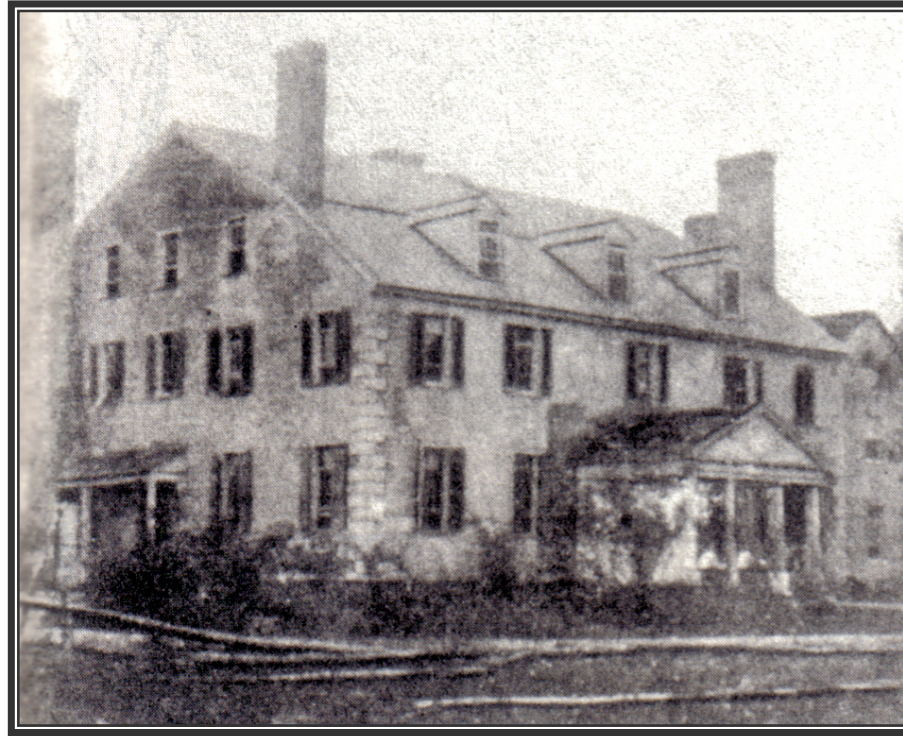


African-American Civilians and Soldiers Treated at Claremont Smallpox Hospital, Fairfax County, Virginia, 1862-1865



*The main house at Clermont as pictured, but mislabeled, in
F.T. Miller's The Photographic History of the Civil War, 1912.*

Clermont was the 300-acre estate of Daniel French, located along a ridge in Fairfax County, Virginia, on the south bank of Cameron Run and overlooking the town of Alexandria two and a half miles away to the east-northeast. Elizabeth French Dulany inherited the property from her father in 1771, and she and husband Benjamin Tasker Dulany lived there and ran the farm from the time of their

1773 marriage until moving to nearby Shuter's Hill in 1799. The house was then rented to various families before ownership of the estate turned over in 1818, 1820 and 1833—the last time conveyed to General John Mason, a merchant and federal government official, formerly of Analostan¹ and son of George Mason of Gunston Hall. Advertisements for this sale and ones of the 1840s and 1850s provide detailed descriptions of the property. About a third of it was woodlot, and seven spring-fed fields occupied 160 acres of bottom land along Cameron Run and 40 acres of high ground. The outbuildings were numerous, and a “cedar hedge” bounded a five-acre garden and orchard adjacent to the commodious main house. It was a newspaper ad, too, this one from 1795, that contains the first mention of the estate's name, Clermont, presumably honoring the ancient French city.²

At the outbreak of the Civil War, the property's owner was French Forrest, grandson of former owners the Dulanys. Forrest was a U.S. Navy officer, a veteran of the War of 1812, and Adjutant General of U.S. forces during the Mexican War. He joined the Confederacy upon Virginia's secession and went south to take command of the Gosport or “Norfolk” Navy Yard at Portsmouth about May 11, 1861. He later served as commander of the James River Squadron and Acting Assistant Secretary of the Confederate States Navy. Forrest's wife departed their home in haste when federal troops occupied Alexandria May 24, leaving the estate vulnerable to the depredations of the incoming troops. Clermont was quickly occupied and later formally confiscated and sold by the federal government.³

In July 1861, the estate became the campground of a brigade consisting of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Maine Volunteer Infantry Regiments and the Second



French Forrest, C.S.N. as flag officer of the James River Squadron. Library of Congress.

