enlistment, partly responsible for the high desertion rate of the Union Army, totaling 268,000 men."⁸²

On the twelfth of October, a war meeting was held in the evening at Colored Baptist Church on Croghan Street. Colonel Sylvester Larned and John D. Richards were present, but the principal speaker was the Reverend Mr. Hunting, who spoke on "The Duty of the Colored Men in the Present Emergency of the Country." The newspaper announcement urged, "Let every Colored citizen of Detroit and vicinity attend. Be prompt at the

⁸² Mark M. Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc. 1959), p. 83-84.

hour. Let it be seen that every colored man feels a patriotic interest in the passing events. And is ready and anxious to do his whole duty, to his country and himself, in effect to crush the existing rebellion.”⁸³ Meetings such as this one were being held throughout the state and the rate of enlistment among Negro men had increased.

The records show that more than 1000 of the 1673 enlisted men who were on the rolls of the regiment from the muster-in to the muster-out were born in slave states. As a matter of fact, those born in the south were mostly fugitive slaves, or the sons of fugitive slaves, and they came from Canada to enlist. Several thousand of these fugitives were living on the Canadian side, in the district 50 miles or so back from the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair. International law forbade recruiting in Canada for service in the United States, but when the Washington government decided to raise black regiments many hundreds of these fugitives were, by surreptitious means, directed to go to Windsor, and from there they were piloted across to Detroit. There were some ex-slaves with certain qualities for leadership among their class who spent much of their time directing their fellow blacks how to reach Detroit to enlist either there or in a neighboring state. One of them was an ex-slave woman, Mrs. Shad-Garey, Shad having been her name before she married Garey. She divided her time between Detroit and Chatham, and among the older Negro families of Detroit by whom she is remembered, her memory is reverently treasured. She personally brought scores of the ex-slaves of her race from Canada to show them where to enlist. There were several others at or near Chatham equally as active as herself in the work. David Williamson being one, and George Sorell another, and a blacksmith named Street another. Still another was Elijah Willis, father of Detroit's Attorney R. J. Willis, of the present time.⁸⁴

The First Michigan Colored Infantry Regiment made its first public appearance in October. “Our streets were yesterday enlivened by the appearance of a detachment of 114 soldiers belonging to the First Michigan Colored Regiment. They were in part armed with muskets and marched well. The older ones showed good proficiency in drill, stepping to the music of the drum like veterans. They make very cheerful, obedient, soldiers, and will be an honor to the State of Michigan. Their appearance

⁸³ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, October 12, 1863.

⁸⁴ *Detroit Tribune*, March 22, 1914.

attracted a great deal of attention, and their soldierly bearing was the remark of all who saw them. Success attend them.”⁸⁵

At this juncture, “success” did seem to be on their side. A camp was being erected for them on the camp ground of the Fifth Michigan cavalry. This military installation, given the name Camp Ward, was part of the Union Army Barracks Complex. The camp was once part of a farm owned by A. Campau, situated east of Elmwood Cemetery, and extending west as far as Joseph Campau Street. To the north, it was bounded by Clinton Street, and on the south, its border was Croghan Street, now Monroe Avenue.⁸⁶

On Sunday, October 25, 1863, religious services were held at Camp Ward. About 300 civilians were present. Reverend Mr. Inglis of Tabernacle Church conducted the services. A newspaper account noted that “The chief attraction of the exercises was the singing. It was Congregational in the truest sense, and though not accompanied by the roll of the grand old organ or well trained voices of the choir, it was none the less solemn or sincere. In the ‘fine arts’ singing is the forte of the African race; it comes to them intuitively and without effort. In this battalion of colored soldiers, there are a number of musicians and our reporter learned from the commandant that it was the intention to supply them with ample means of development.”⁸⁷

There was a dress parade at Camp Ward that afternoon. A reporter extolled the military virtues of the “Sable Arms” and issued this caveat. “Those engaged in the riot last spring would tremble in their boots at the sight of that glittering array of steel, as firmly held in swarthy hands as ever a sword of vengeance was grasped by the downtrodden Greek or the freedom-loving mountaineers of Switzerland.”⁸⁸

All of the officers of this regiment were white; the non commissioned officers were Negroes. The noncoms probably were men who had some experience. Early in the war, when Negroes

⁸⁵ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, October 12, 1863.

⁸⁶ Conversation with Glen Stillé, Military Historian at Fort Wayne Military Museum, Detroit.

⁸⁷ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, October 26, 1863.

⁸⁸ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, October 27, 1863.

were not accepted as soldiers, they were employed as servants at Fort Wayne. Such was the case of Parker Bon.

Parker Bon was a cook in the officer's mess at Fort Wayne. He apparently liked army life and attempted to learn all he could about it through reading and personal observation. When Colonel Barns was authorized to form a Negro regiment, de Baptiste, Lambert, Cullen, Hodge, and other members of the Negro power structure went to Barns and persuaded him to use Parker Bon as drill master. Bon enlisted in the First Michigan Colored Infantry Regiment on September 16, 1863. He was immediately promoted to the rank and pay of sergeant major. Sergeant Major Bon served with distinction throughout the Civil War and returned to Detroit with the regiment when the war ended and became a successful businessman.⁸⁹

In November, three companies under Captain Bennett attended "Divine Services" at the Congress Street Baptist Church in the morning. That afternoon services were held at Camp Ward. The Reverend Mr. Hunting, who was the pastor of the Congress Street Baptist, conducted the services. After the service, spectators were treated to a dress parade and regimental exercise. In the language of modern advertising and television, this regiment was exposed at prime time in order to project the best possible image.⁹⁰

Just as the "black discount" is operable in certain area of Negro-white relations in America today, so it was a hundred years ago. In those days, however, it permeated every inch of that relationship. The matter of equal pay for soldiers was an example of the phenomenon. White soldiers were paid 13 dollars a month. Negro soldiers were paid ten dollars a month, and of this sum three dollars were deducted for clothing. The only thing in which Negro soldiers in Michigan were not discriminated against was bounty.⁹¹

About the First of September, Governor Blair received the following letter and enclosure:

⁸⁹ Frances H. Warren, editor, *Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress*, Detroit, Michigan, 1915, p. 267-8.

⁹⁰ *Advertiser and Tribune*, November 2, 1863.

⁹¹ *Detroit Tribune*, March 22, 1914.

1210 Chestnut W.
Phila., Aug. 30th 1863

"To His Excellency
Austin Blair
Gov. State of Michigan

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose official copy of the letter from Col. J. B. F. Pro. Mar. Genl by which you will see that two dollars per man will be paid for all enlisted Colored Men when the accts. in proper form are presented at the Department.

I have also in my possession a fund of Fifty Thousand dollars raised by patriotic persons in New England to be Expended by Me in aid of the Recruiting Service for Col. Troops. I cannot devote much of this to Colored Regts in the North where Men of Equal Means and patriotism can do all that is wanted, but I repeat I shall be glad to give you all the aid in My power.

Official copy respectfully furnished for the information of Major George Stearns.

(SIGNED)

Capt. W. B. Lane
3rd U. S. Cavalry
Chief Mustering and Disbursing
Officer"

"ENCLOSURE

War Department
Provost Marshal General's Office
Washington D.C. Aug. 29th 1863

Capt Wm. B. Lane
3rd U.S. Cavalry
Chief Mustering and Disbursing Office
Philadelphia Pa.

Sir:

By direction of the Secretary of War the additional fee of two dollars will be paid for all accepted Colored recruits. Such pay-

ments will be made and accounted for in the Manner prescribed by Existing regulations.

I have the honor to be
Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Sevt.
(Signed) J. B. Fay
Provost Marshall General"

In October, Colonel Barnes wrote to the War Department requesting equal pay or some other kind of benefits for his troops, and received this letter in reply:

WAR DEPARTMENT
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE
Washington, D.C. Dec. 14th 1863

Colonel H. Barnes
1st Michigan Colored Vols.
Detroit, Michigan
Colonel,

I have respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd Oct. asking that a premium of fifteen dollars \$15.00 be paid to accepted colored recruits and in reply thereto am directed to say that the payment of such premiums is not authorized by any existing law.

It is confidently expected that Congress will at a very early day by enactment place all who bear arms in the service of the country in the same footing as regards pay. . . .⁹²

The bounties paid to Michigan troops for enlisting was in the form of a bond which was redeemable at a later date. There were many questionable transactions in which these bonds were purchased by speculators. One newspaper account reported that Captain W. Bennett of the First Michigan Colored had forced Charles C. Davis to sell his bonds for \$20.00. Captain Bennett denied the allegation and replied that Davis had made these financial transactions with a pawnbroker, Mr. Robinson, and not with him.⁹³

⁹² Michigan Historical *Regimental Service Records*, 102nd Colored Infantry.

⁹³ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, October 26, 1863.

Several days later this anonymous letter appeared in one of the local papers.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE DETROIT FREE PRESS

Though the Secretary of War has undoubtedly committed many errors during his administration of the War Department, it is very much doubted whether he has done one thing so injudicious and unwise as giving Henry Barns authority to raise a colored regiment in this state. He does not possess one single quality for the position absolutely without military experience, of very doubtful integrity, mercenary, and selfish in all his instincts, over bearing, insolent, ungentlemanly and vulgar in his manner.⁹⁴

Barns replied to his attackers by saying that he did not intend to dignify his critics by answering their charges. However, he felt an obligation to make the public and friends of the regiment aware of the truth and to defend the honor of the regiment. Barns maintained that he organized this regiment in order to give colored people an opportunity to vindicate their patriotism and bravery. Secondly, he felt that such an organization as a Negro regiment would help to decrease the draft quota in this city, county, and state. Barns added that no regiment except the 24th Michigan had ever progressed so far so soon.

In the matter of bonds, he said that he had never offered nor had thought of buying bonds from his men because he did not have the funds necessary for such speculations. He asserted that he had not sunk so low as to take advantage of people who were less fortunate than himself. Barns added that he had been informed that some questionable transactions had taken place. Some of his friends had advanced money to the men in his regiment until their bonds were negotiated. In conclusion, Barns said that he welcomed any group of honest citizens to keep his men's bonds so that they would not be at the mercy of unscrupulous money lenders and pawnbrokers.⁹⁵

This did not silence the attacks by *The Free Press*. They published numerous stories about Negro soldiers who complained that they had not received their bounty money. It even accused

⁹⁴ *Detroit Free Press*, October 29, 1863.

⁹⁵ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, October 30, 1863.

Barns of maintaining a dominion of fear. His men were too afraid to complain because Barns has them in his power.⁹⁶

The Negro community and their formal leaders held a meeting at the Croghan Street Baptist Church. The Reverend Madison Lightfoot chaired the meeting. Gerritt Smith, the white abolitionist from New York, was present. The speakers were George De Baptiste, Richard Gordon, Marcus Dales, Sergeant Daly, and Lewis N. Clark, a Negro from Canada. The general tenor of the meeting was praise for Colonel Barns and a pox on *The Free Press*. *The Free Press* was dismissed as being, "an ancient and persistent enemy of the colored man." As a means of inspiring Colored men to enlist in the Union Army, John D. Richards recited this poem.

A TRIBUTE

The man of Saxon race and tongue,
In land of schools and common learning,
Who writes an address or a song,
Or poem with ambition burning,
Is hail'd a chief among his peers,
And honors greet his passing years.

But here a man of alien blood,
Born in the bondman's degradation,
Long barr'd the sight of mental food,
Or means of mental elevation
Has thrown the shackles from his mind
And speaks to elevate his kind!

Come, Richards, here's a toast to thee!
Heroic honors be thy portion;
Thou'rt nobly worthy to be free.
And of each honest heart'd devotion!
Who carries weight and wins the race,
Deserves in fame the highest place.⁹⁷

On Friday, November 20, 1863, Sojourner Truth came to Camp Ward to visit the men of the First Michigan Colored Troops. She brought many gifts and food from the people of Battle Creek to these soldiers. The reporter who observed her on this visit

⁹⁶ *Detroit Free Press*, November 18, 1863.

⁹⁷ *The Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, November 18, 1863.

described her as being one "who carries not only a tongue of fire, but a heart of love." She returned to Camp Ward on Sunday in order to worship and speak with the men concerning their duty as soldiers of Christ.⁹⁸

The battalion drill at Camp Ward on Wednesday, November 25, was not as good as it should have been. The battalion's proficiency was diminished somewhat by the ineptness of 50 or 60 raw recruits who had been mustered into the battalion the day before. The reporter who recorded this scene for history said that it was a stirring sight which "was calculated to create a favorable impression in the most prejudiced mind."⁹⁹

The First Michigan Colored Regiment's Grand Tour of southern Michigan was "calculated to create a favorable impression in the most prejudiced mind."

The army, anxious to exhibit these extraordinary recruits, sent the Negro regiment, accompanied by its band, on a tour of southern Michigan. The troops left Detroit on December 8, 1863. Traveling via the Michigan Central Railroad, they disembarked for a brief visit wherever the train stopped. The return trip was made on the Michigan Southern Railroad with stops at the principal towns along that route. It is interesting to note that freight cars were fitted up for the men while their officers rode in a passenger car. The reported purpose of this excursion was to give the people of Michigan an opportunity to see what fine soldiers colored men make. At each place the First Michigan Colored Regiment visited, their band discoursed music. Enthusiastic crowds greeted the Negro soldiers, and in some towns the citizens even served them a free meal. The tour was described as a highly successful venture.¹⁰⁰

Without doubt the regimental band did help to make the "Grand Tour" a great success. This fact should be apparent to most Americans because it is an old American cliché that music has the power to soothe the "most prejudiced mind." The "image-makers" of that day knew that the band was a necessary ingredient for success, and they would not have dared to make a trip without one.

Early in December, J. Henry Whittemore donated five hundred

⁹⁸ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, November 23, 1863.

⁹⁹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, November 26, 1863.

¹⁰⁰ *The Effects of the Civil War on Music in Michigan*. Mary D. Teal and Lawrence W. Brown, p. 18. Lansing, 1965.

twenty-eight dollars to the First Michigan Colored Infantry. This money was earmarked for the purchase of musical instruments for the regimental band. At the inflated prices of 1863, they were able to purchase two E flat cornets, two B flat baritones, one B flat bass, one E flat bass, one pair of Turkish cymbals, one bass drum, and one snare drum. With a full complement of instruments, they began their tour.¹⁰¹

On December 8, 1863, Captain O. W. Bennett and two hundred fifty men arrived in Ypsilanti. They marched down the main street and received the plaudits of the crowd. The next day they were in Ann Arbor. They marched down Detroit Street to Ann Street and on to Main Street and Hangsterfer's Hall, where they were served dinner. The public relations man who accompanied them described the meal as a "splendid repast." Judge Lawrence, C. B. Thomas, O. M. Marti, L. Davis, William Hatch, Luther Dodge, William McCreary, and Mr. Rettich were the members of the Citizens Committee who made the preparations for the regiment.¹⁰²

At Jackson, Michigan, Governor Blair was scheduled to review them. They did not arrive until after midnight because their freight cars were too heavily loaded. At five o'clock in the morning they ate breakfast, and at nine-thirty the regiment passed in review. The ubiquitous correspondent from the *Advertiser and Tribune* noted that there were no boos from the crowd. He wrote that Governor Blair said: "This is the first time I ever saw Negro troops, and I am very proud of your general bearing. Take courage, do your duty nobly." After the review, Lieutenant Charles L. Burrell of Company C was given a sword and belt by the men of his company. Mrs. Blair and some of the other ladies from Jackson prepared dinner for the regiment.¹⁰³

The First Michigan Colored left Jackson at ten o'clock in the evening. At every whistle stop between Jackson and Kalamazoo they were cheered and lionized by people who gathered at the station. At Marshall Mayor Cameron and other prominent citizens escorted them through the town. In Kalamazoo they were re-

¹⁰¹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, December 3, 1863.

¹⁰² *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, December 9, 1863.

¹⁰³ *Advertiser and Tribune*, December 10, 1863.

viewed by Lieutenant Governor May, and they listened to speeches by various citizens on the glorious cause for which they were fighting. Afterward they ate dinner at Facey House.¹⁰⁴

Niles was supposed to have been the heart of Copperhead Country. Nevertheless, this regiment received a 34 gun salute and was greeted upon arrival by the Mayor, Mr. Dean. That night proved to be a gala occasion. The streets were illuminated by torches and bonfires. According to the correspondent attached to the regiment, there were more Negro citizens present than white in the crowd which escorted the men of this regiment to Killoy Hall where they spent the night. The following evening there was a war meeting in Niles. After the meeting, the colored people of Niles gave a dance in honor of the regiment.¹⁰⁵

"King Cotton" was probably one of the non-commissioned officers in the regiment. If his non de plume is an indication of his personality, he was undoubtedly a flamboyant individual. For example, at the dance in Niles he amused the participants throughout the evening with his antics. In mock seriousness, he went about inviting the absent editor of the local newspaper to join him in the fight to help free his colored brothers. This was rather humorous because the local editor was not only white but an avowed "Copperhead." All was not smiles and cheers. Amid the laughter and hurrahs, second sergeant William E. Washington of Company D became fatally ill.

When the regiment left Niles, the men marched to Cassopolis, a distance of 16 miles. Farmers along the way wished them well and gave them fruit. When the troops arrived in Cassopolis, the residents were surprised. Like the kind-hearted hostess who is confronted with unexpected guest, the good people of Cassopolis scurried about to make them welcome. For many of the men in this regiment Cassopolis and Cass County were home.

The Reverend Mr. Sherwood invited the men to worship at the Presbyterian Church in the town. Afterwards, there was a dress parade at the fair grounds, where the regiment performed several intricate maneuvers. During the dress parade Lieutenant Colonel W. T. Bennett was thrown from his horse and dislocated

¹⁰⁴ *Advertiser and Tribune*, December 11, 1863.

¹⁰⁵ *Advertiser and Tribune*, December 12, 1863.

his shoulder. The regiment concluded its performance by forming a hollow square. While in this formation C. W. Clishee, Esquire, gave the standard address.¹⁰⁶

After the First Michigan Colored Troops returned to Detroit, the *Advertiser and Tribune* reprinted several accounts of the tour. The *Kalamazoo Gazette*, a Democratic newspaper, said, "It is but justice to say of the detachment that a more orderly or soldiery body of men has seldom been seen in our streets. Their deportment when off duty was quiet and exemplary and their discipline when under orders was marked by precision and steadiness. We believe we speak the feelings of our whole community in saying that no equal number of men have passed through this place to whom so unquestioned sympathy was universally accorded or whose personal bearing afforded better security that would not sully the uniform they wore."

The Niles Republican commented, "About four hundred of the First Michigan Colored Regiment headed by their colored band paraded in our streets yesterday morning and presented a very creditable appearance. If this regiment conducts itself as well on the battlefield as in the street, they will certainly come off with honors."¹⁰⁷

The *Free Press* reported the trip as follows:

Return of the Colored Regiment

"The colored regiment returned to the city this (Tuesday) morning. Those who came back report having enjoyed themselves hugely. A sensible method was adopted to keep the majority of the Company sober, which was to send an advance guard forward to drink up the whisky, under the command of a newspaper correspondent of the *Advertiser* that accompanied the expedition. The facility with which some of the members would surround a quart of this beverage is reported as remarkable.

At Ypsilanti their anticipations were hardly realized regarding reception; also at Ann Arbor, Jackson, Marshall, and Kalamazoo, there was some slight mistake concerning the same matter, but as to who will have to foot the bill contracted during the "reconnaissance in force" into the interior, there is but little room for doubt. The official report of the Commanding Officer will be eagerly looked for, and hopes are entertained by some that the fruits of the expedition will

¹⁰⁶ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, December 15, 1863

¹⁰⁷ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, December 19, 1863.

be suffered to pay for the outlay, although on this subject there is reason to doubt a satisfactory issue. It is a fully style of soldering. This "regimental excursion" idea is a new dodge — a "colored dodge" — but nevertheless, paradoxical as it may seem transparent."¹⁰⁸

For the two hundred fifty plus men of the First Michigan Colored Infantry Regiment, the return to Camp Ward was more than anti-climactic. It was a shattering experience because the weather had become extremely cold, and the barracks were uninhabitable. This was not unusual because contractors during the Civil War years were notorious for selling the government shoddy goods and services. Nevertheless, *The Advertiser and Tribune* attacked the government for what it asserted was another example of the War Department's indifference to the welfare of Colored troops. The Journal for the prosecution of the war bemoaned that these barracks were a "disgrace to the community." Its catalogue of complaints listed knotty lumber, no tar paper on the roof, leaky roofs, no flooring, crevices in the side of the buildings large enough to admit snow drifts, sacks of straw in lieu of beds, and poor ventilation. Many of the soldiers stationed there moved into town in order to stay with friends and relatives, and it was not a Merry Christmas.

On December 22, 1863, Dr. Charles T. Tripler, Surgeon U. S. Army, inspected the conditions at Camp Ward. Dr. Tripler came at the request of Lieutenant Colonel B. H. Hill, Adjutant General in Detroit. The Army surgeon recommended that the sides be repaired with tar paper and also the roofs and then covered with sand; more windows; planed boards for the floor; brick flues for the stove pipes; decent bunks instead of bed sacks; two blankets per man because one blanket was not sufficient in this climate; and a mess room so that men will not have to eat and cook where they sleep.¹⁰⁹

The Advertiser and Tribune continued to castigate the army for allowing these conditions to exist. "Whoever the shoe may fit, we have no hesitation in saying that the treatment of the Colored regiment in the matter of barracks has been brutally inhuman. There is not a barn or a pigsty in the whole city of

¹⁰⁸ *Detroit Free Press*, December 16, 1863.

¹⁰⁹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, December 23, 1863.

Detroit that is not more fit for the habitation of a human-being than the quarters at Camp Ward.”¹¹⁰

There was a momentary lull in the controversy over the barracks. On January 5, 1864, the Colored Ladies' Soldier's Aid Society came to Camp Ward. They presented the First Michigan a banner with its regimental colors. During the ceremony, the regiment was drawn up into its hollow square formation. John D. Richards presented the colors to the regiment in behalf of the ladies. Miss Betty Martin assisted in conveying the colors to the color guard. Chaplain Waring made a brief speech. Another part of the ceremony dealt with the presentation of a gift. One hundred thirty non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiment presented Lieutenant Colonel W. T. Bennett with a sword and sash.¹¹¹

In the final chapter of the Battle of the Barracks, Captain G. W. Lee of the United States Army Quartermaster Department was ordered to make the necessary repairs and alterations at Camp Ward. This was indeed a time of troubles for Captain Lee. He was much abused by the local pro-union daily. The embattled captain took the abuse with stoical calm, but he became incensed at this newspaper for calling him “inhuman.”¹¹² Meanwhile there were persistent rumors that the War Department had asked Colonel Barns to resign his commission. Barns denied this allegation and added that it was common knowledge that the War Department had ordered him only to fill the rolls, train the men and ship them to where the war was. It was not intended that he should lead them into battle.¹¹³

Once again the First Michigan Colored troops went on review. Lieutenant Colonel W. T. Bennett and 700 of his men marched from Camp Ward to Campus Martius to Fort Street down Third Street and back out Jefferson. They marched in the hollow square formation. Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Smith, Captain Armstrong of the Royal Canadian Rifles, Major MacDonnell of Windsor, Dr. O'Brien, Colonel Mizner, and Colonel Henry Barns

¹¹⁰ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, December 28, 1863.

¹¹¹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, January 6, 1864.

¹¹² *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, January 13, 1864.

¹¹³ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, January 18, 1864.

were the dignitaries on the reviewing stand. One local newspaper reported that the regiment was "put through a variety of evolutions and the regimental band played well." It also reported that Colonel Smith "praised the men for their military bearing and told them that they were good and true soldiers."¹¹⁴

The other local newspaper had this comment to make. "The regiment now claims to be full to the minimum. If such is the case, by all means, let it be sent into the field at once, where it can be of some service. Its day of usefulness in Detroit is past, and its place is now in the front where those massive feet may be put to good use in trampling down this unholy rebellion."

The Free Press wrote many derisive statements about the Negro regiment, but the following quotation is a classic.

Raid of the First Ethiopians

"We have often wondered why Barns' Ethiopian Troops were quartered on a bleak upland, in the city, during this inclement weather, while, under the lead of their gallant Colonel, they might be distinguishing and extinguishing themselves in their native Sunny South. This is one of the unaccountable things of the times, but is certainly no fault of the Colonel. The government may prefer to keep them here to die with the smallpox rather than send them South to pour out their life blood in the "sacred cause of human freedom," but the Colonel seems determined that their time shall not be altogether wasted. Every precious moment is spent in drilling men and fitting them for the field, and in cultivating in them a warlike and belligerent spirit. He is practicing them in every manouever, thanking them, digging trenches (for the benefit of the smallpox patients), and Saturday night he led them forth on an extensive raid. At the dead hour of night, when everybody was supposed to be in bed, the regiment silently and cautiously set out from their camp. The sight was an inspiring one. At the head of the column rode the gallant Colonel, mounted on the noble war-horse recently presented to him by his admiring friends, and which was for some time on exhibition to the public on the Campus Martius. Next to him, chief of his staff, rode the famous African known about town as "King Cotton," anxiously inquiring if his Wayne county bounty is to be paid in shingle bales. The whole regiment was in line soon after twelve o'clock, and "not a drum was heard" as they moved past the nearest henroost. The "band" had been, after some effort, relentlessly choked off from performing their favorite tune on this occasion. As the sable heroes

¹¹⁴ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, February 12, 1864.

moved along, the whites of their eyes and their teeth glistened in the starlight, so completely outshining the bayonets that the latter made no effort, knowing they could not do themselves credit. Silently the regiment moved through the back streets, and before the solitary solitary policemen, who guards the upper part of the town, was aware of their presence, they were in the heart of the city. On the Campus Martius they drew up in line of battle, and, without firing a gun, charged upon and captured the sable African who has, for some years past, had charge of a pestle and mortar on the top of a high post in front of the Russell House. This was one of the most successful raids of the war. The capture was made without the slightest resistance on the part of the prisoner, and without firing a gun, although the regiment was supplied with ten rounds of cartridges and four hours rations. Having accomplished the object of their reconnoissance, the regiment retired to their quarters and slept until after breakfast. We shall watch with some interest for the Colonel's official report of this affair, as it is certain that all distinguished themselves, and there will be universal promotion. Col. Barns has already earned the star, and the filling out of the necessary blanks is now all that is required to make him a Brigadier."¹¹⁵

March is a month of transition, and for the men of this Negro regiment, it was a change for the worse. Its champion, *The Advertiser and Tribune* attacked its competitor for its "base" and "shameless" abuse of this regiment in particular, and Negroes in general. *The Free Press* was accused of trying to arouse the hatred of the community against the regiment. One must remember that it was just barely a year since the Riot of 1863. Moreover, *The Advertiser and Tribune* said that the Democratic newspaper was guilty of bias and inaccurate reporting because it often reported outrages perpetuated against Colored troops as outrages committed by Colored troops.¹¹⁶

On March 3, 1864, the men of the First Michigan Colored Troops gave a dance at Merrill Hall. The following account appeared in one of the local newspapers the next day.

Grand Artillery Shake Down — The Colored Citizens and Soldiers Indulged in a "Hep."

Last evening was what "A. Ward" would term "a episode" in the lives of the colored brethren and slaters of Detroit and Camp Ward.

¹¹⁵ *Detroit Free Press*, February 12, 1864.

¹¹⁶ *Advertiser and Tribune*, February 21, 1864.

They gathered in their strength, and until 8 o'clock this morning, shook the light fantastic heel, to their own delight and that of several "poor white trash" present to witness the performance. Merrill Hall was the scene of these festivities, and as such will "rank" among the first halls of the city, until long after the present generation cease to snuff the air of heaven. Upwards of a hundred couple participated in the amusements, and verified the old maxim that "in Union there is strength." Among the ladies present were many of the colored aristocracy of the city, whose beauty, and the ease with which they supported the dignity devolving upon them as belles of the occasion, illustrates in a high degree the natural talents of the race. There were many of the opposite sex evidently enamored of their partners, and the languishing looks cast by them upon the fair features of their love, was only prevented from bringing to the cheek the tell-tale blush on account of the presence of too much color.

This revelry was kept up with undiminished interest until in the "small hours," when began the somewhat difficult task of separating the followers of the meek and lowly Barns from the cautious darkies — the soldier from the civilian — at which time it was discovered that a very fair proportion had become fatigued by repeated attacks upon the defenses around neighboring saloons, and surrendered themselves willing captives. What was the object of this ball, whether simply to give the soldiers a little harmless recreation, or a benefit to Col. Barns, to render a little assistance, in repaying the large sums lost by him in his philanthropic efforts to improve their condition, was not stated in the bill, but the latter is the generally conceded purpose. If so, the gallant Colonel certainly fell short of what might be expected of him in not gracing the festivities by his presence.¹¹⁷

Early in March, 1864, the local newspaper became involved in a controversy involving the First Michigan Colored Regiment's band and the quality of its music.

Although well received throughout southern Michigan, the Negro band encountered dissension at home. A case in point arose over arrangements for the public receptions given troops returning from the battlefield. The committee in charge, which had employed the band of the First Michigan Colored Regiment to play for these celebrations, was disconcerted somewhat when the Tenth Michigan Regiment refused to march behind them. Despite the fact that Detroiters supported the Union during the Civil War, one of the local newspapers was vehemently anti-Negro, and took advantage of every opportunity to discredit

¹¹⁷ *Detroit Free Press*, February 18, 1864.

members of that race. This daily gave the following report of the connection over the employment of the Negro musicians:

It is stated that the Light Guard Band refused to tender their services unless an exorbitant price was paid them. This, we understand, is not true. A member of the band waited upon a member of the committee of arrangements to tender their services, and was informed that there would be no music on the occasion. The colored band was afterwards engaged at a 'nominal sum.' The declaration, or a very strong intimation, at least, that the colored band is superior to the Light Guard Band, will only be received by those who consider that an African is a little better than a white man, even if the latter does dress as well and behave as well. The negro is probably better at music than anything else, but when he only plays the cast off music of others, there is no use of claiming for him greater proficiency than is justly his due. In the future we think the wishes of our soldiers will be consulted enough to furnish such music as will not be objectionable to them, or none at all.

But the other leading Detroit newspaper expressed quite a different opinion of this affair.

When the 1st Infantry arrived home, some hard feeling was manifested by the men, because the band of the colored regiment was engaged to escort them through the city. The same feeling, only to a greater extent, was perceptible at the reception of the 10th this morning, because the colored band headed the procession. All the companies, with one exception, declined to march behind them. It is due to the committee of reception that an explanation should be made. Up to the time the 1st arrived, the Light Guard or City Band had been engaged to discourse music, but their charges — \$30 for turning out — was considered exorbitant, and as the colored band was the only one remaining that could furnish as good, if not better music, they were requested, and patriotically volunteered their services for a nominal sum. The committee were of the opinion that the other bands, while engaged in escorting veteran soldiers from the depots, should manifest a little spirit of patriotism.

Despite this controversy, the Negro band was asked to perform for a variety of functions around the city, and even sponsored several well-attended promenade concerts.¹¹⁸

In the latter part of March, relations between the citizenry and the Negro troops worsened. *The Advertiser and Tribune* noted with regret: "It becomes our painful but necessary duty

¹¹⁸ *Music In Michigan During The Civil War, op. cit.*, p. 15-16.

to record another series of disgraceful proceedings committed by drunken colored soldiers." It was alleged that individuals from the Negro regiment had had a fight in John Hallstein's saloon on the corner of Lafayette and Rivard. There was another altercation involving the men of the First Michigan at Henry Schoeppe's saloon which was on the corner of Croghan and Rivard Streets. A group of Negro soldiers supposedly kicked down the door and broke out the windows of P. Drexelius' saloon on the corner of Macomb and Rivard.¹¹⁹ Newspaper accounts also mentioned that several Negroes in soldier's uniforms entered John Burger's store at 143 Macomb and stole clothing and whisky. Some of the men were apprehended, brought before Justice Kuhn, and subsequently turned over to military authorities.

Colonel Barns restricted his men to Camp Ward. Passes were not issued for leave from camp beyond four o'clock in the afternoon. Negro soldiers absent without leave were arrested and court martialed as deserters.¹²⁰ The record of arrest and courts martial of this regiment was no better nor worse than that of other regiments in the Civil War.¹²¹ Most knowledgeable observers will concede that this is consistent with army behavior down through the ages.

In the middle of March, Special Order No. 117 was issued by the War Department.

"SPECIAL ORDERS, WAR DEPARTMENT,

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

No. 117

Washington, March 14, 1864

(EXTRACT.)

21. The following named regiments of Colored Troops are hereby assigned to the 9th Army Corps, and on the completion of their organization, will be ordered to the Depot of said Corps, at Annapolis, Maryland. Major-General A. E. Burnside is charged with the superintendence of their organization, which he is

¹¹⁹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, March, 1864.

¹²⁰ *Detroit Free Press*, March 25, 1864.

¹²¹ Henry Brown, May 20, 1966. Conversation with Henry D. Brown, Director of Detroit Historical Museum, May 20, 1966.

expected to push forward to a speedy completion: — 1st Regiment Michigan Colored Volunteers.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. TOWNSEND,

Assistant Adjutant General,

OFFICIAL:

(Signed) E. D. TOWNSEND
Assistant Adjutant General."

Two weeks later the First Michigan Colored Infantry left Detroit for the Eastern Front.¹²³ *The Free Press* noted the occasion with the comment: "The First Regiment of the Corp d' Afrique took their departure from the city. . . . They marched down Jefferson to the corner of Brush and awaited the arrival of the train and went to Annapolis. . . . Its departure secures the peace and tranquility of our city."¹²⁴

On the first of April, 1864, the regiment arrived in Baltimore. The Baltimore Union Relief Association prepared breakfast for them. The men were appreciative because their travel through Pennsylvania had not been pleasant. They complained of the Pennsylvanians "mean, mercenary spirit."¹²⁵

The regiment's arrival at Annapolis, Maryland, was most depressing. It was raining, and the stench of bigotry was in the air. Lieutenant Colonel Bennett asked that his men be allowed to use some empty barracks. His request was denied. He was told that this was not possible because it might cause a disturbance among the white troops stationed there.¹²⁶

On April 14, 1864, General Grant and General Burnside reviewed the First Michigan Colored Infantry Regiment. Their reactions to the brown Michiganiens was favorable. General Burnside was reported to have said, "They look fine." General Grant pronounced them "splendid."¹²⁷

When the First Michigan passed through Toledo, Ohio, in March, *The Toledo Blade* made these comments.

¹²³ Michigan Historical Commission, *op. cit.*

¹²⁴ *Detroit Free Press*, March 29, 1864.

¹²⁵ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, April 5, 1864.

¹²⁶ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, April 21, 1864.

¹²⁷ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, April 20, 1864.

"Col. Barns is not a military man, and he accepted the commission of colonel to organize the regiment for the reason that he was satisfied colored men are willing, and felt it a duty, to bear part in the conflict which is to result in disenthralment of millions of their brethren or in reducing themselves to bondage. The colonel, having completed his task, will accompany the regiment to Annapolis, and, having turned it over to Gen. Burnside, will return to his editorial duties in Detroit."¹²⁸

Special Orders 145 confirms Colonel Barn's resignation.

WAR DEPARTMENT

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE

WASHINGTON. APRIL 12th, 1864

46. Colonel Henry Barns. 1st Michigan Colonel Volunteers, having tendered his resignation is hereby honorably discharged the service of the United States.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. TOWNSEND

Assistant Adjutant General¹²⁹

When Colonel Barns resigned, the command of Michigan's Negro regiment passed to Henry L. Chipman. Lieutenant Colonel W. T. Bennett became a colonel in another Negro regiment. Chipman, who held the rank of captain in the regular army, was promoted to the rank of colonel. He was the brother of John Logan Chipman, a judge of the old superior court and one time member of Congress from Michigan.¹³⁰

On the same day that Colonel Barns' resignation became official, the First Michigan Colored was reassigned by the authority of Special Orders No. 145.

"SPECIAL ORDERS WAR DEPARTMENT

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE

No. 145.

Washington, April 12th, 1864

(EXTRACT.)

53. So much of Special Orders, No. 117, March 14th, 1864,

¹²⁸ *Detroit Tribune*.

¹²⁹ *Michigan Historical Commission, op. cit.*

¹³⁰ *Detroit Tribune, op. cit.*

from this Office, as assigned the 1st Michigan Colored Volunteers to the 9th Army Corps, is hereby revoked.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. TOWNSEND,

Assistant Adjutant General.

OFFICIAL:

(Signed) E. D. TOWNSEND

Assistant Adjutant General"¹³¹

The day after they had been reviewed by Generals Grant and Burnside, this regiment was scheduled to leave by boat for Hilton Head, South Carolina. The date of their embarkation was April 15, 1865. Just as they were boarding the ship, a pay master from Washington arrived with their pay. However, the war and tide wait for no man and the men were not paid. This incident probably caused them a great deal of anguish because they had not been paid since they left Michigan.¹³² In the Civil War, soldiers in the field were usually paid every other month. Some companies were fortunate if they were paid every four months.¹³³

"Detachments of the regiment were employed on picket duty on St. Helena and Jenkins Islands, and at Seabrook and Spanish Wells on Hilton Head Island for a month."¹³⁴ Companies D, E, and F were stationed at Seabrook Landing, S. C. They were under the command of Major Houghton of the 25th Ohio Infantry Regiment. The men from the Michigan Regiment noted that these soldiers were not as prejudiced as most white soldiers. One of the brown sons of Michigan wrote, "We are encamped next to them, only a single street dividing."

Meanwhile Colonel Chipman was attempting to mold the First Michigan into a finer and more efficient instrument of war. At this point, it seemed that the war had passed them by. The officers and men thought of many things but primarily of the future. The island of Hilton Head was excellent agricultural land. It had been surveyed and divided into parcels of 300 acres. The officers discussed buying a number of these 300 acre plantations and forming a Michigan colony by the sea.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Michigan Historical Commission, *op. cit.*

¹³² *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, April 28, 1864.

¹³³ Boatner, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

¹³⁴ Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

¹³⁵ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, May 23, 1864.