¹ Analostan is an island in the Potomac River off Georgetown, D.C. that once contained Mason's “country” home. It is now called Theodore Roosevelt Island.

² Edith M. Sprouse, “Clermont: The Rest of the Story,” in *The Fireside Sentinel*, Vol. III, No. 9, September 1989, pp. 97-104. The home was birthplace of Fitzhugh Lee, Confederate general, nephew of Robert E. Lee, and eventually governor of Virginia. The location of the Clermont house was about where Clermont Elementary School now stands, at 5720 Clermont Drive in the Alexandria section of Fairfax County.

³ Edith M. Sprouse, “Clermont: The Rest of the Story (Continued),” in *The Fireside Sentinel*, Vol. III, No. 10, October 1989, pp. 109-113; “French Forrest,” on Wikipedia, 2009, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Forrest.

Vermont. The men of the Third Maine ransacked Clermont house and converted it to use as the brigade hospital when the units returned from defeat at the first Battle of Bull Run (or “First Manassas”).⁴ By that time, the estate’s buildings had already been “much injured,” and six months later, the fences and outbuildings had nearly all been destroyed for fuel and building materials for camps in the vicinity. The orchards and woods probably fared little better. The stuccoed brick house, apparently much enlarged after 1804, contained two parlors, a library, an office, and a center hall on the first floor; five vaults or cellars below; a winter kitchen in a timber-framed wing; and eleven “comfortable apartments” or chambers in the second and attic stories. Its eight fireplaces meant that the attic rooms were unheated unless the Army introduced stoves. These spaces now accommodated 50 or 60 patients in the charge of Asa B. Snow, surgeon for the 61st New York regiment. Perhaps the sole remaining outbuilding, Forrest’s former office, located about 20 or 30 feet north of the house, would later be put to use as a dispensary of medicines.⁵ The home would remain a hospital for the duration of the war, not for the treatment of wounds and general illnesses, but as a specialized quarantine facility.



An antebellum sketch of Clermont house and its immediate outbuildings, many of which were razed by Union troops. Reprinted from Peter R. Henriques, ed., “The Civil War Diary of Anne S. Frobel,” Northern Virginia Heritage, June 1987.

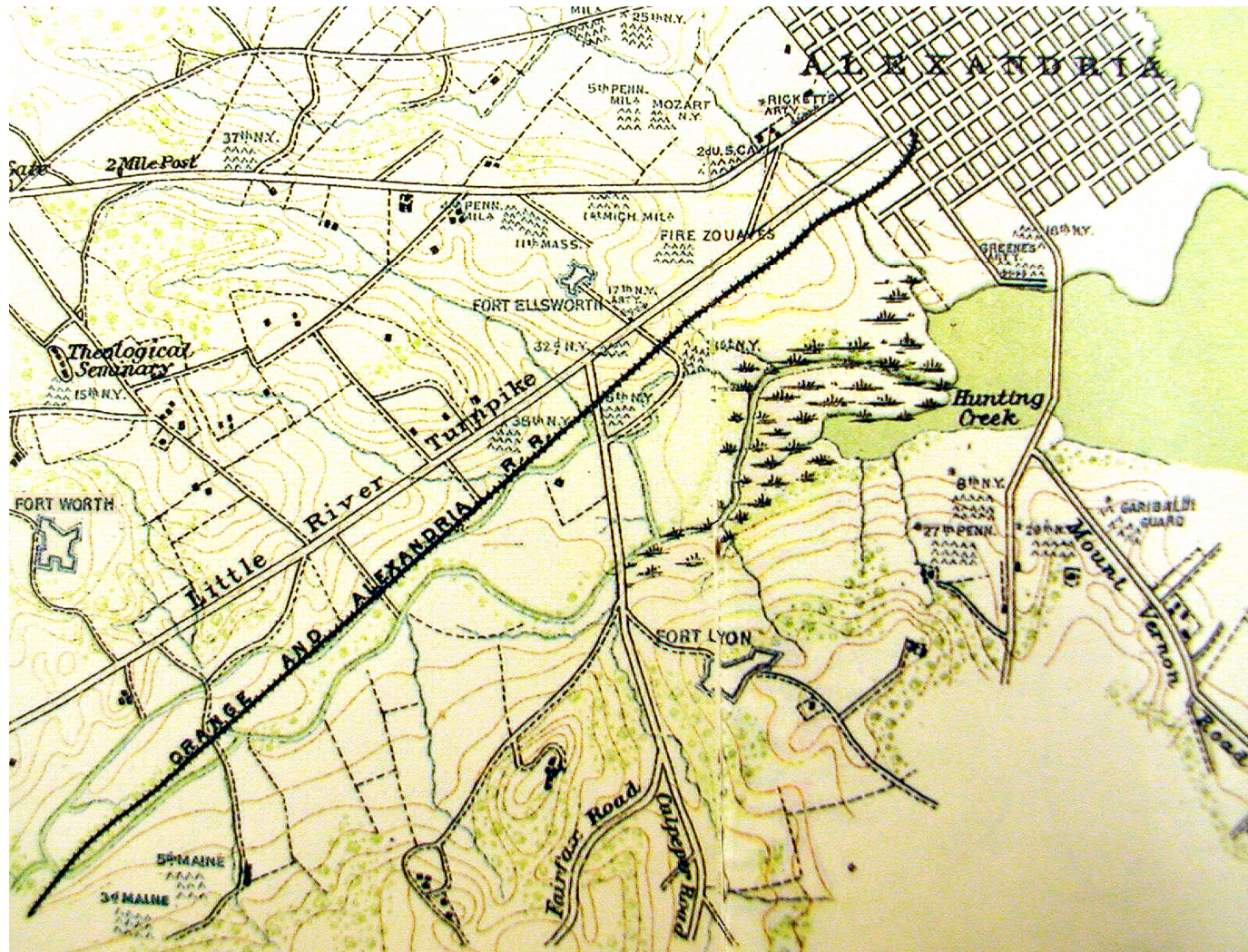
⁴ Craig Young, “The Third Maine Regiment Volunteer Infantry Time-Line with Historical Information,” June 28, 2001, <http://thirdmaine.org/history.htm>.