The First Michigan Colored Volunteers were federalized and became the One Hundred Second United States Colored Troops.¹³⁶ They were taught the tools and techniques of heavy artillery. While the men were learning these skills, they moved inside the entrenchments and fortifications on the island of Hilton Head.¹³⁷

“We have moved inside the entrenchments. All the Companies are together now, and are daily drilled in heavy artillery on the entrenchments. There is some talk of the regiment being permanently changed to heavy artillery. We had quite an expedition up the Edisto River under command of Gen. Bailey, who is now under arrest. Lieut. Col. Bennett is in command of the entrenchments and is Chief of Police of this District. We are to be paid off on Monday next. Lieut. Benham is down with the small-pox but doing well. The regiment is quite healthy and the men in good spirits.”¹³⁸

Hilton Head, South Carolina, was in General J. G. Foster’s Department, and General John P. Hatch commanded this military district which included Hilton Head, Fort Pulaski, St. Helena, and Tybee Island.¹³⁹ The former Michigan Colored Volunteers were ordered to garrison duty on Port Royal where it helped to erect a second line of fortifications. On June 15, 1864, the regiment moved to Beaufort on Port Royal Island. While at Beaufort they were supposed to accompany General Potter on an expedition. The General did not allow them to join his task force. He said, “I would like very much to have the splendid Michigan Regiment along, but it would be suicide to take them with their worthless guns.” Prior to this announcement the prospect of going into battle had made the men jubilant. In spite of their defective weapons, a few of the men participated in the expedition to Johns Island.¹⁴⁰ Several days later, the men of the 102nd were issued new rifles.¹⁴¹

Meanwhile, back on the home front *The Free Press* was up to its old Negro-baiting tricks. In an article entitled “Negro Sub-

¹³⁶ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, May 31, 1864.

¹³⁷ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, June 7, 1864.

¹³⁸ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, June 10, 1864.

¹³⁹ *Advertiser and Tribune*, June 21, 1864.

¹⁴⁰ *Advertiser and Tribune*, July 18, 1864.

¹⁴¹ *Advertiser and Tribune*, August 2, 1864.

stitutes," it noted, "By a recent decision of the Provost Marshal General Negroes are now accepted as substitutes for white men. They are more numerous and possibly cheaper. Hence those in search of substitutes who are not able to buy white men may possibly raise the requisite funds to buy a negro."¹⁴²

On the first of August, the 102nd marched into Florida and arrived in Jacksonville on the third. On the following day it marched to Baldwin, a railroad junction, 21 miles from Jacksonville, where it was engaged on picket duty and in destroying railroad track. On the 11th of the month it was suddenly attacked by a force of rebel cavalry, which it easily repulsed and scattered, and by its splendid conduct on that occasion fully convinced its officers of the reliable and gallant fighting qualities of their men.

Leaving Baldwin on the 15th, the regiment participated in an expedition through the eastern part of Florida, making a circuit of nearly one hundred miles in five days, and reached the St. Johns river at Magnolia, thirty-five miles above Jacksonville. It remained at Magnolia ten days, and during this time built a fort and performed other fatigue duty. Re-embarking for Beaufort, S. C., the regiment reached there on the morning of the 31st. On the 1st of September it was again sent to the front on picket duty, in which it was engaged, at different points on Coosa, Lady's and Port Royal Islands. The rebels made an attempt, early in October, to land and surprise, under cover of night, the detachment of the regiment on duty at Lady's Island, but were discovered, and after a brisk skirmish, driven off.¹⁴³

Down through the centuries, armies sang as they marched. What our boys, brown boys from Michigan sang we do not know. This is one song Negro soldiers sung during the Civil War.

McClellan went to Richmond with two hundred
thousand braves:

He said, keep back the niggers and the
Union he would save.

Little Mac, he had his way, still the Union
is in tears,

And they call for help of the colored
volunteers.

¹⁴² *Detroit Free Press*, July 19, 1864.

¹⁴³ Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

They may have sung this song in praise of Negro volunteers, but did they have insight to the bitter ironies of the war? Did they feel secure enough in their new-found manhood and prowess to ridicule the racism which pervaded the Union army, by singing this song?

Some say it is a burnin' shame
 To make the naygurs fight,
 An' that the thrade o' being kilt
 Belongs but to the white:
 But as for me, upon me sowl,
 So liberal are we here,
 I'll let Sambo be murdered in place o' meself
 On every day in the year.
 On every day in the year, boys,
 An' every hour in the day,
 The right to be kilt I'll divide wid him,
 An' divil a word I'll say.

In battle's wild commotion
 I shouldn't at all object
 If Sambo's body would stop a ball
 That was comin' for me direct;
 An' the prod of a southern bay'net,
 So lival are we here.
 I'll resign an' let Sambo take it,
 On every day of the year,
 On every day of the year, boys,
 An' wid none of your nasty pride,
 All right in a southern bay'net prod
 Wid Sambo I'll divide.

The men who object to Sambo
 Should take his place and fight;
 An' it's better to have a naygur's hue
 Than a liver that's wake and white.
 Though Sambo's black as the ace of spades.
 His finger a thrigger can pull,
 An's his eye run straight on the barrel sight
 From under its thatch o' wool.
 So hear me all, boys, darlin's,
 Don't think I'm tippin' you chaff,
 The right to be kilt I'll divide wid him,
 an' give him the largest half.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ *Detroit Tribune.*

Dr. Curtis of the Old First Michigan Colored Volunteers arrived in Detroit from Hilton Head, South Carolina, early in September. He reported that the men from Michigan had been on picket duty on the various islands off the Coast of South Carolina. He also mentioned that these troops were now armed with Colt rifles. According to him elements of this regiment had made several "war-like expeditions" into Florida and the men had acquitted themselves well under fire. He said that William Porter had been killed on one of these expeditions. Dr. Curtis also mentioned that his colleague, Dr. Vincent, was being promoted to the post of surgeon. A newspaper account gave this additional information.

"Died since May 18th, 1st L. Henry D. Benham, Co. B., died July 2; Privates Wm. Henderson, Co. E. May 18th, Turner Archy, July 7th, Co. C; John Holmes, Co. D, June 23d; Aldrich Conner, Co. B, June 27th; Wm. P. Weaver, Co. H, June 28th; Wm. Edwards, Co. B, June 29th; Wesley Franklin, Co. H, June 30th; John Coleman, Co. F, July 3rd; Albert Callaway, Co. G., July 3d; Thomas Wilson, Co. K., July 4th; John W. Gragon, Co. H, July 4th; Corp. Joshua Emmons, Co. H, July 4th; Privates George A. Dudley, Co. G, July 5th; Grayson Smith, Co. F, July 9th; Charles Chinn, Co. E, July 14th; Corp. Peter Simpson, Co. C, July 14th; Privates George W. Stewart, Co. B, July 27th; Wm. Steele, Co. G, July 29th; David R. Conway, Co. I, Aug. 2d; Noah Perdu, Co. C, Aug. 4th; Henry White, Co. H, Aug. 7th; George More, Co. I, Aug. 15th;

"The above named soldiers all died of diseases incident to the climate, principally dysentery and typhoid fever. Lt. Jewett has been promoted to a captaincy."

Col. Chipman may come to Detroit on furlough. The regiment still has the same organization."¹⁴⁵

On September 9, 1864, one of the local newspapers published a letter which was alleged to be from one of the men in the 102nd.

A NEGRO'S ABOLITIONISTS — A member of Barns' negro regiment, who was formerly a baker in this city, writes to his old employer as follows:

"If I had taken your advice I would have been with you at work yet, and I would have been better off to work for you at a dollar a week, than to be here. This regiment has been treated like dogs

¹⁴⁵ *Advertiser and Tribune*, September 8, 1864.

instead of men, and if I ever live to come home, I never want to see one of those things they call abolitionists. They are a set of infernal rascals, and Old Barns is at the top of the heap. He has feathered his nest out of the regiment and got the men down into this God forsaken hole and left them. He was so much of a coward he dared not stay with them and go into the field with them. And the same lying paper they call the Advertiser and Tribune, I never want to see it again as long as I live. Old Barns stayed in South Carolina as long as he thought it safe and comfortable for him. You told me when I worked for you that I did not know about these men, but this is the place to find out who are your friends. Our regiment has seen hard times, but they have never been in a fight. If they had they would be better off. We have been on half rations for a long time. It goes hard with me, for I like to have enough to eat. The most of the regiment has gone to Florida, twenty miles below Jacksonville. They have been gone two weeks, and all they took with them was what they had on their backs. I don't know when they will be back again. They told me when we enlisted that we should have the same pay as other soldiers, but when we got down here, away from our homes, they wanted to pay the boys off at seven dollars per month. But the boys "couldn't see the point," and refused to take any pay. We would rather give them our time than take half pay. There is one thing I must tell you. God help Barns when the boys come home. If they ever do come home they will give him fits. They all may be is a thief and a robber.

Comment is unnecessary. The letter will fully explain itself.¹⁴⁶

"The headquarters of this regiment on November 1st, 1864, were at Beaufort, S. C., and the several companies thereof were doing picket duty on the outposts of Port Royal, Lady's, and Coosa Islands during that month and December. On the 30th of November a detachment of the regiment, consisting twelve officers and three hundred men left Beaufort and joined General Foster's co-operating column at Boyd's Landing, and was engaged with the enemy at Honey Hill, S. C., on November 30th following, at Tillitiny December 7th, and at Devaux Neck on the 9th by a detachment of the regiment consisting of twelve officers and three hundred men, that had been sent from Beaufort to join the forces of the enemy, sustaining an aggregate loss in these affairs of sixty-five in killed and wounded; Captain A. E. Lindsay being among the killed and Lieutenant H. H. Alvord among the severely wounded.

A correspondent wrote as follows:

"While reflecting upon some reports which have just reached me from the front, where we have a detail of 300 men from our regiment,

¹⁴⁶ *Free Press*, September 9, 1864.

under command of Colonel Chipman, I reverted back to the time of the organization of the 102d. During that time it was almost a by-word, and those connected with it subjects of derision. But now its praise are on every one's lips, and here, at least, it is an honor to belong to what was once known as the 1st Michigan Colored Regiment.

"You have already heard, no doubt, that another expedition has been set on foot in this department, the object of which is to interrupt the Savannah and Charleston railroad, and, if possible, destroy it altogether. The expedition numbered, all told, about 6,000 men, mostly colored troops. It landed at first on what is called Boyd's Bluff, a neck of land nearly opposite to Port Royal Ferry. Our forces advanced along this neck of land for several miles in the direction of Gorhamsville, which is a station on the above mentioned road. There had been skirmishing for most of the way, but here they met the enemy in force and here a sanguinary battle was fought, which was the first real fight in which our regiment was ever engaged. On one side of our little detail of 300 men the 54th Massachusetts (colored) was drawn up, on the other a white regiment, the 127th New York. Here our forces sustained a charge from the enemy, and charged in turn. In this affair the 102d covered themselves with glory. It is acknowledged without stint on all hands that our regiment maintained the steadiest line of battle and fought with the greatest determination of any troops on the ground. Many who were wounded quite severely refused to go to the rear, but kept on fighting, while the blood was flowing from their wounds. But the enemy's fire having been very severe upon our artillery, and so many horses having been killed, they were obliged to abandon two pieces of artillery, on the field, and while all were falling back, and after the retreat had been sounded, two companies of the 102d hauled off the two pieces of artillery by hand. For several days fighting and skirmishing were kept up quite briskly near the same place, during which time the 102d not only maintained their credit, but were constantly gathering new laurels. The white regiment which fought next to ours held our men in the highest estimation, and expressed their preference to fight beside our regiment rather than any other regiment in the department.

"The attempt to reach the railroad by this route was finally abandoned, and the troops were taken to a point near Pocatallago Bridge, and landed on a strip of land called Bull's Neck. Here again they had several skirmishes and one severe fight, where the 102d fought as well as any troops ever fought, no other Michigan regiment excepted. There were men in my company who were shot through and through the fleshy part of the arm who have not gone to the hospital, but after having their wounds dressed have come to their company quarters, remained there, and seemed scarcely to notice their wounds. If such a thing had occurred in the regiment I formerly

belonged to, such a wound would have been good for a three-months' stay in some hospital at Philadelphia, or Baltimore. Others who are wounded in the neck and side, but still have the full use of their limbs, who would go back to the field at once if they were permitted to do so. The same is true of men of every company of the regiment. Now such bravery I never saw before. I have known men to fight as well and bravely as men ever fought, but never before have I known men to fight on after being severely wounded, and anxious to return to the field as soon as their wounds were dressed. After having been three and a half years in the field and participated in sixteen different engagements, I never before saw men exhibit such unyielding bravery in battle.

"Colonel Chipman has also gained great credit on account of the exploits of his little band, and in consequence thereof has, as I understand, been recommended for a Brigadiership."

"On January 19th 1865, the several companies doing duty at the outposts referred to returned to Beaufort, and on the 21st the regiment left that point for Devaux Neck, where the detachment which had been with General Foster's column rejoined it on the 24th, and on the 28th the regiment started for Pocotaligo, reaching there the same day, where it remained until February 7th, when it crossed the Salkehatchie river and marched five miles along the line of the Charleston and Savannah railroad in the direction of Charleston, where it established a strong picket, and throwing up breastworks encamped for the night, and on the 8th Companies B, E and I, in command of Major Clark, made a reconnoissance to the right and front and near to Cuckwold Creek, where the enemy's cavalry picket was met and attacked, which after a short skirmish withdrew behind the rebel works. The regiment having destroyed the railroad and built breastworks near Cuckwold Creek remained there until the 14th, when it marched to the Ashepoo river and built a bridge across that stream, and on the 20th proceeding towards Charleston, reached the Ashley river on the 23rd, which it crossed on the 27th and marched to the defenses on Charleston Neck, where it remained until March 9th, and was then ordered to take transports for Savannah, Ga., the right wing arriving at that point on the 11th and the left wing on the 16th. The regiment remained at Savannah engaged on picket and fatigue duty until the 28th, when on receipt of orders, it embarked on transports for Georgetown, S.C., arriving there April 1st. On the 7th, the right wing, in command of Colonel Chipman, was ordered on board transports for Charleston, and reaching there on the 9th encamped on Charleston Neck.

From the 11th to the 18th the right wing, in command of Colonel Chipman, was engaged on a most hazardous and daring expedition

from Charleston, S.C., to join General Potter on the Santee river, striking it at Nelson's Ferry, distant about seventy miles. The march was made through the country held by the enemy, the command subjected to great danger of attack from superior force, and of being cut off from all reinforcements and overwhelmed, enduring much hardship and fatigue, and meeting a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which, after a brisk and vigorous fight, were driven off. Encountering the rebels again on the 18th, while on the march in the direction of Camden, a skirmish ensued. On the 19th the command succeeded in rejoining the left wing.

The left wing had marched from Georgetown on the 5th, commanded by Major Clark, with an expedition under command of General Potter. After much hard marching and considerable skirmishing with the enemy on the 8th, 15th, and 17th, and on the 18th near Manchester, met the enemy in force at Boykins, when, with the 54th Massachusetts colored infantry, it flanked the rebels, attacking them with much spirit and gallantry, driving them in great disorder in the direction of Statesburg. Next day the two wings again united, and under command of Colonel Chipman came up with the enemy near Singleton's plantation, when a successful flank movement was made by the regiment, which resulted, after a most gallant brush, in forcing him to abandon a strong position and in routing him most thoroughly.

The regiment being encamped on the 20th and 21st, having Companies A, B, and C (under command of Major Clark) on the picket line, on the morning of the 21st, Company A was attacked by two hundred of the enemy, whom it handsomely repulsed. At 12 M., on the 21st, the enemy sent in a flag of truce, with dispatches from General Beauregard stating that Generals Sherman and Johnston had ceased hostilities, when the column marched back to Georgetown, arriving there on the 25th.

On the 29th the regiment received orders to proceed to Charleston, and next day embarked on transports, arriving at that point the same day, and went into camp on Charleston Neck, where it remained until May 7th, and then broke camp and marched for Summerville, and reaching there on the 8th, encamped until the 18th, then proceeded by rail to Branchville, and thence on the 25th to Orangeburg, where it was engaged on provost guard and fatigue duty until July 28th, when it marched for Winnsboro, arriving there on the same duties as at Orangeburg. Some time in the month following the regiment returned to Charleston, where it was mustered out of service September 30th, and proceeded to Michigan, arriving on October 17th at Detroit, where it was paid off and disbanded."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 491-92.

On October 5, 1865, five companies, around 500 men, of the One Hundred Second Regiment arrived in Detroit.¹⁴⁸ *The Free Press* reported that "they were received in about the same manner as a white regiment." It added. "They were congratulated by a large delegation of snowflakes of the softer sex who followed them through the streets towards the camp to the barracks waving colored handkerchiefs in unison with those of their admirers. The colored troops fought nobly." Also included in this newspaper account was the list of officers who arrived with their men. "Colonel Henry Chipman, brevet brigadier general, Lt. Col. N. Clark, Major C. S. Montague, Surgeon Wesley Vincent, Assistant Surgeon W. W. Spiers, Adjutant James A. McKnight, Quartermaster E. Dubendorff, Captains O. W. Bennett, E. D. Bennett, A. S. Merrill, E. Cahill, E. J. McKindrie, James Bradley, E. S. Jewett, Thomas M. Barker, W. Nelson, 1st Lieutenants Peter E. Mead, H. H. Powers, 2nd Lieutenants W. Mullevy, Frederick Hautsch, Joseph Effliner, O. A. Davis, C. F. Backard, W. W. Scott, Luther Ricketts, Albretch Lieber, and Jacob B. Sleight.¹⁴⁹

Two days later the remaining 5 companies arrived in Detroit aboard the lake steamer, "City of Cleveland." They had been delayed for two days by a severe storm on Lake Erie. They were not given a gala reception because the Michigan Central Freight Depot where the receptions for returning veterans were held had burned down the day before.¹⁵⁰

Nevertheless the entire regiment had returned home. Whatever their motives, they had responded not only to the call of the bugle and drum but also to the challenge of words, words like some American Lorelei which led them on to deeds of bravery and possible death.

O God of battles! Let thy might
Protect our armies in the fight —
Till they shall win the victory,
And set the hapless bondman free

¹⁴⁸ *Advertiser and Tribune*, October 17, 1865.

¹⁴⁹ *Free Press*, October 18, 1865.

¹⁵⁰ *Advertiser and Tribune*, October 20, 1865.

Our hearts are aflame as our good swords we bare —
For Freedom! For Freedom! echoes the air,
The bugle rings clearly, our banners float high;
On, comrades, all forward! We'll triumph or die!

We rose and rushed unto her aid,
White faces sank into the grave,
Black faces, too, and all were brave.
Their red blood thrilled Columbia's heart;
It could not tell the two apart.¹⁵¹

This regiment was only one of many Negro regiments which fought for the North during the Civil War.

“NEGRO TROOPS. In the American Revolution there were some 1,000 free and slave Negro soldiers enlisted, and in the War of 1812 there were none except from La., where free Negroes fought with Jackson defending New Orleans. No records have disclosed Negro troops in the Mexican War. Free Negroes tried to enlist at the beginning of the Civil War, and in Sept. '62 a temporary “black brigade” was raised in Cincinnati, without weapons and uniforms, to combat Morgan's raiders. The previous month Ben Butler had raised the La. Native Guards (Corps d'Afrique) and mustered the 1st La. N.G. in 27 Sept. '62, the first black regiment in the USA. The 2d La. N.G. was mustered in on 12 Oct. '62 and the 3d on 24 Nov. '62. David HUNTER in S.C. had started to do the same in May of that year, and both efforts were vetoed by Lincoln. R.I. issued the first state call for Negro troops, and Kans. and Mass. followed. After the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION (1 Jan. '63) was issued, Lincoln called for four Negro regiments. By the end of the war there were some 300,000 colored troops in 166 regiments (145 infantry, 7 cavalry, 12 heavy artillery, 1 field artillery, and 1 engineer regiment). About 60 of these were employed in the field. According to Livermore, 97,598 colored troops were called from the territories and Southern states and “all but one regiment enrolled after 1862” (Livermore, 50n.).

“Of the regiments brought into action,” Fox points out, “only a few were engaged in more than one battle; the war was half over, and so the total of killed does not appear as great as it otherwise would have done. The total number killed or mortally wounded in the colored troops was 143 officers and 2,751 men. The officers were whites.”

The first colored regiment to be engaged in combat was the 79th US COLORED INFANTRY (First Kans.) at Island Mounds, Mo., 28 Oct. '62. In the assault on PORT HUDSON, La., 27 May '63, colored

¹⁵¹ Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 488-493.

troops were used for the first time in a general engagement. On 7 June '63 the colored garrison was attacked by Walker's division at Millikens Bend, La., and retained their position after hand-to-hand fighting. Colored troops next participated in Gillmore's unsuccessful assault on FORT WAGNER, S.C., 18 July '63. The 54th Mass. led the attack and lost 272 out of 650 engaged, including their commander. One of the severest regimental losses of the war occurred in the 8th U.S.C.I. at OLUSTEE, Fla. 20 Feb. '64. This regiment later distinguished itself at Chafin's Farm.

Ferrero's 4th Div. IX Corps, was the first Negro unit to serve with the Union army in Va. It was not committed to action until the ill-fated PETERSBURG MINE ASSAULT, 30 July '64, where the misguided interference of Mead and Grant with Burnside's plans led to their being butchered. Hink's division, XVIII Corps, made up entirely of Negro regiments, made a successful attack on the Petersburg defense 15 June '64. Paine's colored division of XVIII Corps and William Birney's Col. Brig. of X Corps, about 10,000 total strength, were actively engaged in the action at Chafin's Farm, 29 Sept. '64. At Darbytown Road, Va., 27 Oct. '64, the 29th Conn. C.I. performed good service. Two colored brigades took part in the battle of Nashville, Tenn., 15 Dec. '64. The 13th U.S.C.I. lost 221 men in its assault on Overton Hill, which was the greatest regimental loss of the battle. At Honey Hill, S.C., 30 Nov. '64, a colored regiment, the 55th Mass., had the highest casualties: 144 men. In the closing battle of the war Fort Blakely, Ala. (Mobile), 9 Apr. '65 the 68th and 76th U.S.C.I. lost 192 men. Fox, from whom the above is paraphrased, lists the following additional battles in which Negro troops were prominently engaged: Morris Island, S.C.; Yazoo City, Miss.; Poison Springs, Ark.; Saline River, Ark.; Morganza, La.; Tupelo, Miss.; Bermuda Hundred, Va.; Darbytown Road, Va.; Saltville, Va.; Cox's Bridge, N.C.; Spanish Fort, Ala.; James Island, S.C.; Pleasant Hill, La.; Camden, Ark.; Fort Pillow, Tenn.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Athens, Ala.; DUTCH GAP, Va.; Hatcher's Run, Va.; Deveau Neck, S.C.; Fort Fisher, N.C.; the fall of Richmond; Liverpool Heights, Miss.; Prairie d'Ann, Ark.; Jenkins' Ferry, Ark.; Natural Bridge, Fla.; Brice's Cross Roads, Miss.; Drewrey's Bluff, Va.; Deep Bottom, Va.; Fair Oaks, Va. (1864); Boykin's Mills, S.C.; Wilmington, N.C.; and Appomattox, Va.

In the last months of the war the XXV Corps was organized to consist entirely of Negro troops.

The Confederate Army used many Negro servants and laborers, but did not employ Negro combat troops. A regiment was organized in New Orleans but not accepted into service. In 1863 a proposal to arm slaves was briefly considered. In Jan. '64 a movement by PAT CLEBURNE to use slaves as soldiers, giving them freedom for good service, was suppressed by Davis when he learned of it. In Nov. '64,

Davis considered the limited use of Negro troops, and R. E. Lee agreed that the idea had merit. In Mar. '65 the Confederate congress passed a law authorizing that up to 300,000 slaves be called for military service, but there was no mention of their being freed in connection with this duty. The next month a few companies were organized, but the surrender came before any of them were used (Wiley, *Reb*, 328-30)."¹⁵²

Although the First Michigan Colored Infantry Regiment was not one of the glory brigades such as the famous 54th Massachusetts, it had a creditable record. It was a significant and useful piece in the mosaic of the war.

102nd REGIMENT INFANTRY

"Organized May 23, 1864, from 1st Michigan Colored Infantry. Attached to District of Hilton Head, S. C., Dept. of the South and District of Beaufort, S. C., Dept. of the South, to August, 1864. District of Florida, Dept. of the South, to October, 1864. 2nd Separate Brigade, Dept. of the South, to November, 1864. 2nd Brigade, Coast Division, Dept. of the South, to February, 1865. 2nd Separate Brigade, Dept. of the South, to March, 1865. 1st Separate Brigade and Dept. of the South to September, 1865.

SERVICE. — Garrison at Port Royal, S.C., till June 15. Moved to Beaufort, S.C., and garrison duty there till August 1. Moved to Jacksonville, Fla., August 1-3. Picket duty at Baldwin till August 15. Attack on Baldwin August 11-12. Raid on Florida Central Railroad August 15-19. At Magnolia till August 29. Moved to Beaufort, S.C., August 29-31, and duty there till January, 1865, engaged in outpost and picket duty on Port Royal, Lady and Coosa Islands. (A Detachment at Honey Hill November 30, 1864. Demonstration on Charleston & Savannah Railroad December 6-9.) Deveau's Neck, Tillifinny River, December 6 and 9. Detachment at Beaufort; rejoined other Detachment at Deveau's Neck, S.C., January 24, 1865. Moved to Pocotaligo February 28. Advance on Charleston February 7-23. Skirmish at Cuckwold Creek February 8 (Cos. "B", "E" and "I"). Duty at Charleston Neck till March 9. Moved to Savannah, Ga., March 9-16. Moved to Georgetown March 28-April 1. (Right wing of Regiment under Chapman," moved to Charleston April 7-9, thence march to join Potter at Nelson's Ferry April 11-18.) Potter's Expedition from Georgetown to Camden April 5-29. Statesburg April 15. Occupation of Camden April 18 (right wing). Dingle's Mills April 19. Singleton's Plantation April 19. Beech Creek, near Statesburg, April 19. Moved to Charleston April 29 thence to Summerville May

¹⁵² Boatner, *op. cit.*, p. 584-5.

7-8; to Branchville May 18; to Orangeburg May 25 and provost duty there till July 28. March to Winsboro July 28-August 3, and duty there till September. Moved to Charleston and muster out September 30, 1865.”¹⁵³

This regiment had borne on the rolls 1,446 officers and men and lost 140, of which 2 officers and 4 men were killed in action, 5 men died of wounds, and 1 officer and 128 men died of disease¹⁵⁴

Almost 50 years after the Civil War had ended, one of the officers, Captain Nelson gave these reminiscences:

“I joined the black regiment on March 22, at Detroit, after two and a half years’ service with a white regiment. The blacks made good soldiers, and were very proud of being soldiers, more so than white men. As soldiers they compared very favorably with the whites, although they put more dependence on the officers than did the white private soldiers. That is, a white soldier, in a pinch, would fight as well if there was no officer near to direct him, but it was different with the black soldier. The white soldiers came to form a good impression of them. As for bearing up under the hardships of a campaign, there was no perceptible difference between them and the whites.”¹⁵⁵

The men of Michigan’s Negro regiment became civilians. They went off in various directions to seek their fortunes at various unskilled occupations. Once again, we find that there is a dearth of material about them. Occasionally there is a record where one of them tried to obtain veteran’s benefits of one kind or another. One wonders, did any of these men attend the annual Civil War encampment at Montgomery, Michigan? And if they did how were they received?

In 1914, “a score or so survivors of Michigan’s black regiment are still living in Detroit. Some of them spend their winters at the Soldiers’ home, Grand Rapids. Among them are:

Warren Allen, Stamp Gaines, Henry G. Clark, Othello Crosby, Johnson Henry Dabney, James W. Dorsey, James S. Weess, Isaac Fielder, Luke Fixer, William Hayes, William H. Lee,

¹⁵³ Frederick Dyer. *A compendium of the War of the Rebellion; Chronological Records of Campaigns, Battles, Engagements, Actions, Combats, Sieges, Skirmishes, etc. in the United States 1861 to 1865. Volume III*, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959, p. 1738.

¹⁵⁴ Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

¹⁵⁵ *Detroit Tribune*, *op. cit.*

Robert Moneymuse, James Moore, Pink Rice, Henry De Volt, Ben De Baptiste, Thomas Tennent, John W. Ward, Albert Watts and Jacob W. James."¹⁵⁶

The war was over, but the acrimony between Barns and *The Free Press* lingered on. *The Free Press* accused Barns of fraud. They also named J. D. Richards and George De Baptiste as co-conspirators. Richards and De Baptiste had been sutlers in the regiment when it was stationed at Camp Ward. *The Free Press* attempted to implicate these men in the alleged conspiracy to defraud the Negro troops of their bounty. It claimed that the men only received 40 cents on the dollar when they converted their bounty certificates into cash. It maintained that the prevailing rate was 87 cents on a dollar.¹⁵⁷

During the winter of 1866, *The Free Press* reported that there were 40 separate legal complaints filed against Barns in the matter of fraudulent speculation with bounty certificates belonging to enlisted men. It also reported that Barns was tried before Justice McCarthy. Nothing, it seems ever came of these nuisance suits.¹⁵⁸

Probably one of the great unanswered questions of this book is what manner of man was Henry Barns? Was he a charlatan, man of affairs, or misfortune's child? One can only speculate as to his motives. Only one thing is certain; he was instrumental in organizing Michigan's Negro regiment. Without his efforts there would not have been a Negro regiment.

Henry Barns was an Englishman. He came to Detroit from Syracuse, New York, around 1836. In 1837, he joined the staff of *The Detroit Free Press* and was a member of that newspaper's editorial staff for 14 years. In 1851, Barns, Frank Way, and Josiah Snow founded *The Detroit Tribune*. Although he was one of the owners of the *Tribune*, Barns dabbled in other enterprises.

He was involved in telegraph construction. At one time, he owned the telegraph right-of-way from Detroit to Chicago. However, he grew impatient and sold his interest. Had he kept

¹⁵⁶ *Detroit Tribune*, op. cit.

¹⁵⁷ *Detroit Free Press*, March 28, 1865.

¹⁵⁸ *Detroit Free Press*, Jan. 3, to Feb. 2, 1866.

it, he would have become wealthy. This seems to have been a recurring pattern in Barns' life. Another example was the brick yard and glass works he built near the mouth of the Rouge River. In order to finance these industries, he sold his interest in *The Detroit Tribune* when it was about to pay its owners a return of \$1,000 a week. As the fates would have it, both of his manufacturing ventures failed.

In 1858, Barns was elected to the state senate, but he served only one term. This seemed to have been a seminal experience because he remained a loyal party man for the rest of his life. His appointment as colonel of Michigan's Negro regiment was a political appointment, one that no one avidly sought. After the Civil War, Barns was Postmaster of Detroit. He received this appointment from President Johnson in October of 1866. He had to relinquish this position on April 22, 1867, because the U.S. Senate refused to confirm him. He also served as pension agent for one year.

It was Mr. Barns' lifelong misfortune that he could easily be made the dupe of party leaders and friends. His confidence once gained and his vanity flattered, they could use him as they wished. For their interest, he would neglect his own for months at a time. There is not a man in Michigan who had spent as much time and made as many personal sacrifices as he had in laboring for the promotion of the interests of the Republican party and its leaders. And none who received so beggarly a return.¹⁵⁹

Throughout his joustings with financial windmills, Barns was helped by his wife and her family, who seem to have been wealthy. Around 1870, he became involved in another business venture which failed because his partners were dishonest. On July 22, 1871, Henry Barns committed suicide near Fort Wayne. His obituary concluded, "The reverses cut deeply, and the man sought rest and relief in suicidal death."¹⁶⁰

An old time newspaper reporter, whose initials were J.E.S., wrote an article in 1900 in which he recounted personal recollections of old time journalists. This article appeared in *The Detroit Tribune*. It was called, "Some Other Old Time Journal-

¹⁵⁹ Burton Historical Collection, Roudall Scrapbook.

¹⁶⁰ Burton Historical Collection, Walker Scrapbook.

ists: Personal Recollections of the Founders of All Detroit Daily Newspapers." Of Henry Barns, it had some significant things to say.

Henry Barns was a man who was bent on running things his own way, but he had his good points. He possessed lots of nerve and when he clenched his teeth and used his favorite expression, "by the gods", we knew he was going to see us through the day's troubles. When not antagonized he was a good enough man to get along with. He wrote very little — so little that I cannot remember whether it was good or bad. As a financier he was very deficient. But he was an expert printer and a man of abundant though too often ill-directed energy.¹⁶¹

The Civil War gave the Negro his freedom. However, the majority of the people in Michigan were reluctant to define his freedom, let alone grant it. What to do with the Negro became the burning issue of the Post Civil War era. Chief Justice Chase of the United States Supreme Court said:

"The black man has been emancipated, and he must now be enabled to realize the full benefit of freedom. When these things are consummated and a new era dawns; when all labor shall be free, and every right shall be guaranteed to all men, then this country will challenge the admiration of the world for the freedom of its institutions."¹⁶²

This editorial from *The New York Independent* was reprinted in a Detroit newspaper. It spoke out in favor of tolerance and urged people to make an honest attempt to conquer their prejudices.

"You who applaud the abolition of slavery, what will you do to lift the slave up? The slavery question has passed away, but the negro question comes next. And must be met. The negro laughs at the idea of colonization, for he knows he shall remain here. The strongest man in this country is not Lincoln, or Davis or Grant, or Lee, but the poor despised negro. He like Sampson of old, put one strong arm around the North, and in his strength and power crushed them together. The negro has received some minor gifts; but he must have more; he must have citizenship. This does not carry with it, necessarily, social equality; but the negro must have political equality with the white man. This is really the spirit of our government, and it must be applied to all classes. It is a duty we owe to lift up the slave and we must conquer the prejudice that exists."¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Burton Historical Collection, Randall Scrapbook.

¹⁶² *Advertiser and Tribune*, April 10, 1865.

The Free Press, however, took the position that freedom for the Negro meant peril for the poor white man.

"It does not mean necessarily that the poor, degraded, demented and brutalized African shall be on perfect terms of social equality with the white man of wealth and culture. But it does mean that all distinctions of race and color shall be totally obliterated and blotted out of existence. It means that the poor white man shall labor with the black man, occupying relatively the same position in society. That there shall be no distinction whatever between the two as to the grade of society which each shall occupy. If the blackman by his superior arts of cunning shall accumulate a greater amount of property or shall acquire a greater degree of intelligence, the higher avenues of society shall be perfectly free to him, while they are denied the poor white man."¹⁶³

Fear of Negroes was very real. Working men were afraid that Negro labor would cause a reduction in wages paid to white workers. On April 20, 1866, Mr. F. B. Porter spoke at a meeting of the Republican Association. The tenor of the speech was that it was folly to think that free Negro labor would cause a reduction in wages paid to white working men. This scene was probably enacted many times throughout the North.¹⁶⁴

The state Constitution of 1850 restricted the franchise to white and Indian males. In 1866, a state constitutional convention was called in order to revise the constitution. This event seemed to have pleased the people of Michigan very much because the constitutional convention proposal received a large popular vote. When the constitutional convention convened, however, they proposed that the Negro be given the right to vote. This proposal became a part of the new constitution. The following year when voters were asked to approve the new constitution they rejected it. This was somewhat incongruous because the congressmen from Michigan were advocating enfranchisement of the Negro.

In 1870, the state legislature ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. This amendment prohibited any state from denying an individual the right to vote because

¹⁶³ *Advertiser and Tribune*, April 4, 1865.

¹⁶⁴ *Free Press*, April 7, 1865.

of race, color or previous condition of servitude. As a result of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, the state of Michigan modified its constitution in order to permit Negro males to vote. On November 8, 1870, Negroes were able to vote for the first time. Now they were truly citizens of the sovereign state of Michigan.

Another infringement upon the rights of Negroes was that of segregated schools. After the Civil War, there were three Negro schools in Detroit in the Fourth and Seventh Wards. If a Negro family lived in another section of the city, their children could not attend the neighborhood school. They had to go to one of the schools designated for Negroes.

In 1867, the state legislature passed a law which said, "All residents of any district shall have an equal right to attend any school therein provided that this shall not prevent the grading of schools according to the intellectual progress of pupils to be taught."¹⁶⁵

In 1868, the Willis and Workman families tested this new law. Both families lived in the Tenth Ward. During inclement weather, their children had to remain at home because they could not attend the Public school in their neighborhood. In April, 1868, Robert Willis and Cassius Workman tried to attend the Duffield Union School. They were refused admittance because they were Negroes. Elijah Willis took the matter to court. He was forced to withdraw his complaint because of some technicality regarding his citizenship. Nevertheless, Willis gave Workman the necessary funds in order to test their case in court. Workman was also assisted by a committee of leading Negro citizens. The committee consisted of Dr. S. C. Watson, C. A. Jeffrey, William Lambert, John Cullen, J. D. Carter, George Parker, James Bings, William Webb, Obadiah Wood, Robert Warren, J. L. Martin, Richard Gordon and John Richards. Eventually the case was heard by the State Supreme Court. The high court ruled against separate schools for Negro children. In 1870, Robert Willis and Cassius Workman became students at the Duffield Union School.

¹⁶⁵ *Advertiser and Tribune*, April 22, 1866.

By 1870, seven years after the Emancipation Proclamation, Negroes in Michigan were able to secure for themselves, the most essential tools of democracy — suffrage and education. Although they were aided and abetted by many liberal-minded white people and the climate for change was favorable, Negroes generated a great deal of impetus for change. They had developed organizational skills by working on the Underground Railroad and by fighting as men with the First Michigan Colored Volunteers. The final irony of this slice of American history is that their poor unfortunate southern brothers were voting, being elected to public offices, and attending integrated schools before the free Negroes of Michigan were allowed to do so.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ *The 100 Years Since the Emancipation Proclamation, op. cit.*

Epilogue

Although it has never happened in Michigan, there was a time in America when the color of a man's skin was unimportant. This was in Virginia around 1620. Here white and black indentured servants worked in the field together. Unfortunately, it lasted for only one brief shining moment. Then the idea of slavery began to grow, and the curse of Ham became institutionalized. Nevertheless, let us hope some day that we might perfect a climate of opinion where a man's color and religion will not be limiting factors for his participation in the main stream of Michigan life.

As one peruses this book, one is aware of racism and how it grew. We of the North can no longer point an accusing finger at the people of the South and say "My how good we are." Bruce Catton has written: "White Americans had to believe that the Negro was inferior and in need of restraint, because otherwise the whole idea of slavery was morally wrong from the beginning and the Northerner who tacitly consented to it was as guilty as the Southerners who lived with it."¹⁶⁷ It is unfortunate that this feeling of inferiority still exists and has not been completely eroded by time.

As one thoughtfully reviews race relations in Michigan a hundred years ago, one is overwhelmed with what the French call *Deja vu*. This is the feeling that one has had the same experience before. We do not intend to convey the idea that history repeats itself. However, there are certain parallels and patterns which tend to recur. In a larger sense, this is brought on by a lack of communication between people. We tend to limit the quality of our communications with each other by hiding spiritually and physically within enclaves of contradictions based upon fear of racial, religious, and cultural differences. This has forced many of us to become caricatures of reality.