⁵ Sprouse (September 1989), pp. 99 and 104; Sprouse (October 1989), pp. 112-113 and 115.



A detail of Plate VII of the Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, showing part of "Sheet 1, Surveys for Military Defenses, Map of Northeastern Virginia and Vicinity of Washington... August 1, 1862. Alexandria and the Potomac River are at right. The location of "Clar[emont]" house is indicated in the left quarter, north of which are two apparent tenant houses marked "Com[mander] For[r]est." To the southeast, in the shadow of the Union fortifications, is the "Wilton Hill" home of Anne Frobel ("Frobes"), a slaveholder and strong secessionist who nonetheless complained of the Army's neglect of black smallpox victims (see page 10).

Another detail from the Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, this one from Plate VI, "U.S. Coast Survey Map of the Ground of Occupation and Defense of the Division of the U.S. Army in Virginia... July 1861." The camps of the Third and Fifth Maine Infantry Regiments are depicted in the lower left corner. These were located on the Claremont estate, at the foot of the hill upon which the house stood (just beyond the map's margin).



With thousands of troops, refugees, and former slaves on the move and converging on ill-prepared localities, communicable disease was bound to become a daunting wartime problem. The most feared illnesses of the time were typhoid fever and cholera—both bacterial maladies whose spread was promoted by poor sanitation—and smallpox, caused by an airborne virus known as variola.

Smallpox infection was... known through the centuries as an acute systemic disease characterized by pustular eruption, beginning as a rash on the face, forearms, and hands and spreading centrifugally to the legs and trunk. The lesions appeared as flat patches developing through raised spots to vesicles, pustules, and finally crusts, which became detached while still infective; thus contaminated bedclothes might still infect. During the incubation period, after infection via the upper respiratory tract, the virus would spread and multiply in the blood and internal organs until, after about 12 days, symptoms appeared with fever, headache, and prostration, and the patient became infectious.⁶

“The virus, one billionth of a meter in size, multiplies only within human cells, causing a disease (variola major) characterized by fever, a disfiguring rash... as well as back pain, muscle aches, frequently blindness, and often death. The case-fatality rate was generally between 20 and 60 percent, and survivors were usually left disfigured and [sometimes] blind.”⁷

“[I]t was common knowledge in many parts of the world that a mild case of smallpox would result in protection from subsequent infection.” Across Asia, for instance, forms of vaccination were practiced by exposing people to individuals with mild cases, by consuming fleas exposed to cowpox, or by inoculation with smallpox pus or scabs applied under the skin. Lady Mary Wortley Montague, wife of the British ambassador to Turkey, witnessed this last method and introduced it to England in the early eighteenth century. It produced “a minor reaction in the skin at the site, providing complete or partial immunity to smallpox” and dramatically reduced deaths.⁸ It became so widely practiced over the next several decades that American troops in Alexandria were routinely “variolated” during the Revolution.⁹ At the end of the century, English physician Edward Jenner demonstrated scientifically that the related, but milder, cowpox could render immunity. By 1845, with bitter experience of several outbreaks, the government of Alexandria, Virginia was periodically inoculating its poor residents at taxpayers’ expense.¹⁰

But at the start of the war in 1861, the American army was not satisfactorily protected.