It is indeed a sad state of affairs when we possess all of the magnificent wonders of mass communication and modern tech-

¹⁶⁷ Bruce Catton, *Never Call Retreat*. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1965), p. 73.

nology and yet we cannot communicate, because we mouth the same old clichés of a hundred years ago. C. Vann Woodward feels as though the time has come for people to reverse this process, and to move forward in the field of understanding each other. "The important differences is that the Negro is now measuring his advance not by what he once was, but by what the white man now is; not by outgrown scarcity, but by surrounding abundance; not by old expectations, but by new possibilities. . . . The real danger is that an opportunity that came once a century — that never really came before may be passed by default, dissipated by neglect tragically missed. So far there is little evidence that white America or for that matter the mass of black America either has any real conceptions of the change in their society that will be necessary to forestall that danger."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ Vann Woodward, "After Watts — Where is the Negro Revolution Headed?" *New York Times Magazine*, August 29, 1965.

Appendix

Jno. Robertson, comp., *Michigan in the War*, Lansing, 1882, Page 489.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT, MICHIGAN, }
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
Detroit, Aug. 12, 1863.

Henry Barnes, Esq., Detroit:

SIR, — The Governor of this State has been requested by the Secretary of War, in a letter under date of the 24th ultimo, to give you authority to raise a regiment of colored troops in this State.

I am instructed by the Governor to inform you that you are fully authorized and empowered to raise and organize such a regiment, under the instructions from the War Department which are herewith enclosed, and under such restrictions as the Governor may deem proper to enjoin on you.

Very respectfully, your obed't serv't, JNO. ROBERTSON,
Adjutant General.

Under this authority Michigan raised the colored regiment originally known as the 1st Michigan Colored Infantry, but afterwards its designation was changed by order of the War Department to the 102d Regiment United States Colored Troops.

The recruitment of the regiment was commenced August 12, 1863, under the direction of Colonel Barns, in pursuance of the orders of that date, and on completion was mustered into the service of the United States February 17th following, 895 strong, the officers receiving their commissions from the War Department.

Field and Staff.

Colonel, Henry Barns, Detroit. Lieutenant Colonel, William T. Bennett, Charleston, S. C. Major Newcom Clark, Clarkston, Surgeon, Wesley Vincent, Oberlin, Ohio. Assistant Surgeon, Edward P. Jennings, ———. Adjutant, James A. McKnight, Ann Arbor. Quartermaster, Patrick McLaughlin, Detroit. Chaplain, William Waring, Oberlin, Ohio.

The companies were as follows:

A. Captain, Chester J. Murray, Marshall. First Lieutenant, Orson W. Bennett, Charlestown, S. C. Second Lieutenant, George A. Southworth, Bath.

B. Captain, David C. Benjamin, Columbus, Ohio. First Lieutenant, Henry D. Benham, ———. Second Lieutenant, Peter E. Mead, Ypsilanti.

C. Captain, Jonathan B. Tuttle, Alpena. First Lieutenant, Edward Cahill, St. Johns. Second Lieutenant, Charles L. Burrell, Leighton.

D. Captain, Arad E. Lindsay, ———. First Lieutenant, Abner Van Dyke, Marshall. Second Lieutenant, Wm. E. Sleight, Bath.

E. Captain, Edward J. McKendrie, Detroit. First Lieutenant, Amos Andrews, New York City, N. Y. Second Lieutenant, Oscar A. Davis, Savannah, Ga.

F. Captain, James F. Bradley, Chicago, Ill. First Lieutenant Samuel B. Curtiss, Howell. Second Lieutenant, Caleb Griffith, Lowell.

G. Captain, ——— ———, ——— ———. First Lieutenant, Edward S. Jewett, Niles. Second Lieutenant, James H. Gilbert, ———.

H. Captain, Thomas M. Barker, Grand Rapids. First Lieutenant, Emery D. Bryant, Grand Rapids. Second Lieutenant, Volney Power, Hillsdale.

I. Captain, Wilber Nelson, Arcada. First Lieutenant, Gilman T. Holmes, Gaines. Second Lieutenant, Edward Deubendorf, Coldwater.

K. Captain, Calvin S. Montague, Kalamazoo. First Lieutenant, ——— ———, ———. Second Lieutenant, George W. Stoneburner, Grand Rapids.

Francis H. Warren, comp., *Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress*. Detroit, 1915.

Names of Michigan Volunteers, Date of Enlistment, Place of Enlistment, Company, Regiment and Age.

1910.

Co. — Company.

1st C. I. — First Colored Infantry.

U. S. C. C. — United States Colored Cavalry.

U. S. C. H. A. — United States Colored Heavy Artillery.

U. S. C. A. — United States Colored Artillery.

Abbott, George, Dec. 26, 1863, Lodi	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Adams, William, Aug. 22, 1864, Kalamazoo ...	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Aiken, George, Feb. 4, 1864, Rollin	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Albert, David, Oct. 13, 1864, Erin	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Alexander, George, Mar. 29, 1865, Detroit ...	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Alexander, Jacob, Howard	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Alexander, Joseph, Jan. 7, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18

Alexander, Joseph, Dec. 2, 1863, Grand Rapids	1st C.I.	Age 18
Alfred, Alexander, Oct. 10, 1864, Detroit .....Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Alfred, George, Oct. 7, 1864, Detroit .....Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Alfred, John C., Oct. 1, 1864, Detroit .....Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Allen, Alexander, Dec. 15, 1864, Pontiac	1st C.I.	Age 18
Allen, Arthur, June 29, 1864, Kalamazoo .....Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Allen, Franklin, Dec. 11, 1863, Detroit .....Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Allen, George L., Sept. 1, 1864, Detroit .....Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Allen, James, Mar. 15, 1864, Adrian .....Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Allen, John, Sept. 27, 1864, Pontiac .....Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Allen, Lewis, Jan. 21, 1864, Marshall .....Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Allen, Martin, Feb. 10, 1864, Detroit .....Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Allen, Myron, Jan. 29, 1864, Detroit .....Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Allen, Samuel, Oct. 7, 1864, Detroit	1st C.I.	Age 37
Allen, Squire, Feb. 5, 1864, Detroit .....Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Allen, Ward J., Mar. 14, 1864, Detroit .....Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Allen, Warren, Dec. 8, 1863, Detroit .....Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Allen, William, Sept. 19, 1864, Kalamazoo ...Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Almond, James, Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit .....Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Alvord, Henry H., Bay City	1st C.I.	
Amos, James, Aug. 16, 1864, Pontiac .....Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Anderson, Amos, Porter	1st C.I.	Age 22
Anderson, Dewitfield, Jan. 31, 1864, Detroit ..Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Anderson, Allis, Jan. 13, 1864, Detroit .....Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Anderson, George, Oct. 6, 1864, Detroit .....Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Anderson, James, July 28, 1864, Detroit .....Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Anderson, Jefferson B., Jan. 11, 1864, Porter...Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Anderson, John, Feb. 28, 1865, Ypsilanti .....Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Anderson, John, Oct. 6, 1864, Detroit .....Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Anderson, John, Jan. 4, 1864, Pontiac .....Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Anderson, John, Jan. 21, 1864, Detroit .....Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Anderson, Lewis, Sept. 1, 1864, Penn. ....Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Appleton, George, Bronson	1st C.I.	Age 34
Appleton, George, Nov. 17, 1863, Detroit ...Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Archer, John, Jan. 15, 1864, Detroit .....Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Archie, Turner, Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit .....Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Archy, Thomas, Sept. 9, 1864, Jackson .....Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Artis, Archy, Mar. 4, 1864, Port Huron .....Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Artis, Eziah H., Calvin	1st C.I.	Age 23
Artis, George, Nov. 5, 1863, Calvin .....Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Artis, Kinchen, Dec. 19, 1863, Battle Creek ..Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Artis, Levi, Feb. 2, 1864, Detroit .....Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Artis, Mathew, Oct. 7, 1863, Calvin .....Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Asbury, John, Dec. 11, 1863, Jackson .....Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Ash, Ashberry, Aug. 17, 1864, Kalamazoo .....Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18

Ash, Joseph C., Calvin	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Ash, William H., Jan. 28, 1865, Grand Rapids ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Bailey, Isaac, Jan. 30, 1865, Grand Rapids ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Bailey, James, Aug. 31, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Bailey, William, Jan. 11, 1864, St. Joseph	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Baily, John, Nov. 2, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Baily, John E., Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Baker, Hillis, Mar. 3, 1865, Pontiac	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Banks, Henry, Feb. 12, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Banks, Lewis, Oct. 1, 1863, Battle Creek	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Banks, William, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Banks, William, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Banks, William, Oct. 9, 1863, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Bannister, Gustavus, Oct. 1, 1864, Howard ..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Barnes, Alexander, June 10, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Barnes, Henry, Detroit		1st C.I.	
Barnett, John, Aug. 8, 1864, Jackson	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Bartolls, James F., Sept. 1, 1864, Niles	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Bartolls, John, Aug. 31, 1864, Niles	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Barton, Thomas, Porter		1st C.I.	Age 45
Basey, James S., Nov. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Bass, George W., Oct. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Bass, James H., Oct. 21, 1863, Kalamazoo ..	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Bass, Sylvester, Jan. 24, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Batt, Andrew J., Nov. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Battis, Joseph, Oct. 23, 1863, Warren	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Battles, Wilson, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Baxter, David, Dec. 24, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Baza, Andrew, Jan. 11, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Beauford, George, Mar. 30, 1865, Jackson	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Beauregard, Nathan, Oct. 8, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Bee, John, Nov. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Beeler, Lewis, Jan. 13, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Bell, Caleb, Jan. 6, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Bell, Charles, Sept. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Bell, David, Dec. 15, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Bell, George, Mar. 21, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 20
Bell, Jefferson, Dec. 26, 1863, Ganges	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Bell, John, Mar. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Bell, Louis, Aug. 26, 1864, Jackson	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Bell, Nathaniel, Nov. 24, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Benjamin, David C.	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Bennett, Edward L., Dec. 24, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 33

Bennett, George E., Oct. 21, 1863,

Kalamazoo	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Bennett, Orson W.	Co. A.	1st C.I.	
Bennett, Rutson M., Dec. 3, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Bennett, William T.		1st C.I.	
Benton, Aaron, Aug. 30, 1864, Palmyra	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Berry, Allison, Dec. 18, 1863, Marshall	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Beverly, Reuben, Jan. 17, 1865, Kalamazoo ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Beverly, William T., Jan. 29, 1864,			
Kalamazoo	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Bibbins, George H., Aug. 31, 1864, Jackson ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Binns, Daniel, Feb. 20, 1865, Detroit	Co. B	1st C.I.	Age 19
Bird, Abner R., Jan. 16, 1864, Calvin	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Bird, David, Mar. 29, 1865, Kalamazoo		1st C.I.	Age 25
Bird, Joseph, Nov. 19, 1864, Port Huron		1st C.I.	Age 19
Birton, Henry S., Oct. 19, 1863, Lowell	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Bishop, Solomon, Feb. 26, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Black, William, Dec. 31, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Blackburn, Benjamin, Sept. 21, 1863, Detroit..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Blackman, Wesley, Dec. 31, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Blackstone, Henry, Dec. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Blackwell, James, Sept. 14, 1864, Jackson	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Blair, Benjamin, Apr. 14, 1864, Annapolis	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Blair, Moses, Apr. 10, 1865, Erie		1st C.I.	Age 21
Blake, William, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Blay, Robert, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Bleeker, James H., Oct. 19, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Bloom, Joseph, Oct. 14, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Boatman, William, Porter		1st C.I.	
Bock, Thomas, Jan. 14, 1864, Three Oaks	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Boget, John, Jan. 8, 1864, Pittsfield		1st C.I.	Age 31
Bolden, Daniel, Oct. 13, 1863, Schoolcraft ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 45
Bolin, Caro, Feb. 16, 1865, Niles	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Bolton, Squire, Dec. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Bon, Parker C., Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 27
Bonson, Dandrige, Jan. 14, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Booker, John, Jan. 11, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Bosley, John, Nov. 2, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Boswell, James, Jan. 29, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Boswell, John, Nov. 9, 1863, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 22
Bowden, John, Nov. 28, 1863, Cassopolis	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Bowles, William, Aug. 3, 1864	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Bowlin, James, Nov. 4, 1864, South Haven ..	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Bowls, John, Feb. 15, 1865, Ypsilanti	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Bowman, Alexander, Dec. 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 23

Bowman, Frederick, Apr. 7, 1865, Jackson	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Boyd, Alfred, Jan. 17, 1864, White Pigeon	.....	1st C.I.	Age 20
Boyd, Andrew J., Dec. 12, 1863, Cassopolis	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Boyd, George W., Apr. 3, 1864, Annapolis	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Boyd, John, Jan. 17, 1865, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Boyd, Lucien, Jan. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Badbury, Sherrard, Sept. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Bradley, James F.	Co. F.	1st C.I.	
Bramble, Aaron, Aug. 29, 1864, Monroe	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Bright, Thomas, Dec. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Brisco, William, Dec. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Brodie, Isaac, Dec. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Brookins, Philip, Feb. 29, 1865, Jackson	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Brooks, Benjamin, Dec. 26, 1863, Lansing	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Brooks, George, Oct. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Brooks, Jonathan, Sept. 2, 1864, Forester	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Brooks, Kincheon, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Brooks, Nelson, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Brooks, Paul W., Jan. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Brooks, Thomas, Oct. 6, 1864, Erin	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Brown, Alexander, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Brown, Charles, July 22, 1864, Detroit	.....	1st C.I.	Age 24
Brown, Cornelius, Aug. 17, 1864,			
Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Brown, George, Feb. 15, 1865, Buchanan	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Brown, George, Jan. 22, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Brown, Henry A., Dec. 28, 1863, Adrian	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 16
Brown, Horace, Dec. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Brown, Isaiah, Porter	.....	1st C.I.	Age 38
Brown, James, Feb. 27, 1865, Jackson	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Brown, James, Feb. 23, 1865, Berrien	.....	1st C.I.	Age 39
Brown, James L., Oct. 1, 1863, Battle Creek	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Brown, John, Jan. 24, 1865, Jackson	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Brown, John, Oct. 20, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Brown, John, Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Brown, John, Nov. 8, 1863, Adrian	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Brown, John, Dec. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Brown, John, Feb. 27, 1865, Jackson	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Brown, John B., Jan. 2, 1864, Hudson	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Brown, John R., Jan. 9, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Brown, Martin V., Oct. 3, 1863, Battle			
Creek	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Brown, Nelson, Oct. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Brown, Samuel Feb. 26, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Brown, Samuel, Feb. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 31

Brown, Samuel, Porter	1st C.I.	Age 32
Brown, Stuart, Oct. 20, 1863, Calvin	Co. B. 1st C.I.	Age 27
Brown, Theodore, Oct. 13, 1863, Detroit	Co. A. 1st C.I.	Age 36
Brown, Thomas, Dec. 24, 1863, Detroit	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 18
Brown, Thomas, Aug. 17, 1864, Raisinville	Co. H. 1st C.I.	Age 30
Brown, Thomas B., Dec. 7, 1863, St. Clair	Co. E. 1st C.I.	Age 35
Brown, Warren, July 22, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. I. 1st C.I.	Age 18
Bryant, Gilmore, Aug. 16, 1864, Tecumseh	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 35
Bryant, Samuel, Feb. 29, 1864, Port Huron	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 23
Bucey, George, Dec. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 27
Buchanan, William, Sept. 27, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 19
Buckner, Gibson, Dec. 16, 1863, Adrian	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 23
Buckner, Isaac, Aug. 27, 1864, Jackson	Co. I. 1st C.I.	Age 17
Buckner, John, Nov. 13, 1863, Detroit	Co. D. 1st C.I.	Age 26
Buckner, William, Sept. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. A. 1st C.I.	Age 38
Bullard, Augusta, Sept. 30, 1863, Jackson	Co. A. 1st C.I.	Age 28
Burnett, Aaron, Sept. 28, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. A. 1st C.I.	Age 18
Burnett, Franklin, Oct. 7, 1863, Calvin	Co. B. 1st C.I.	Age 36
Burnett, James, Jan. 21, 1864, Detroit	Co. K. 1st C.I.	Age 21
Burress, Gilbert, Feb. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 28
Burton, Elbert, Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	1st C.I.	Age 36
Burton, George W., Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. E. 1st C.I.	Age 39
Busby, Stephen, Aug. 30, 1864, St. Joseph	Co. A. 1st C.I.	Age 39
Butcher, David, Oct. 21, 1863, Calvin	Co. B. 1st C.I.	Age 19
Butcher, William, Aug. 22, 1864, Pontiac	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 19
Butler, Charles, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. A. 1st C.I.	Age 19
Butler, Charles, Jan. 4, 1864, Pontiac	Co. I. 1st C.I.	Age 48
Butler, George, Mar. 4, 1864, Pontiac	Co. H. 1st C.I.	Age 28
Butler, Henry, Mar. 18, 1865, Detroit	Co. H. 1st C.I.	Age 30
Butler, James H., Oct. 10, 1864, Kalamazoo	1st C.I.	Age 18
Butler, John E., Feb. 14, 1865, Detroit	Co. B. 1st C.I.	Age 32
Butler, William A., Feb. 8, 1865, Jackson	Co. A. 1st C.I.	Age 37
Butler, William H., Feb. 17, 1865, Pontiac	Co. C. 1st C.I.	Age 40
Butler, Zachariah, Nov. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. E. 1st C.I.	Age 21
Byrd, Crawford, Jan. 30, 1864, Detroit	Co. K. 1st C.I.	Age 17
Byrd, James M., Calvin	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 32
Byrd, Lanson, Dec. 29, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 28
Byrd, Turner, Jr., Calvin	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 22
Cahill, Edward, Jan. 19, 1864, Detroit	Co. C. 1st C.I.	Age 20
Caleman, Benjamin F., Jan. 24, 1864, Sodus	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 27
Callahan, John, Aug. 23, 1864, Livonia	Co. I. 1st C.I.	Age 31
Callaway, Albert, Dec. 11, 1863, Porter	Co. G. 1st C.I.	Age 37
Callender, Alexander, Mar. 16, 1865, Saline	Co. E. 1st C.I.	Age 18
Callaway, Giles, Oct. 21, 1863, Porter	Co. B. 1st C.I.	Age 25

Calloway, Creed, Nov. 18, 1863, Calvin	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Camel, John, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Cammel, Vance S., Feb. 8, 1865, Kalamazoo ..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Campbell, Harrison, Dec. 31, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Campbell, William, Dec. 30, 1863, Detroit ...	.....	1st C.I.	Age 20
Canada, Benjamin, Jan. 5, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Canada, William, July 15, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Cannon, John, Feb. 16, 1864, Franklin	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Caraway, Leroy, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Carey, Aquilla R., Jan. 3, 1864, Overisel	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Carmel, John, Mar. 9, 1865, Jackson	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Carr, James, Oct. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Cartee, Frank, Sept. 14, 1864, Pontiac	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Carter, Charles, Apr. 4, 1865, Pontiac	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Carter, Henry, Feb. 2, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Carter, James, Jan. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Carter, James, Jan. 8, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Carter, William H., Nov. 15, 1863, Ypsilanti ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Casby, Lafayette, Apr. 10, 1865, Ogden .....	.....	1st C.I.	Age 26
Casey, Martin V., Dec. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Chambers, George W., Sept. 16, 1863,			
Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Chambers, James, Dec. 17, 1863, Kalamazoo...	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Chancellor, James, Jan. 3, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Chandler, Charles, Sept. 29, 1863, Detroit ...	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Chandler, Moore, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Charles, Sanford M., Feb. 13, 1865, Bellevue ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Charlton, Sampson, Dec. 2, 1863, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Charris, Eugene, Aug. 19, 1864, Walton	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 16
Childers, Washington, Dec. 31, 1863,			
Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Chin, Charles, Nov. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Chinn, Charles A., Nov. 4, 1863, Grand			
Rapids .....	.....	1st C.I.	Age 19
Christian, Richard, Aug. 17, 1864, Ash	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Christopher, Isaac, Sept. 1, 1864, St. Joseph ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Cicero, William, Sept. 30, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Cisco, Amos, Feb. 23, 1865, Grand Rapids ...	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Clark, Alexander, Dec. 31, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Clark, Benjamin, Dec. 24, 1863, Marshall	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Clark, Cary, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Clark, George A., Feb. 23, 1865, Jackson	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Clark, Henry, Aug. 5, 1864, Jackson	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Clark, John H., Dec. 24, 1863, Marshall	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Clark, Michael, Nov. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 44

Clark, Michael, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Clark, Robert, Dec. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Clark, William, Oct. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Clay, Henry, Mar. 30, 1865, Jackson	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Clayborne, Andrew, Sept. 9, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Clemins, John, Feb. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Clock, Joseph, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Close, George W., Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Cobb, Alexander, Oct. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Coffin, John, Oct. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Coker, James, Oct. 16, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Coker, Michael, Oct. 18, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Colbert, Edward, Sept. 28, 1864, Kalamazoo ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Cole, Francis, Dec. 8, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Coleman, Benjamin, Sodus		1st C.I.	Age 27
Coleman, John W., Dec. 15, 1863, Madison ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Coleman, Morris, Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Coleman, William W., Dec. 22, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Collins, Benjamin, Dec. 14, 1863, Port Huron ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Collins, Lott A., Feb. 19, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Collins, William, Mar. 15, 1865, Jackson	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Combs, Agustua, Dec. 30, 1863, Waterford		1st C.I.	Age 19
Conner, John, Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Conner, William, Dec. 11, 1863, Vandalia ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Connor, Aldrick, Oct. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Conway, David R., Jan. 20, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Conway, George A., Jan. 20, 1864, Detroit ..	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Cook, Alexander D., Oct. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Coombs, Alfred, Mar. 10, 1865, Jackson	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Cooper, Benjamin, Oct. 27, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Cooper, Daniel, Dec. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Cooper, Moses, Oct. 24, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Cooper, Richard, Jan. 8, 1864, Richmond	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Cooper, Stephen, Jan. 14, 1864, York	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Copley, Calvin M., Aug. 17, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Copley, John A., Aug. 20, 1864, Kalamazoo ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Copley, William S., Aug. 16, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Corins, Benjamin, Jan. 21, 1864		1st C.I.	Age 18
Corner, John, Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo		1st C.I.	Age 22
Cousins, Benjamin, Niles	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Cousins, David W., Dec. 4, 1863, Vandalia ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 28

Cousins, Elzy, Dec. 26, 1863, Porter	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Cox, Newell	Co. A.	1st C.I.	
Craig, Lewis, Aug. 1, 1864	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Craig, Prince Albert, Oct. 1, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 19
Craig, or Craid, Wm., Nov. 21, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Creggs, William B., July 14, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 26
Crockett, Charles H., Sept. 12, 1864, Lansing	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Crockett, David, Sept. 12, 1864, Lansing	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Crockett, Eli, Feb. 10, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Cromwell, Peter, Dec. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Crooke, Charles, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Crosby, Bateman, Mar. 17, 1865, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Crosby, Harrison, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Crosby, Othello, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Cross, Joseph, Feb. 26, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Cross, Richard, Oct. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Crow, Harvey, Howard		1st C.I.	Age 40
Crowder, Edward, March 7, 1865, Niles	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Crummell, James M., Nov. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Crump, Henry, Nov. 22, 1864	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Cummings, John, Dec. 23, 1863, Lodi	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Curry, John, Feb. 22, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Curtis, Bishop E., Aug. 24, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Curtis, George H., Dec. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Curtis, James B., Feb. 16, 1864, Flint		1st C.I.	Age 24
Dabney, Johnson H., Aug. 25, 1864, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 19
Dale, Marcus Sept. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Daly, Henry, Dec. 11, 1863, Mt. Clemens	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Daniels, Wright, Aug. 22, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Davis, Aaron, Sept. 3, 1864, Grand Rapids	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Davis, Charles, Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Davis, Charles, Oct. 18, 1864	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Davis, Charles H., Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Davis, Claiborne Sept. 29, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Davis, Delos, Dec. 11, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Davis, Giles, Dec. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Davis, Henry, Jan. 16, 1864, Pontiac	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Davis, John, Sept. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Davis, John, Dec. 21, 1863, Lodi		1st C.I.	Age 44
Davis, Joseph, Aug. 16, 1864, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 20
Davis, Nathan, Mar. 1, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Davis, Reason, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 33

Davis, Thomas J., Feb. 20, 1865, Ypsilanti ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Davis, William, Jan. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. I	1st C.I.	Age 44
Davis, William L., Nov. 8, 1863, Adrian	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Day, Chauncey, Sept. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Dean, George, Aug. 16, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Dean, Sidney, Jan. 21, 1864, Leroy	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Delaney, Isaac, Dec. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Delany, John, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Dengerfield, Edward, Oct. 14, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Dennis, Joshua, Feb. 15, 1864, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Dennis, Stephen, Oct. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Derry, Landon, Jan. 20, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Devenport, Aaron, Dec. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
DeVolt, William, Sept. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Dickerson, Andrew, Sept. 29, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Dickinson, Joseph, Dec. 26, 1863, Lodi	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Dillon, George, Aug. 2, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Dixon, William, Nov. 20, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Dixon, William, Jan. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Doleman, William, Jan. 14, 1864, York	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Doo, Elijah, Aug. 20, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Dorsey, James W., Dec. 24, 1863, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Dotson, John, Jan. 27, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Douglas, Stephen		1st C.I.	
Douglass, James, Dec. 8, 1863, Sharon	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Douglass, Stephen A., Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Dowell, George, Dec. 18, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Doyle, James, May 6, 1864, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Dubendorf, Edward	Co. I.	1st C.I.	
Dudley, Ambrose, Feb. 10, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Dudley, George A., Dec. 28, 1863, Grand Haven	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Dudley, Greene, Mar. 28, 1865, Jackson	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Dudley, Robert, Oct. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Dudley, Thomas, Nov. 13, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Dunbar, Isaac, Aug. 8, 1864, Hagerstown	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Duncan, Frederick, Feb. 5, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Duncan, James M., Mar. 8, 1864, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Duncan, John, Aug. 22, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 21
Dungie, John, Oct. 7, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Dupey, Joseph, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Dutton, Stephen, Mar. 14, 1865, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Early, Samuel, Dec. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Easley, George, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 24

Ebo, Peter H., Mar. 6, 1865, Armada	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Edwards, Alexander, Feb. 27, 1864, Detroit ..	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Edwards, Michael, Feb. 19, 1864, Detroit ..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Edwards, William, Dec. 24, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Eess, Jay, Nov. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Efner, Joseph H.	Co. C.	1st C.I.	
Egbert, Daniel, Mar. 6, 1865, Armada	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Ellicott, Harry, Dec. 28, 1863, Grand Haven ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 53
Elliott, John, Dec. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Embrose, William, Feb. 15, 1865, Ypsilanti ..	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Emmons, Joshua, Oct. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 31
English, John, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Estes, James, Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Evans, Daniel, Feb. 27, 1864, Columbus	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Evans, William R., Aug. 30, 1864, Jackson ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Farran, Alfred, Dec. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Farran, Andrew, Sept. 1, 1864, Buchanan	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Fassett, Henry, Dec. 26, 1863, Ann Arbor	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Faulconer, Samuel, Sept. 25, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Felton, Rufus K., Jan. 21, 1864, Marshall	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Ferguson, William, Oct. 8, 1863, Battle Creek	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Ferguson, William H., Sept. 24, 1864, Pontiac	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Fielder, Isaac, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Fields, Elvin W., Jan. 26, 1864, Ann Arbor ..	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Finnelly, Richard, Dec. 16, 1863, Niles	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Finlay, James, Mar. 8, 1865, Pontiac	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Finley, Edward, Jan. 21, 1864, Niles	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Finley, William, Oct. 10, 1864, Erin		1st C.I.	Age 19
Fisher, John Henry, Aug. 15, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Fisher, Lewis, Jan. 8, 1864, Richmond	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Fitzgerald, Edward, Dec. 17, 1863, Kalamazoo		1st C.I.	Age 18
Fixer, Luke, Mar. 2, 1865, Jackson	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Fletcher, Frederick, June 15, 1864, Cambridge		1st C.I.	Age 19
Floyd, Robert, Aug. 26, 1864, Magnolia	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Flynn, Robert, Aug. 13, 1864, Tecumseh	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Ford, Andrew, Dec. 28, 1863, Marshall	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Ford, Andrew, Dec. 11, 1863, Howard	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Ford, James H., Aug. 11, 1864, Kalamazoo ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Ford, Jerry, Sept. 2, 1864, Jackson	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Ford, William, Feb. 17, 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 24

Forrest, John, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Foster, John A., Feb. 28, 1865, Putnam	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Foster, Samuel, Dec. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Fountain, Robert J., Nov. 28, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Francis, Abram, Feb. 12, 1864, Almont	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Franklin, West, Jan. 4, 1864, Richmond	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Frederick, William, Sept. 2, 1864, Kalamazoo		1st C.I.	Age 25
Freeman, Fred'k A., Sept. 30, 1863, Ann Arbor	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Freeman, George G., Nov. 27, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Freeman, Harvey B., Sept. 7, 1864, Jackson ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Freeman, Jackson, Feb. 15, 1865, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 19
Freeman, James J., Feb. 18, 1865, Detroit ..	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Freeman, Jerome, Sept. 20, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Freeman, John, Mar. 17, 1865, Jackson	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 23
French, Horace, Jan. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Freney, Beverley, Sept. 3, 1864, Milan		1st C.I.	Age 19
Frost, James, Jan. 15, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Fulks, Samuel, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Gaines, Thomas S., Aug. 23, 1864, Battle Creek	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Gamblee, Andrew, Nov. 27, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Gardner, James W., Jan. 2, 1864, Hudson	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Garner, John Q. A., Feb. 28, 1865, Park	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Garnett, Peter, Aug. 29, 1864, Jackson	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Garrison, Henry, Nov. 30, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Gault, Cassius M. C., Apr. 1, 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Gay, John, Nov. 14, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Gayton, Allen, Oct. 21, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Gayton, Nicholas, Oct. 21, 1863, Kalamazoo...	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Gibbons, William, Aug. 24, 1864, Kalamazoo ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Gibbs, Franklin, Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Gibney, Lewis, Sept. 1, 1864, Buchanan	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Gibney, Washington, Sept. 1, 1864, Buchanan	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Gibson, Jefferson, Jan. 5, 1864, Monguagon ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Gibson, Marquis, Aug. 19, 1864, Kalamazoo ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Gilbert, Charles, Dec. 21, 1863, Jonesville	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Gillam, Andrew, Dec. 31, 1865, Cassopolis	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 16
Gillmore, William, Dec. 20, 1863, Gun Plains	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Givens, William, Dec. 27, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Givins, John, Jan. 10, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Givins, Thomas, Jan. 22, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19

Godfrey, George, Dec. 28, 1863, Grand

Haven	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Goins, John, Aug. 28, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Goins, Daniel, Oct. 29, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Goins, George H., Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Goins, Samuel, Feb. 16, 1865, Jackson	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Goins, Wesley, Oct. 20, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Goodman, Daniel, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Goodwin, Aaron, Jan. 3, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Gothard, John, Dec. 8, 1863, Tecumseh	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Grandy, Felix, Feb. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Grandy, Isaac, Aug. 19, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Grant, Alonzo Lee	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Grant, John, Oct. 6, 1864, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Grant, Orison, Jan. 23, 1864, Marshall	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 46
Grant, Valentine, Jan. 12, 1864, Marshall	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Grapion, King, Feb. 16, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Grate, William T., Jan. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Graves, Aaron, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Graves, Charles, Jan. 27, 1865, Gd. Rapids	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Gray, John E., Feb. 10, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Gray, Whalen, Dec., 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Grayson, Albert O., Dec. 8, 1863, Jackson	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Grayson, Amos S., Sept. 8, 1864, Pontiac	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Grayson, Charles, Dec. 29, 1863, Grass			
Lake	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Grayson, Harry, Dec. 31, 1863, Battle Creek	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Grayson, Henry, Dec. 19, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Grayson, John W., Dec. 29, 1863, Grass			
Lake	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Green, Benjamin, Oct. 19, 1863, Lansing	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Green, Henry J., Jan. 21, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Green, Isaac, Nov. 24, 1863, New Florence	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Green, James, Nov. 24, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Green, James H., Oct. 21, 1863, Flint	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Green, Jeremiah, Sept. 10, 1864, Springwells		1st C.I.	Age 26
Green, John, Nov. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Green, John, Oct. 12, 1864, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Green, Thomas, Dec. 30, 1863, Battle Creek	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Green, William, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Griffin, George, Jan. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Griffin, George, Sept. 5, 1864, Monroe		1st C.I.	Age 18
Griffin, John, Dec. 9, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Griffin, John, Oct. 19, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 18
Griffin, Oliver, Aug. 22, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 24

Griffin, Solomon, Dec. 21, 1863, Penn.	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Griggs, George H., Feb. 18, 1864, Detroit.....	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Grigsby, Andrew, Oct. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Grimes, Daniel, Mar. 30, 1865, Kalamazoo .	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Grimes, William A., Dec. 8, 1863, Adrian	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Gromer, George, Dec. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Grow, Thomas, Mar. 15, 1865, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Guess, James, Dec. 23, 1863, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 18
Guess, Stephen, Dec. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Guy, Benjamin F., Aug. 31, 1864, Grand Rapids	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Guy, Elijah H., Aug. 31, 1864, Grand Rapids .	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Guy, Martin L., Dec. 3, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Hackley, Asbery, Feb. 15, 1864, Niles	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Hackley, Marcelus, Mar. 6, 1865, Niles	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Hailstock, Eli, Oct. 13, 1863, Dowagiac	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hall, Charles H., Dec. 7, 1863, Kalamazoo ...	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Hall, Eli, Aug. 29, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hall, George, Apr. 4, 1865, Pontiac	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hall, Nathan, Sept. 30, 1864, Pipestone	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Hall, Peter, Sept. 9, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Hall, Reuben, July 14, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hamilton, Jacob, Oct. 9, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Hamilton, James, Dec. 28, 1863, Grand Rapids	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Hammond, Charles, Sept. 14, 1864, Jackson .	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hammond, Elias M., Feb. 4, 1864, Detroit ...	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Hammond, Lovel, Mar. 6, 1865, Kalamazoo .	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Hammond, Rix	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Hampton, Isaac, Nov. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Hance, Clarkson S., Nov. 18, 1863, Cooper ...	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Haney, Charles A., Aug. 2, 1864	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Hansen, Benjamin F., Sept. 22, 1863, Ann Arbor	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Hansen, Henry, Nov. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Hardee, Nelson, Jan. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Hardee, William, Dec. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Harper, Benjamin, Nov. 30, 1863, Ypsilanti ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Harper, John, Jan. 19, 1864, Newburg	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Harris, Andrew, Oct. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Harris, Charles W., Oct. 1, 1864, Howard	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Harris, Elijah, Dec. 30, 1863, Kalamazoo .	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 45
Harris, Ezekiel, Sept. 3, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Harris, Henry, Aug. 25, 1864	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Harris, Henry, Jan. 6, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 25

Harris, Henry S., Nov. 12, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Harris, Isham, Feb. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Harris, Jacob, Aug. 24, 1864, Adrian	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Harris, James, July 22, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Harris, John, Aug. 31, 1864, Pontiac	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Harris, John, Mar. 25, 1865, Battle Creek	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Harris, John, Sept. 1, 1864, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 33
Harris, William, Dec. 7, 1863	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Harris, Wililam, Jan. 11, 1864, Grass Lake	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Harris, William, Calvin	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Harris, William J., Jan. 4, 1864, Trowbridge	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Harrison, Charles, Jan. 3, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Harrison, Henry, Sept. 17, 1864, Pontiac	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Harrison, Henry, Feb. 12, 1864, Jackson	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Harrison, Henry, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Harrison, James, Dec. 23, 1863, Lodi	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Harrison, John, Oct. 31, 1864, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Harrison, John, Jan. 21, 1864, Marshall	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Harrison, Milford, Dec. 12, 1863, Howard	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Harrison, William, Sept. 19, 1864, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Harrison, William H., Oct. 19, 1863, Lansing	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Harrod, Leonard, Feb. 17, 1864, Gd. Rapids	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Hart, John K., Feb. 17, 1865, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Hatchel, Franklin, Nov. 27, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Hautsch, Frederick	Co. B.	1st C.I.	
Hawley, William, Oct. 22, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Hawkins, Henry, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hawkins, John, Aug. 19, 1864, Pontiac	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Hawkins, Stephen, Oct. 14, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Hawkins, Thomas W., Nov. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Hawkins, Washington, Feb. 15, 1865, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Haynes, Edward, Mar. 8, 1865, Pontiac	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Hays, Arrick, Aug. 24, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Hays, William, Feb. 4, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Hays, William H., Oct. 4, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Haze, Payton, Feb. 16, 1864, Franklin	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Hazlet, Thomas, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 21
Heath, Andrew, Aug. 14, 1864, Baldwin	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Heathcock, Barlett, Dec. 20, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Heathcock, Berry, Dec. 29, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 29

Heathcock, Edwin, Oct. 22, 1863,

Battle Creek	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 45
Hedges, Spencer, Nov. 23, 1863, Kalamazoo ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Heise, Lewis, Oct. 5, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Hempsted, Lewis, Jan. 13, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Henderson, George W., Dec. 30, 1863,			

Emmett	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Henderson, Hiram, Feb. 2, 1864, Salem		1st C.I.	Age 26
Henderson, Jethro, Dec. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Henderson, John, Oct. 12, 1864, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 23
Henderson, Pheelan, Feb. 24, 1865,			

LaGrange	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Henderson, Samuel, Dec. 12, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Henderson, Squire, Oct. 21, 1863,			

Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Henderson, William, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Henderson, William S., Dec. 1, 1863,			

Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Henry, Anthony, Oct. 4, 1864	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Henry, Martin V., Dec. 2, 1863, Vandalia	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Henry, Thomas D., Feb. 15, 1864, Detroit ..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Henry, William, Dec. 22, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Henson, James, Oct. 22, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Herring, John, Jan. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Herssler, Henry		1st C.I.	
Heuston, Harvey, Oct. 2, 1863, Battle Creek ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hicks, Edward, Sept. 9, 1864, Buchanan	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Hicks, George W., Jan. 4, 1864, Saginaw	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Highwarden, Abram, Nov. 15, 1864, Ida	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hill, Allen, Sept. 1, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Hill, Anthony, Sept. 1, 1864, Penn	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Hill, Dennis, Oct. 1, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hill, George, Oct. 20, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hill, Isaac, Feb. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hill, Jackson, Sept. 1, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Hill, James N., Sept. 22, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Hill, John, Oct. 6, 1864, Warren	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Hill, John, Dec. 22, 1863, Jackson	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Hill, Lewis, Sept. 22, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Hill, Mark, Jan. 21, 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Hill, Milton, Jan. 30, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Hill, Noah, Dec. 12, 1863, Lansing	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hill, Stephen C., Feb. 25, 1863, Decatur	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hines, Euclid, Jan. 11, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Hines, John H., Aug. 8, 1864, Tecumseh	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 25