The [U.S.] army regulations required that every man should be vaccinated, but few of the State military authorities succeeded in fulfilling this requirement. For many years before the war there had been no systematic vaccination in the

⁶ Stephen Lock et al., eds., *Oxford Illustrated Companion to Medicine*, third edition (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 759-760.

⁷ Eugene W. Straus and Alex Straus, *Medical Marvels: The 100 Greatest Advances in Medicine* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2006), p. 79.

⁸ Straus and Straus, pp. 78-80.

⁹ *The Alexandria Gazette*, September 12, 1878. Unfortunately, the spread of the disease at that time was blamed on the vaccinations themselves, perhaps justifiably: “In 1777 it raged here with considerable violence; to an extent that made [General] Washington anxious that his wife should come to Philadelphia to be out of the way of guests who came from among the smallpox at Alexandria to Mount Vernon. This epidemic was mainly caused by the inoculating hospitals for the Southern army, which the Continental Congress caused to be established here.”

¹⁰ Accounts of the Alms House and Other Facilities of the Poor, 1813-1876, Papers of the City of Alexandria, University of Virginia Library. In October 1845, for instance, the auditor of the corporation paid H.P. Howard, M.D. \$25 for the vaccination of the poor of one ward.

civil communities. Many of the volunteer troops had never been vaccinated; few of them had been revaccinated... [Despite the initiation of a regular program,] every fourth or fifth man was perhaps liable to be attacked.... [I]t is evident that the prompt isolation of suspected cases and the destruction by fire of all infected clothing, bedding and shelters were measures of the first consequence in restraining the spread of the disease...

The disease prevailed to a greater extent among troops in the vicinity of cities than among those in the field. Thus, during the year of greatest prevalence there were as many cases among the 30,000 men in the Department of Washington as among the 104,000 in the Army of the Potomac... The cases reported from the Army of the Potomac were mostly due to exposure in the cities of Washington and Alexandria. The sufferers were usually men recently returned from furlough or general hospital....

Small-pox prevailed to a greater extent among the colored troops than among the white commands. During the three years of their service 6,716 cases, with 2,341 deaths, were reported. The cases equaled an average annual rate of 36.6 per thousand strength, the deaths a rate of 12.2... The maximum in 1864 occurred in March, when 8.04 cases per thousand was attained; in 1865 a maximum of 3.57 was recorded in February; in 1866 the highest rate, 9.73, was reached in March. During the first winter the prevalence of the disease was due to the operation of causes similar in character to those affecting the white troops; but the contagion had a wider diffusion and found a greater susceptibility to its action among the negroes than among the whites. The smaller rate of the second winter is the result of efforts to suppress the disease, while its prevalence in the year following the war gives expression to the carelessness which arose from anticipations of disbandment.

No case of small-pox or varioloid was reported among the 49,394 men of the Confederate Army of the Potomac during the nine months, July, 1861-March, 1862, while 380 cases occurred during this period in the United States Army opposed to it. Small-pox may, therefore, be considered as having invaded the South during the progress of the war.¹¹

The disease was often identified with, fairly or not, the population of former slaves. It had clearly not originated with them, but living in close quarters, with the least access to health care and vaccinations, the freedpeople proved the most susceptible. This was a primary reason the Union army took a direct role aiding Alexandria's "contrabands." Epidemics could sap the strength of the army and its logistical base. By the end of September 1862, deaths among the city's few thousand African Americans were said to have risen to six a day, exacerbated by smallpox outbreaks.¹² Once it was clear that the war would drag on, and the numbers of newcomers

¹¹ Maj. Charles Smart, M.D., *The Medical and Surgical History of the Civil War*, Part III, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), pp. 626-627.