Hinton, Daniel, Jan. 6, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Hinton, George, Dec. 14, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Hinton, Richard, Oct. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Hiwarden, William, Oct. 19, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Hix, George H., Jan. 2, 1864, Chicakaming ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Hoard, Richard, Jan. 15, 1864, Marshall	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Hodge, Greenberry, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Holbert, Harry, Jan. 5, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Holbert, Joseph, Sept. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Holburt, Simon, Jan. 5, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Holland, Christopher, Oct. 1, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Holland, Frederick, Mar. 21, 1865, Pontiac ...	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Holland, John, Sept. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Holmes, David, Dec. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Holmes, George A., Dec. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Holmes, John, Nov. 12, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Holmes, John		1st C.I.	
Holmes, William, Jan. 7, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 27
Hood, Philander J., Aug. 17, 1864,			
Kalamazoo	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hopkins, Henry, Dec. 5, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hopkins, James, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Horton Isaac, Aug. 27, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Hostins, Charles, Jan. 19, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Houston, John, Dec. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 28
How, John C., Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Howard, Bonaparte, Jan. 20, 1864, Detroit ..	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Howard, Ezekiel, Oct. 3, 1864, Kalamazoo ...	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Howard, James, Jan. 22, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Howard, James, Aug. 26, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 21
Howard, William, Oct. 5, 1864, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Howard, William A., Oct. 19, 1863, Lansing ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Howland, Robert J., Dec. 27, 1863, Detroit ...	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Huddleston, Richard, Dec. 7, 1863, Jackson ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Hudnell, Phillip, Dec. 31, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Huff, Samuel, Dec. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Hughes, Robert, Jan. 16, 1864, White Pigeon ..	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Hull, John, Oct. 21, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Hull, Robert, Aug. 23, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 21
Hungerford, Albert W., Kalamazoo	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Hunt, Jack, Dec. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Hunt, Jorden P., Oct. 23, 1863, Calvin	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Hunter, Richard, Mar. 2, 1865, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Hunter, Samuel, Aug. 12, 1864, Corunna		1st C.I.	Age 26
Huster, Samuel, Dec. 17, 1863, Cambridge ...		1st C.I.	Age 18

Hutchinson, Simon, Mar. 1, 1865, Medina	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Hyatt, James, Jan. 11, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Ingham, David, Sept. 1, 1864, Gd. Rapids	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Jackson, Abraham, Aug. 16, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 18
Jones, Wilson, June 21, 1864, Bridgewater ...		1st C.I.	Age 35
Jordan, James, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Jorden, John, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D	1st C.I.	Age 30
Jordon, Edward, Jan. 11, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Jordon, George, Jan. 13, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Judson, Doctor S., Dec. 23, 1863, Marshall ...	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Kauffman, Isaac N., Oct. 11, 1863, Detroit ...	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Kelley, James, E., Jan. 4, 1864, Pontiac	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Kenny, John, Jan. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Kerns, Samuel H., Dec. 7, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Kersey, Edward, Oct. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Kidd, Pleasant, Mar. 2, 1865, Jackson	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
King, Cyrus, Sept. 7, 1864, Erie	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 36
King, Elijah, Jan. 30, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 20
King, Henry, Jan. 3, 1865, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
King, Morris, Jan. 5, 1864 York	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
King, Solomon, Oct. 9, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 20
King, William, Jan. 27, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Kirkley, Dennis, Aug. 5, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Knapp, Porter, Jan. 19, 1864, Pittsfield		1st C.I.	Age 24
Knox, James, Nov. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Kryzler, Thomas, Oct. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Lake, Henry, Jan. 24, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Lamb, Lemuel, Jan. 10, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Lancaster, Smith, Oct. 10. 1864, Camden		1st C.I.	Age 42
Lane, William, Dec. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Lang, John, Jan. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Lawrence, Alfred, Dec. 12, 1863, Howard ...	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Lawrence, Jerry, Dec. 24, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Lawson, Edwin, Jan. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Lawson, John, Dec. 30, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Leake, Frederick, Feb. 10, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Lee, John, Jan. 3, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Lee, Robert, Aug. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Lee, William H., Nov. 9, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Leftridge, Horace, July 14, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Lett, Emanuel, Feb. 16, 1864, Waverly	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Lett, George W., Oct. 5, 1864, Greenwood ...	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Lett, John, Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Lett, John, Jan. 21, 1864, Sodus	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Lett, Jonathan, Sodus		1st C.I.	Age 22

Lett, Joseph, Jan. 11, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Lett, Samuel, Aug. 31, 1864, Grand Rapids ..	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Lett, Samuel, Oct. 5, 1864, Berlin	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Lett, William, Aug. 20, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Lett, Zachariah, Dec. 14, 1863, Vandalia	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Letts, Charles R., Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Letts, Henry, Feb. 18, 1865, Grand Rapids ..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Lewis, Calvin, Oct. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Lewis, Cassius M., Mar. 2, 1865, Lafayette ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Lewis, David, Dec. 14, 1863, Raisin	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Lewis, George, Sept. 3, 1864, Bloomfield		1st C.I.	Age 27
Lewis, Henry, Aug. 24, 1864, Jackson		1st C.I.	Age 32
Lewis, John, Jr., Aug. 23, 1864, Pontiac	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Lewis, Robert E., Mar. 23, 1865, Ypsilanti ..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Lewis, Thomas, Feb. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Lewis, Washington, July 25, 1864, Detroit ..	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Lewis, William B., Mar. 25, 1865, Ypsilanti ..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Lieber, Albert, Jan. 20, 1864	Co. I.	1st C.I.	
Liger, John, Jan. 24, 1865, Emmett		1st C.I.	Age 23
Lightfoot, Samuel, Oct. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Limus, John, Nov. 30, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Lindsay, Arad E.	Co. D.	1st C.I.	
Linn, Lewis, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Linsey, William, Jan. 4, 1864, Chicaming	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 47
Littleton, Willis, Sept. 6, 1864, Kalamazoo ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Livar, Charles, Feb. 28, 1864, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Lockredge, Smith L., Oct. 7, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Logan, John J., Dec. 31, 1863, Jackson	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Logan, Thomas H., Dec. 31, 1863, Jackson ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Long, Frederick, Dec. 24, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Long, Green, Dec. 12, 1863, Jackson	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Love, Abraham, Jan. 21, 1864, Niles	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Lowe, Edward, Oct. 22, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Lucas, Noah, Jan. 3, 1864, Overisal	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Lucas, William, Jan. 26, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Lumpkins, George, Jan. 22, 1864	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Lyle, Cephas, Apr. 11, 1864, Annapolis	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Lyons, George, Jan. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
McConnell, James, Nov. 6, 1863, Adrian	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
McCoy, David, Aug. 22, 1864, Jackson		1st C.I.	Age 35
McCoy, Thomas, Dec. 30, 1863, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 45
McCullar, Achilles, Aug. 11, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 36
McGary, George, Oct. 8, 1863, Schoolcraft ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 38

McGee, Jonathan, Apr. 1, 1865, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 35
McGinnis, Tobias, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 19
McGinnis, William, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 25
McIntosh, Henry, Dec. 30, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 21
McIntosh, John, Dec. 14, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
McLain, Samuel, Sept. 1, 1864, Buchanan	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 33
McQuorn, Charles, Oct. 22, 1863, Freedom	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 20
McRay, Sandy, Dec. 14, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Madden, Thomas, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Madison, Joseph, Sept. 1, 1864, Detroit	Co. K	1st C.I.	Age 24
Madry, Hezekiah, Nov. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Madry, Jesse W., Nov. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Mallory, Lee, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Mallory, Samuel, Dec. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Manly, Andrew, Oct. 21, 1863, Lowell	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Manly, James W., Oct. 21, 1863, Lowell	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Mann,, William, Feb. 17, 1864, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Manning, John, Sept. 1, 1864, Grand Rapids	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Manuel, Martin, Dec. 31, 1863, Chickaming	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Manuel, Miles, Dec. 1, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Marcy, Richard, Dec. 20, 1863, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Marshall, Ephriam, Oct. 3, 1864	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Martin, Cyrus F., Dec. 15, 1864, Brookfield	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 16
Martin, Henry, Nov. 24, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Marshall, Joseph, Aug. 15, 1864, Pontiac	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Mason, Abraham, June 9, 1864, Raisin		1st C.I.	Age 38
Mason, William, Dec. 22, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 48
Mason, William, Dec. 22, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Mathew, Henry A., Sept. 5, 1864, Cassopolis	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Mathews, Benjamin, Sept. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Mathews, Francis, Sept. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Mathews, John H., Sept. 23, 1864, Calvin	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Mathews, Lee, Dec. 11, 1863, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 24
Mathews, Allison L., Sept. 23, 1864, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Matthews, William		1st C.I.	
Mattock, Hawley, Feb. 16, 1865, Pokagon	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Maurimus, Robert, July 25, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Maxwell, Foster H., Nov. 14, 1863,			
Kalamazoo	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Maxwell, George W., Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Maxwell, Thomas, Feb., 1865, Berrien		1st C.I.	Age 37
May, John, Nov. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Maybee, John, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Mays, Richard, Jan. 3, 1865, Portage	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Mead, Peter E., May 17, 1861	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 29

Means, Frederick, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Merriman, Reuben, July 28, 1864, Whitford	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Mershall, John, Feb. 27, 1865, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Micking, Joshua, Jan. 11, 1864, Greenfield		1st C.I.	Age 20
Miles, Charles, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Miller, Alexander, Oct. 1, 1863, Kalamazoo		1st C.I.	Age 34
Miller, James L., Mar. 6, 1865, Lafayette	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Miller, John, Aug. 10, 1864, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 32
Miller, Joseph, Dec. 15, 1863, Jackson	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Miller, Joseph, Mar. 8, 1865, Jackson		1st C.I.	Age 23
Miller, Joseph, Mar. 8, 1865, Jackson		1st C.I.	Age 22
Miller, Michael, Dec. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Miller, Needham, Sept. 1, 1864, St. Joseph	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Miller, Thomas, Aug. 26, 1864, Magnolia	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Milliken, William, Nov. 25, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 45
Mills, Alexander, Oct. 9, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Mills, John, July 25, 1864, Kalamazoo		1st C.I.	Age 35
Mills, Samuel, Nov. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Miner, George, Feb. 22, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Miner, Henry, Aug. 20, 1864, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Mitchell, Allen, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Mitchell, Abner, Mar. 6, 1865, Niles	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Mitchell, John, Dec. 29, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Mitchell, Levi, Jan. 2, 1864, Niles	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Mitchell, Thomas, Fabius	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Mitchum, John, Feb. 25, 1865, Berrien	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Moffatt, Jasper, Aug. 30, 1864, Flint	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Monroe, Silas, Oct. 15, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Montgomery, Caleb, Nov. 10, 1864, Pontiac	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Montgomery, Joseph, Feb. 18, 1865, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Montgomery, William, Jan. 25, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Moon, Charles, Oct. 13, 1864, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 18
Moore, Charles, Nov. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Moore, George, Nov. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Moore, George, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Moore, George, Jan. 12, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Moore, George H., Oct. 28, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Moore, James, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Moore, Kirby, Nov. 18, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Moore, Moses, Dec. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Moore, Noah, Oct. 7, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Moore, Thomas, Feb. 14, 1865, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Moore, Thomas, Nov. 12, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Moran, Charles A., Feb. 11, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18

Moran, John, Sept. 5, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Moran, Robert, Dec. 18, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 35
More, E. S., Jan. 13, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 36
More, Samuel, Dec. 1, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Morgan, Alexander, Oct. 9, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Morgan, George, Oct. 19, 1863, Lansing	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Morgan, Joseph H., Dec. 10, 1863, Ypsilanti ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Morgan, Lewis, Sept. 30, 1863, Jackson	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Morgan, William H., Oct. 20, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Morley, Foster, Oct. 8, 1864, Grand Rapids	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Morris, George, Aug. 5, 1864	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Morris, King, Jan. 5, 1864, York		1st C.I.	Age 19
Morris, Ryal, Jan. 12, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Moss, Richard, Feb. 1865, Berrien		1st C.I.	Age 43
Mossett, Charles, Nov. 30, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Mow, Robert, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Mullevy, William	Co. A.	1st C.I.	
Mumford, James, Sept. 1, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Murdock, Milton, Oct. 5, 1863, Battle Creek	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 45
Murphy, Percival, Jan. 15, 1864, Calvin	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Murphy, William E., Apr. 1, 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Murphy, William J., Oct. 27, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 45
Murray, Harrison, Nov. 20, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Murray, John, Jan. 26, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Murray, John L., Dec. 1, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Myers, Simon, Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Nash, Anthony, Feb. 25, 1865, Niles	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Neal, Elisha, Aug. 1, 1864	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Nelson, Harrison, Jan. 4, 1864, Ogden	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Nelson, Henry, Dec. 9, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Nelson, William R., Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Nettle, Daniel, Feb. 10, 1865, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Neve, George, Jan. 23, 1864, Brownstown ...		1st C.I.	Age 19
Newell, George, Aug. 8, 1864, Livonia		1st C.I.	Age 19
Newman, William H., Oct. 7, 1863, Calvin ...	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Newson, Edward, Mar. 17, 1864, Sandstone ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Newson, John, Nov. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Newsome, Eli, Apr. 1, 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 16
Newton, William, Dec. 22, 1864, Pontiac	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Nicholson, Alfred, Aug. 15, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 24

Nickleson, Jonathan, Nov. 20, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Nickleson, Milton, Nov. 20, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Nims, William P., Feb. 14, 1865, St. Joseph ..	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Nolan, John, Nov. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Norman, Michael, Sodus		1st C.I.	Age 26
Norman, William, Aug. 31, 1864, St. Joseph ..	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Norman, Willis, Nov. 24, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Norton, Henry, Sept. 23, 1864, Calvin	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Nuson, Eli, Dec. 5, 1863, Raisin	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Ogden, Robert, Oct. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Oliver, Jesse, Dec. 7, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Oliver, John, Dec. 14, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Olmsted, Benjamin, Jan. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
O'Neil, Jackson, Sept. 8, 1864, Ann Arbor	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
O'Neil, Joseph, Oct. 19, 1863, Marshall	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Osborn, George S., Sept. 12, 1864, Jackson ...	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Outland, Bias, Feb. 15, 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Overman, George W., Nov. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Overton, William, Feb. 16, 1865, Grand Rapids	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Owens, Albert, Dec. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Owens, William, Sept. 7, 1864, Kalamazoo ...	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Oxendine, Caswell, Fabius	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Packard, Charles F.	Co. F.	1st C.I.	
Page, Anderson, Jan. 25, 1864, Richmond	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Page, William, Jan. 15, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Pankey, Ned, Feb. 12, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Paris, Henry, Jan. 21, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Parker, Robert, Feb. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Parrott, Nelson, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Patterson, George W., Mar. 6, 1865, Niles ...	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Patterson, John, Dec. 28, 1863, Sturgis	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 45
Patterson, Samuel, Oct. 22, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Patterson, William, Feb. 17, 1864, Detroit ...	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Patton, Jeremiah, Feb. 10, 1865, Ypsilanti	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Payne, Alexander, Dec. 1, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Payne, David, Feb. 5, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Payne, Gilbert, July 29, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Payne, Henry, Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Payne, Washington, Sept. 29, 1863, Detroit..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Payton, Harrison, Jan. 5, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 31

Peak, Henry, Dec. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Peak,, Lorenzo G., Aug. 18, 1864, Jackson ..	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Peak, William H., Jan. 28, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 48
Pearce, Samuel, Sept. 21, 1864, Ecorse		1st C.I.	Age 19
Pepper, Thomas, Sept. 5, 1864, Greenfield	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Perdew, James, Dec. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Perdue, James, Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Perdue, Noah, Oct. 22, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Perkins, Henry, Sept. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Perry, Anthony, Mar. 28, 1865, Macon	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Perry, Eli, Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Perry, Thomas, July 24, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Perynce, Henry		1st C.I.	
Peyton, Richard, Aug. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Phillips, Henry, Aug. 13, 1864, Medina		1st C.I.	Age 23
Philips, Richard, Jan. 5, 1864, Hartland	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Phoenix, Jeremiah, Sept. 22, 1864, Pontiac ..	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Pierce, Albert, Mar. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Pine, William, Sept. 23, 1864, Jackson	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Platt, James W., Dec. 13, 1863	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Plowden, William P., Dec. 13, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Points, Charles, Aug. 15, 1864, Lansing	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Points, Henry L., Dec. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Poke, James, Aug. 9, 1864, Monroe		1st C.I.	Age 21
Poll, Alexander, Oct. 14, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Poll, Marvin, Oct. 14, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Pollard, Henry, Nov. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Pollard, William, Feb. 2, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Porter, Boyd, Feb. 2, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Porter, Isaac, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Porter, James, Oct. 6, 1864	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Porter, John, Dec. 22, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Porter, Joseph, Jan. 18, 1865, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 18
Porter, William, Dec. 1, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Porter, William, Feb. 14, 1865	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Posey, Abner, Nov. 18, 1864		1st C.I.	Age 26
Powell, Elijah, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Powell, Elijah, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Powell, Thomas H., Aug. 30, 1864, Jackson ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Powers, James, Nov. 20, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Powers. William P., Dec. 28, 1863, Niles ..	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Prater, William, Aug. 30, 1864, Jackson	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Preston, Richard, Jan. 19, 1865, Jackson	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Price, John, Sept. 26, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Price, John, Oct. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 26

Pritchard, Isaiah, Jan. 14, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Queen, Augustus, Aug. 30, 1864, Jackson	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Queen, Charles F., Oct. 16, 1863, Summit ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Ralls, Andrew, Mar. 4, 1865, Pontiac	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Ramsey, Joseph, Dec. 11, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Randall, George, Dec. 10, 1863, Jackson	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Randall, Henry, Sept. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Randolph, George, Jan. 3, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Rann, Lorenzo, Aug. 22, 1864, Seneca	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Ratliff, Albert J., Nov. 18, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Redman, Willis, Oct. 1, 1864	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Reed, Alonzo, Jan. 6, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Reed, Alvin, Jan. 30, 1865, Grand Rapids ...	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Reed, Elijah, Jan. 30, 1865, Grand Rapids ...	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Reed, Elisha, Jan. 30, 1865, Grand Rapids ...		1st C.I.	Age 27
Reed, George, Feb. 3, 1865, Pontiac	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Reed, Jeremiah, Jan. 30, 1865, Gd. Rapids ...	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Reed, John, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 20
Reed, Stephen, Sept. 14, 1864, Jackson		1st C.I.	Age 28
Reed, Walter, Jan. 2, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Reynolds, Nelson, Nov. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Rhoderic, David, Jan. 8, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Rice, Calvin, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Rice, James, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Rice, Pink, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Rice, William H., Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Rice, Wilson, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Richards, Richard, Oct. 30, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Richardson, George, Dec. 14, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Richardson, George, Dec. 5, 1863, Detroit ...	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Richardson, William E., Oct. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Richmond, Willis, Oct 6, 1864	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Ricketts, Luther B.	Co. H.	1st C.I.	
Ridgley, William, Sept. 3, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Riley, William, Oct. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Risby, William, Jan. 16, 1865, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Rivers, Miner, Dec. 26, 1863, Niles	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Rix, William A., Dec. 18, 1863, Marshall ..	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Roberts, Altimore, Sept. 16, 1864, Redford ..		1st C.I.	Age 26
Roberts, Bryant W., Aug. 25, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Roberts, Charles, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Roberts, Emery, Oct. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Roberts, Horace, Nov. 27, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 26