¹² *The Alexandria Gazette*, September 29, 1862.

had grown into the hundreds or thousands, the military governor, Brigadier General John P. Slough, took action to protect health and safety. At the end of October 1862, Liverpool native Charles Culverwell, trained in British and German medical schools and hospitals, was the first physician appointed specifically to treat and vaccinate the city's freedpeople. Only a month later, Dr. J.E. Dow was transferred from the army's nearby Convalescent Camp to the command of Alexandria's provost marshal "to vaccinate the Contrabands at that place and take charge of the sick among them." He was quickly succeeded by Z. Howe Ripley, then John R. Bigelow, suggesting that treating the former slaves was not considered a desirable career move.¹³

For most of 1861 and 1862, smallpox patients among the military in Alexandria were sent to the District of Columbia.¹⁴ In mid April 1862, the president of Alexandria's Board of Health urged the City Council to establish a hospital for the quarantine and treatment of civilians. Without it, the "Board... is... unable to order any case of contagious disease out of the City, and further, the Keeper of the Poor House has refused to receive any case of Small Pox at that place."¹⁵ The federal government came to the rescue, soon establishing three little smallpox hospitals. In early May, the Army created a hospital and burying ground at the south side of Saint Mary's Cemetery, along the Manassas Gap Railroad cut that led from Jones Point. After a summer lull, the number of cases rose sharply beginning in October. By the end of the following month, at least 29 cases had been sent to this first "pest house," cared for by "3 or 4 col[ore]d persons." It was said that five or six people were soon perishing there daily, with an equal number succumbing to the disease in town.¹⁶

¹³ Personal Papers of Medical Officers and Physicians Prior to 1912, Entry 561 in Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives and Records Administration; Letters Received by the Military Governor of Alexandria, 1862-1865, Entry 2053 in Record Group 393, Part IV, Records of the U.S. Army Continental Commands, National Archives and Records Administration. Under the name Charles Wyndham, Culverwell later became a celebrated London actor and theater owner, knighted in 1902. He had tried his hand at acting in the U.S. between contracts as an army doctor, but less successfully. "A British Actor and Surgeon in Lincoln's Army," on the American Civil War Round Table UK website, 2011, http://www.acwrt.org.uk/uk-heritage_British-ActorSurgeon-in-Linolns-Army.asp; *The Times [of London]*, January 13, 1919.

¹⁴ When smallpox broke out on steamer Harriet Lane in November 1861, the sick were taken to Saint Elizabeths Hospital. Soldiers were more typically carried in ambulances to the Kalorama Hospital after its establishment. *The Local News*, November 6, 1861 and Colonel James A. Tait to Captain C.B. Ferguson December 15, 1862 in Orders Issued by the Provost Marshal General for the Defenses South of the Potomac, Nov. 1862-September 1865, Entry 1461 in Record Group 393, Part IV.

¹⁵ Accounts of the Alms House and Other Facilities of the Poor, 1813-1876.

¹⁶ *The Alexandria Gazette*, May 10, 1862; Julia A. Wilbur to Anna M.C. Barnes, November 25, 1862 and December 23, 1862, Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society Papers, 1851-1868, William L. Clements Library, the University of Michigan; John R. Bigelow to Major General C.C. Augur, March 2, 1864, Entry 561, Personal Papers of Medical Officers and Physicians Prior to 1912, Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives and Records Administration. *The Alexandria Gazette* mistakenly reported that this new hospital opened at the north end of town. This is probably the same "small building at Housting [i.e., Hunting] Creek" that had been a smallpox and syphilis hospital, with one nurse, by the beginning of autumn 1862. It was also likely the "Grave Yard Hall" used as a gathering place for African Americans just after the war. The Alexandria government used the facility during smallpox outbreaks of the 1870s and early 1880s, after which it closed. Reportedly then inhabited or used by "evil-disposed persons" and "tramps," the building rapidly deteriorated and was probably demolished in late 1884 or soon after. These early facilities were crude, perhaps little different from the first smallpox hospital for civilians in Washington, described as "a small shanty, having two apartments, in which there are now 50 poor wretches... The only attendants are a man and his wife." *The*



Dr. Charles Culverwell, who later attained fame and knighthood as an actor and impresario under the name Charles Wyndham. Wikimedia Commons photo.

On Christmas Eve 1862, freedmen's-aid worker Julia Wilbur reported home to New York State in horror of its spread.

Small pox ambulances may be seen in every part of the city. I think it is all over & all around us. The 19th. Conn[ecticut] Reg[imen]t is encamped a little west of us. An officer of this Reg[imen]t told Mr. W[hipple] last night that 90 of their men had black measles, but we know when they talk about black measles, that it is very likely to be small pox. I mean to be vaccinated again to morrow if it does cost a dollar. I hear that there is a great deal of it in Washington. How dreadful it will be if it is in the army. Poor soldiers.¹⁷

During the Winter and Spring the small pox made dreadful ravages among ... [the freedpeople]. No measures were taken at first to prevent it and it spread all over the city. There were many cases among the citizens. Of the contrabands, we think about 700 died of the disease.¹⁸

Smallpox-infected soldiers were initially sent to Washington, but another hospital, west of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad depot and south of Soldiers Rest and Hooff's Run, may have been erected to quarantine sick employees of the Quartermaster Corps or the U.S. Military Railroad.¹⁹

It was not until November 1862 that Alexandria's military governor seized distant Clermont, "defaced [and] half ruined by soldiers," for use as an "eruptive fever" hospital for civilians.

Alexandria Gazette, September 29, 1862, November 26, 1862, December 1, 1862, August 11, 1866; January 2, 1884 and June 30, 1884; Charles M. Bache, U.S. Army Engineer Department, "[Map of] Topography of the north side of Hunting Creek near Alexandria, Va. [May 28, 1863]," Library of Congress; Records of the Smallpox Hospital, 1872-1874, Papers of the City of Alexandria, University of Virginia Library; T. Michael Miller, "The Trial of Reverend Albert Gladwin, Superintendent of Contraband at Alexandria, Virginia During the Civil War," unpublished 2007 manuscript compilation of 1863 sources from the Colored Troops Division of the Office of the Adjutant General, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration; *The Daily National Republican*, February 26, 1863.

¹⁷ Julia A. Wilbur to Anna M.C. Barnes, December 24, 1862, Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society Papers.

¹⁸ Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, *Twelfth Annual Report of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society* (Rochester: A. Strong & Co., 1863), p. 14.

¹⁹ *The Alexandria Gazette*, December 1, 1862. An 1865 engineer's plan of the U.S. Military Railroad complex in Alexandria suggests that the little hospital south of Hooff's Run was known as "Kalorama," not to be confused with the smallpox hospital of the same name in the District of Columbia.

Among those already infected was a former slave who had tagged along with an army sutler but had been abandoned on the farm of ardently secessionist slaveholder Anne Frobel, a former neighbor of French Forrest.

Found the sutler all gone, pack and baggage, took every thing away with them, but one poor sick run away, thickly broken out with small pox—and what are we to do with him—our servants say he has been sick for several days— They have kept him shut up in a hot tent with two stoves in it. To-day the white men burned up his bed, and every thing of his excepting the clothes he has on, they took him out of the hot tent into the pearcing cold air, made him walk to our barn where they left him with nothing on earth to lie upon, nothing to eat or drink, and but two little old blankets to cover with.... We sent the poor creature some soup tea and any little thing that we though he might eat....

This morning we found the sick man in the kitchen, where no doubt he has been all night—He was sitting over the fire with his head in his hands, said he was almost frozen—his face is one solid blister—After breakfast we had the carriage and went to town again to try and find some yankees with humanity enough to take charge of this one poor negro. The first place we stopped at was Gov. Slow's office.... He said he could only refur us to the Provost-marshal.... He is a most uncouth creature named Wyman... Said he did not know it was his business to take care of all the small pox patients in the country.... Then he said he was getting "Clermont House" ready for the reception of patients about Tuesday [December 2].... [H]e wrote an order to the man who drives the small-pox ambulance to come out for the man... [but] just as I expected the ambulance never came. We waited until late in the evening... [and] made [servants] Charles and Insko take him in a wagon down to the sutler's camp... near Hunting Creek bridge.²⁰

Once run by "Yankees" and "contrabands" unfamiliar with the neighborhood, the spelling of the estate's name was altered to "Claremont."²¹ For months it was operated almost completely by African-American nurses, as the surgeon in charge visited only about twice a week.²² The Claremont gravediggers of this period, and perhaps its nurses, were among 75 or so people who were organized to work for the local military government—and who went unpaid for months of labor (see page 17 for more on employees). They were unsuccessful in their claims for back pay even three years later.²³

²⁰ Peter R. Henriques, ed., "The Civil War Diary of Anne Frobel, Part II," in *Northern Virginia Heritage*, Vol. IX, No. 2, June 1987, pp. 13-14.