Roberts, Isaac, Jan. 27, 1865	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Roberts, James, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Roberts, John, Aug. 18, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Roberts, John, Aug. 19, 1864, Raisin	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Roberts, Jonathan P., Dec. 10, 1863, Detroit...	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Roberts, William, Aug. 22, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 34
Roberts, William G., Aug. 30, 1864, Adrian...	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Robertson, Alexander, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Robertson, Richard, Apr. 13, 1864, Annapolis	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Robins, John, Feb. 17, 1865, Battle Creek	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Robinson, Alexander, Oct. 14, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Robinson, Charles, Dec. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Robinson, Elisha S., Oct. 30, 1863, Lowell	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Robinson, Frank, Nov. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Robinson, Harvey, Sept. 23, 1864, Jackson	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Robinson, Henry, June 28, 1864, Gun Plains .		1st C.I.	Age 28
Robinson, Homer, Dec. 15, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Robinson, James, Mar. 28, 1865, Jackson	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Robinson, James, Dec. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Robinson, Thaddeus, Dec. 15, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Robinson, Thomas, Aug. 10, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Robinson, Wesley, Nov. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Robinson, William, Dec. 23, 1864, Detroit ...	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Rolland, George W., Oct. 30, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Roper, William, Feb. 26, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Roodman, Stephen, Feb. 10, 1864, Detroit ...	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Ross, James H., Dec. 29, 1863, Parma	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Ross, William, Feb. 11, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Rouse, Jordan, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Russell, Henderson, Dec. 30, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Russell, Jacob, Dec. 30, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Russell, James, Mar. 3, 1865, Pontiac	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Russell, John	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Russell, John, Dec. 30, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Russell, Robert, Aug. 2, 1864, Kalamazoo ...	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Russell, Robert R., Dec. 1, 1863, Detroit ...	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Rutherford, Joseph, Jan. 4, 1864, Marshall ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Salspaugh, Amos, Oct. 22, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Sancton, Robert, Jan. 16, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Sand, Nathan, Feb. 22, 1864, Battle Creek ...	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Sanders, Albert, Aug. 23, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Sanders, Elijah, Aug. 30, 1864, Constantine...	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24

Sanders, Hamilton, Aug. 20, 1864,

Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Sanders, Jason J., Aug. 22, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Sanders, Peter, Dec. 9, 1863, Porter	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Sandy, William, July 25, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Sasser, Robert, Aug. 14, 1864, Baldwin	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Sasser, Wesley, Aug. 14, 1864, Baldwin	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Saunders, Backus, Apr. 13, 1865, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 29
Saunders, John, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Saunders, John J., Nov. 24, 1863, Detroit ...	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Sawyer, Thomas, Oct. 14, 1864, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Scipio, Peter, Aug. 22, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Scotland, Samuel, Jan. 5, 1865, Washington		1st C.I.	Age 25
Scott, Alexander, Dec., 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Scott, Andrew, Oct. 8, 1863, Battle Creek	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Scott, Daniel, July 25, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Scott, Franklin D., Aug. 18, 1864, Pontiac	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Scott, J. Cooper, Jan. 2, 1864, Marshall	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Scott, John A., Apr. 5, 1865, Pontiac	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Scott, Lee, Nov. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Scott, Logan M., Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Scott, Moses, Nov. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Scott, Preston, Jan. 11, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Scott, Robert, Feb. 8., 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Scott, Walter, Dec. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Scott, William, Oct. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Scott, William, Jan. 16, 1864, Troy	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Scott, William M.	Co. G.	1st C.I.	
Scroggins, Alexander, Jan. 13, 1864,			
Ypsilanti	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Seymour, Thomas, Nov. 3, 1863, Ecorse	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Seton, Joseph, Oct. 18, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Shaffer, Daniel, Dec. 14, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Shamberg, James, Dec. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Sharp, Joseph, Mar. 9, 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Sharpe, Clayburn, Dec. 14, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Shaw, Thomas, Sept. 9, 1864, Fairfield	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Shelby, Henry, Nov. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Shelby, Spencer, Aug. 1, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Shepard, Edward, Jan. 15, 1864, Marshall	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Shepard, Henry, Feb. 27, 1864, Penn	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 46
Shields, Martin, Mar. 6, 1865, Hudson	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Shorter, Lloyd, Dec. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Shorter, William, Dec. 26, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Shorter, William, Sept. 7, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 20

Silence, David, Jan. 19, 1864, Filmore	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Sillwood, Silas A., Feb. 16, 1864, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Simmon, William H., Feb. 13, 1864, Janesville	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Simmons, Charles, Mar. 27, 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Simmons, Thomas, Jan. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Simmons, William, Nov. 17, 1863, Calvin	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Simms, Allen, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Simms, Amos, Feb. 6, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Simms, John, Nov. 30, 1863, Detroit		1st C.I.	
Simons, James, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Simons, William H., Nov. 17, 1863, Calvin	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Simpson, Henderson, Feb. 13, 1865, Battle Creek	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Simpson, Henry A., Dec. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Simpson, Peter, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Simpson, William H., Oct. 27, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Sinclair, John F., Dec. 21, 1863, Jonesville	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Sisco, Albert, Aug. 10, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Sisco, David D., Jan. 16, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Slaughter, James, Oct. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Sledge, Richard, Jan. 16, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Sleight, William E.	Co. D.	1st C.I.	
Small, Harrison, Aug. 18, 1864, Medina	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Smith, Abram, Dec. 22, 1864, Pontiac	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Smith, Alexander, Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Smith, Arthur W., Jan. 21, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Smith, Benjamin, Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Smith, Charles H., Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Smith, Elie, Nov. 30, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Smith, Francis, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 33
Smith, George, Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Smith, George C., Oct. 23, 1863, Coldwater	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Smith, Greyson, Feb. 26, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Smith, Henry, Dec. 11, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Smith, Henry, Dec. 5, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Smith, Isaac, Mar. 9, 1865, Pontiac	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Smith, Jacob, Oct. 22, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Smith, Jacob, Oct. 8, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 22
Smith, James, Oct. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Smith, James, Dec. 14, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Smith, James, Feb. 4, 1865, Bloomfield	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Smith, James, Aug. 31, 1864, Flint		1st C.I.	Age 18

Smith, John, Aug. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Smith, John, Nov. 23, 1864, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 28
Smith, John E., Feb. 28, 1864, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Smith, Joseph, Mar. 14, 1865, Hudson	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Smith, Robert, Aug. 20, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Smith, Samuel, Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Smith, Samuel, Feb. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Smith, Simon, Sept. 21, 1864, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Smith, Thomas, Sept. 5, 1864, Greenfield		1st C.I.	Age 34
Smith, William, Dec. 30, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 29
Smith, William, Dec. 17, 1863, Kalamazoo		1st C.I.	Age 18
Smith, William H., Oct. 11, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Smith, William P., Dec. 9, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Snelling, Samuel, Aug. 29, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Snider, Benjamin, Jan. 4, 1865, Pontiac	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Sniveley, Jeremiah, Jan. 8, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Southers, James, Jan. 4, 1864, Marshall	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Southworth, Geo. A., Apr. 22, 1861, Kalamazoo	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Sparks, Alexander, Jan. 12, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Sparks, Thomas, Sept. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Speed, John, Dec. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Speirs, William W.		1st C.I.	
Spence, Ambrose, Dec. 22, 1863, Plymouth	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Spencer, William, Feb. 15, 1864, Pontiac	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Spriggins, Thomas, Aug. 25, 1864, Grand Rapids	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Stafford, James R., Aug. 24, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Stafford, Jeremiah, Jr., Feb. 10, 1865, Jackson	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Stanton, Daniel, Jan. 22, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 45
Starks, Daniel, Nov. 2, 1863, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 16
Starks, George, Dec. 25, 1863, Plymouth	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Starks, Joseph, Jan. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Steel, Jacob, Pipestone	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Steele, William, Dec. 21, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Stephens, David, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Stephenson, Martin, Mar. 8, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Stephenson, Martin, Royal Oak		1st C.I.	Age 22
Sterling, Martin, Dec. 14, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Sterling, William, Oct. 7, 1863, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 16
Stevens, Isaac, Nov. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Stevens, John, Sept. 1, 1864, St. Joseph	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Stevens, William, Sept. 29, 1864		1st C.I.	Age 38

Steward, James, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Stewart, Augustus, Nov. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Stewart, Bradford, Sept. 2, 1864, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 22
Stewart, Beverly, Dec. 11, 1863, Kalamazoo ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Stewart, George W., Nov. 20, 1863, Calvin ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Stewart, Hezekiah, Oct. 22, 1863,			
Ann Arbor	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Stewart, Jacob, Aug. 8, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Stewart, James, Sept. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Stewart, James, Oct. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Stewart, James M., Oct. 18, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Stewart, Jesse, Jan. 13, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Stewart, John, Oct. 7, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Stewart, John T., Oct. 21, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Stewart, Littel B., Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Stewart, Rufus, Dec. 31, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Stewart, Sylvester, Dec. 28, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Stewart, Thomas, Oct. 16, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 44
Stockend, Henry, Dec. 9, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Stokes, Jackson, Feb. 15, 1864, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Stowers, David, Feb. 2, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Stowers, Elijah, Feb. 11, 1865, Jackson	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Streight, William P.	Co. I.	1st C.I.	
Strother, David, Dec. 29, 1863, Battle Creek ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Strummel, James M., Nov. 28, 1863, Detroit		1st C.I.	Age 18
Summerville, Jack, Feb. 16, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 48
Summit, Benjamin, Nov. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Summer, Thomas, Aug. 27, 1864, Kalamazoo		1st C.I.	Age 33
Swanagan, Amos, Jan. 24, 1865, Gd. Rapids..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Swift, Jerry, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Swift, Joseph, Jan. 21, 1864, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Talbot, William H., Oct. 5, 1864, Kalamazoo ..	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Tallafearo, William P.	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Tasker, Reuben, Oct. 8, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Tate, John, Jan. 14, 1865, Jackson	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Taylor, Eli, Dec. 22, 1863, Ann Arbor	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Taylor, Frank, Aug. 16, 1864, Monroe	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Taylor, Henry, Feb. 10, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Taylor, Henry, Jan. 21, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Taylor, Jesse, Jan. 5, 1865, Grand Rapids	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Taylor, John, Aug. 9, 1864, Jackson	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 17
Taylor, John, Feb. 11, 1865, Pontiac	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Taylor, John, Feb. 2, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Taylor, John E., Feb. 6, 1864, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Taylor, Jordan, Jan. 27, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 25

Taylor, Primus, Aug. 8, 1864, Jackson	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Taylor, William, Feb. 21, 1865, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Taylor, William, Dec. 23, 1864, Pontiac		1st C.I.	Age 25
Tennett, Thomas, Oct. 6, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Tennis, William, Mar. 21, 1865, Jackson	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Thermon, Flemming, Jan. 13, 1864, Detroit ...	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Thomas, Elfred E., Sept. 7, 1864, Jackson	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Thomas, Benjamin, Jan. 31, 1865, Pontiac	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Thomas, Edward, July 30, 1864, Tecumseh ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Thomas, George, Mar. 27, 1865, Liberty	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Thomas, George, Dec. 24, 1863, Ypsilanti ...	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Thomas, Henry, Sept. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Thomas, Henry, Mar. 30, 1865, Pontiac	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 42
Thomas, James, Dec. 10, 1863, Jackson	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Thomas, John, Feb. 21, 1864, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Thomas, John H., Aug. 23, 1864, Kalamazoo...	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Thomas, Joseph, Oct. 18, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 40
Thomas, Robert, Feb. 13, 1864, Janesville ...	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Thomas, William, Sept. 16, 1864, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Thomas, William, Dec. 19, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Thomas, William, Apr. 8, 1865, Erie		1st C.I.	Age 27
Thompson, Edward, July 30, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Thompson, Ezekiel, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 45
Thompson, George, Jan. 26, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Thompson, Henry, Jan. 23, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Thompson, James, Dec. 11, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Thompson, John, Dec. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Thompson, John, Aug. 13, 1864, Corunna	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Thompson, John, Jan. 19, 1864, Detroit	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Thompson, John, Sept. 8, 1864, Forester		1st C.I.	Age 29
Thompson, John F.		1st C.I.	
Thompson, Primus, Mar. 22, 1865, Detroit ...	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 31
Thompson, Samuel B., Mar. 10, 1865, Pontiac	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Thompson, Stephen, Aug. 17, 1864, Adams	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 27
Thompson, William, Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Thornton, George, Mar. 2, 1865, Kalamazoo ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Thornton, Henry, Sept. 29, 1864	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Thurston, John, Nov. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Tillman, Harrison, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Todd, Jeremiah, Dec. 23, 1863, Marshall	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Tolbert, Albert, Dec. 17, 1863, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Torrick, Henry, Dec. 1, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 44

Townsend, Andrew, Sept. 27, 1864,

Kalamazoo		1st C.I.	Age 20
Tribue, James, Jan. 9, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Trice, Eli, Feb. 7, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Troutman, Simon, Jan. 12, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Tucker, George, Feb. 22, 1864, Battle Creek	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Tucker, William, Oct. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Tucker, William P., Dec. 31, 1863, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Turmin, James, Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Turner, George, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Turner, Henry, Dec. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Turner, John, Oct. 12, 1864		1st C.I.	Age 30
Turner, Taylor, Apr. 11, 1864, Annapolis	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Tuttle, Jonathan B., Dec. 7, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Twist, Oliver, Feb. 15, 1865, Detroit	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Tyler, Heinrick, Dec. 4, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Valentine, Robert, Jan. 4, 1864, Richmond	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Valentine, Shadrick, Sept. 2, 1864,			

Grand Rapids

Varnum, William, Dec. 30, 1863,		1st C.I.	Age 32
Battle Creek	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Vaughn, James, Calvin	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 39
Vendyke, Lewis, Dec. 11, 1863, Detroit	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Veney, Samuel, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Vick, Hiram, Feb. 9, 1865, Jackson	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Vick, Jonah, Jan. 6, 1865, Jackson	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Vincent, Andrew, Jan. 28, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Vincent, William, Feb. 18, 1864, Clay	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Vincin, George, Feb. 24, 1865, Berrien	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Vineyard, Andrew, Jan. 21, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Wade, Berry, Oct. 21, 1863, Calvin	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Wade, John, Jan. 4, 1864, Detroit	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Waldron, John T., Jan. 16, 1864, Detroit	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Walker, Daniel, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 43
Walker, Frank, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 35
Walker, Jacob, Oct. 10, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Walker, Richard, Jan. 14, 1864, Richmond	Co. K.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Walker, Wilson, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Wallace, James H., Sept. 5, 1864, Monterey	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Wallace, John, Mar. 6, 1865, Kalamazoo	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Wallace, Zachariah, Feb. 15, 1865, Monroe	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Walton, James, Sept. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 37
Walton, James, Dec. 31, 1864, Climax	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Walls, Jesse A., Dec. 11, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Wanyer, Francis R., Nov. 27, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21

Wanyer, Lois P., Nov. 27, 1863, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Wanzer, Charles, Oct. 17, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Wanzer, Joseph, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Ward, Harry, Nov. 23, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 41
Ward, James R., Dec. 2, 1863, Ypsilanti	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 28
Ward, John W., Sept. 29, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Ware, Edward, Jan. 3, 1864, Detroit	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Waring, William, Mar. 21, 1864, Detroit		1st C.I.	
Washington, Albert C., Jan. 5, 1864, Detroit..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Washington, Andrew, Feb. 29, 1864, Grand Rapids	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Washington, George, Nov. 21, 1863, Detroit..	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 49
Washington, George, Sept. 20, 1864, Pontiac	Co. E.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Washington, George, Jan. 27, 1864, Ypsilanti ..	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 21
Washington, George, Aug. 19, 1864, Kalamazoo	Co. F.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Washington, George, Jan. 9, 1864, Detroit ...	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 26
Washington, George, Dec. 18, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 24
Washington, George		1st C.I.	
Washington, George, E., Dec. 22, 1863	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Washington, George F., Dec. 26, 1863, Richmond	Co. G.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Washington, Hanson, Nov. 3, 1863, Detroit ...	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 19
Washington, Horace, Sept. 7, 1864, Jackson ...	Co. I.	1st C.I.	Age 38
Washington, Jackson, Feb. 15, 1865, Detroit..	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 20
Washington, Lewis, Sept. 16, 1863, Detroit ..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 34
Washington, Thomas, Oct. 22, 1863, Detroit..	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Washington, William, Feb. 15, 1865, Ypsilanti	Co. H.	1st C.I.	Age 25
Washington, William E., Oct. 27, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 18
Washington, William H., Dec. 5, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 30
Washington, William H., Oct. 6, 1863, Detroit	Co. D.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Watson, Hezekiah, Sept. 16, 1864, Springwells	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 22
Watson, John, Oct. 22, 1863, Ionia	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 32
Watters, Weston, Oct. 1, 1863, Battle Creek ..	Co. B.	1st C.I.	Age 36
Watts, Albert, Dec. 25, 1863, Detroit	Co. A.	1st C.I.	Age 23
Watts, Albert L., Oct. 29, 1863, Boston		1st C.I.	Age 22
Watts, Alexander, Feb. 9, 1864, Ypsilanti	Co. C.	1st C.I.	Age 35

†*Publications of the Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission*

Civil War Facts. 1962.

**Mary Austin Wallace: Her Diary, 1862*, Miss Julia McCune, editor. 1963.

Michigan Women in the Civil War. Mrs. Raymond H. Millbrook, editor. 1963.

***Materials on the Civil War Recommended for Use in Schools.* Miss Irene C. Hayner, editor. 1964.

**Michigan Institutions of Higher Education in the Civil War.* Willis F. Dunbar, editor. 1964.

**Michigan Labor and the Civil War.* Albert A. Blum and Dan Georgakas. 1964.

***Michigan and the Civil War Years, 1860-1966. A Wartime Chronicle.* George S. May. 1964.

*A briefer chronological list of "*Battles of the Civil War*" in bulletin form showing particular units involved, was prepared during the first year of the centennial period by Dr. Howard Peckham and published by the Commission.

Michigan in the Civil War: A Guide to the Materials in Detroit Newspapers, 1861-1865. Miss Helen H. Ellis. 1965.

Effects of the Civil War on Farming in Michigan. Joseph J. Marks, editor. 1965.

The Dutch Churches in Michigan During the Civil War. Wynand Wichers. 1965.

The Impact of the Civil War on the Presbyterian Church in Michigan. Maurice F. Cole. 1965.

***The Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan During the Civil War.* Mrs. Margaret B. Macmillan. 1965. A reprint of 1000 copies was paid for by the Methodist Historical Society.

Michigan Catholicism in the Era of the Civil War. Frederic H. Hayes. 1965.

Michigan Civil War Monuments. George S. May. 1965.

The Effect of the Civil War on Music in Michigan. Mrs. Mary D. Teal and Lawrence W. Brown. 1965.

*Out of print as of July, 1966.

**Reprints of 1,000 copies made.

†After October 1, 1966, all publications are to be ordered from the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan.

- The Baptists of Michigan and the Civil War.* Judson LeRoy Day II. 1965.
- The Episcopal Church in Michigan During the Civil War.* Reverend Frank M. Hawthorne. 1966.
- Michigan Medal of Honor Winners in the Civil War.* Mrs. Raymond H. Millbrook. 1966.
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- The Impact of the Civil War Upon Mining.* Victor Lemmer. 1966.
- The Impact of the Civil War Upon the Negro.* Norman McRae. 1966.
- Small Arms Used by Michigan Regiments in the Civil War.* Roger Wiegand. 1966.
- The Michigan Gun Clubs have ordered 1,000 extra copies to be printed at their expense.
- Report to the Governor and the People of Michigan.* 1966.