²¹ *The Alexandria Gazette*, November 26, 1862; Index for Alexandria, Virginia, in Field Records of Hospitals, 1821-1912, Entry 544 in Record Group 94, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, National Archives and Records Administration; Julia A. Wilbur to Anna M.C. Barnes, February 27, 1863, Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society Papers; Monthly Returns of Nurses, 1861-1865, Entry 578 in Record Group 94. The name "Claremont" is herein used to denote the house as hospital; "Clermont" is used for the estate and its house until early in the war.

²² Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society (1863), p. 14.

²³ Captain Henry E. Alvord to Colonel John Eaton, December 15, 1865, in Unregistered Letters Received, March 1863 to April 1866, Entry 3853 in Record Group 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands.

By the end of January 1864, the numerous outbreaks of the disease among a growing population rendered insufficient the capacity of the army smallpox hospitals in Washington, and the Claremont staff began to treat soldiers as well as civilians of all colors. In mid March there were 113 patients, 50 of whom were soldiers.²⁴ African-American civilians in the Claremont Eruptive Fever General Hospital—now a branch of Alexandria’s Third Division General Hospital—continued to comprise more than half of all patients as they were joined in their misery by many black troops, especially members of the 23rd U.S. Colored Infantry.²⁵ Initially, it was intended to accommodate 80 beds, but the facility’s civilian patients were said to have numbered as many as 140 in early 1863. The capacity was later said to grow to 164 or 174, but perhaps only because 164 was the maximum number of patients the hospital held at one time, April 29-30, 1864, while a military hospital. Although it had had as many as 170 sick civilians during an outbreak in mid 1863, the hospital seems never to have possessed more than about 150 beds of any sort.²⁶

In late January 1863, as smallpox raged locally, Acting Assistant Surgeon John R. Bigelow was detached to the office of the military governor to take charge of the medical care of the city’s African-American population. Bigelow was a 53-year-old Manhattan physician when commissioned surgeon to the 83rd New York Infantry (Ninth New York State Militia) in 1861. After more than a year of service, he was engaged by Alexandria’s Superintendent of Contrabands Albert Gladwin to report to the city’s provost marshal and the military governor’s health officer, Dr. Christian M. Hines. Ordered to set up a hospital for the treatment of freedpeople, and with the assistance of the Army medical director, he took over a house on South Washington Street and furnished it with 95 iron bedsteads. Bigelow simultaneously superintended Claremont and headed the vaccination effort among the city’s “contrabands.” Dr. Samuel Shaw and his son-in-law, Joseph W. Graves, a medical student, assisted Bigelow, one generally serving in the medical dispensary and the other visiting freedpeople’s quarters daily.²⁷ Shaw resigned in September 1863, and returned to Alexandria only to care for Graves, who lay dying of a malady likely passed from a patient. These two were replaced by Dr. Amos Pettijohn of Deming, Indiana, who had been serving at the Contraband Camp (“Camp Barker”) in Washington. Pettijohn remained until January 1864, when he was transferred to Camp Stanton, near Benedict, Maryland, for two months to examine recruits for the 30th U.S. Colored Infantry.²⁸ This

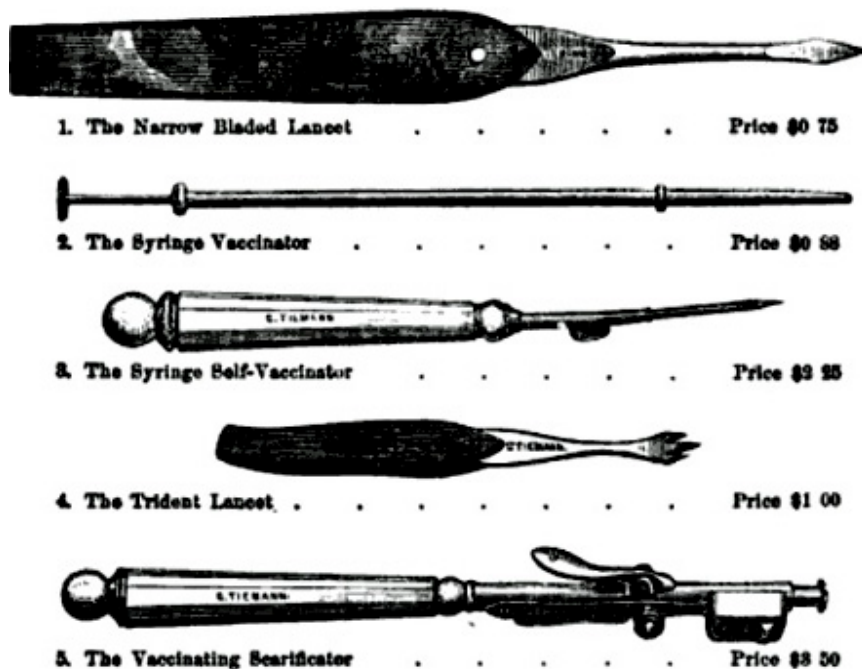
²⁴ Julia A. Wilbur Diaries, 1844-1894 (March 18, 1864), Haverford College. Miss Wilbur was an example of a person vaccinated at least twice to defend against repeated exposure to those infected.

²⁵ Record Group 94, Entry 544, Virginia Vols. 276, 353, 524, 525 and 527. The index of Alexandria hospital records states that the military branch of the hospital was established January 20, 1864 and that the civilian staff had previously treated “Contrabands” there. The book of morning reports commences with February 3, 1864, indicating that the soldiers’ wards were in operation from at least the previous day.

²⁶ Record Group 94, Entry 561; Sprouse, p. 113; Francis Trevelyan Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War In Ten Volumes: Volume Seven, Prisons and Hospitals* (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1912), p. 235; Record Group 94, Entry 544, Virginia Vol. 527. According to an inspection report found by Sprouse, the top capacity reached in 1864 was said to be 194. Sprouse (October 1989), p. 114.

²⁷ Gillman Bigelow Howe, *Genealogy of the Bigelow Family of America, From the Marriage in 1642 of John Biglo and Mary Warren to 1890* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Charles Hamilton, 1890); Record Group 94, Entry 561; Miller, 2007.

²⁸ Record Group 94, Entry 561; Julia A. Wilbur Diaries, March 1, 1864; Amos Pettijohn Civil War pension file, Files for Claims for Pensions Based on Federal Military Service, 1775-1916, National Archives and Records Administration; W. Montague Cobb, M.D., “A Short History of Freedmen’s Hospital,” in *Journal of the National Medical Association*, Vol. 54, No. 3, May 1962, p. 278.



Instruments for inoculation.

“Notes of the history and progress of small-pox cases were seldom recorded. The [Union army] medical descriptive lists merely identify the patients and give dates. Only nine cases appear on the clinical records.”³¹ Accounts gathered in *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* and the books of Washington’s Kalorama Eruptive Fever Hospital provide just a glimpse of the treatments applied to smallpox patients. Little had changed from earlier centuries, except that a few materia medica had been added to the pharmacopeia from the native cultures of the Americas. To cool fevers and encourage “sweating out” the affliction, physicians prescribed Dover’s powder (ipecacuanha and opium), tincture of cinchona, quinine, tincture of sulphur, ammonium carbonate, spirit of Mindererus (ammonium acetate) and sweet spirit of nitre (ethyl nitrite). Skin eruptions, skin irritation and the

left Bigelow temporarily the sole doctor assigned, leaving patient care at both hospitals to the nurses, as there was still no resident physician at Claremont. For a few months, Bigelow was assisted with vaccinations by a volunteer doctor, the Rev. W.M. Scott of the American Baptist Free Mission Society.²⁹

Inoculating all those who could be exposed to the smallpox virus was a huge challenge, made all the more desperate by the fact that there were few doctors who could do for patients who developed a severe case. There was no cure; the afflicted had to struggle through or die. Smallpox hospitals were primarily quarantine facilities, established for the welfare of the community more than that of the patients. Treatments were mostly palliative; perhaps the most common “medicine” was alcohol, in the form of whiskey, brandy, wine, ale and porter, often administered alone or to wash down other substances.³⁰ It was not that doctors failed to attempt remedies, but without knowledge of viruses, their efforts were shots in the dark, attempts to address symptoms.

As serious and mysterious as the disease was, it was not comprehensively or systematically studied during the war.

²⁹ Dr. Christian M. Hines to Capt. Roland C. Gale, January 14, 1863, Record Group 393, Part IV, Entry 2053; *American Baptist*, September 12, 1865.

³⁰ Whisky may have been as common a medicine as any administered to smallpox patients at the time, as it was used for the purpose at the Alexandria Alms House in early 1862. Ruth M. Ward, “The Alexandria Alms House and Work House,” in *The Arlington Historical Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 4, October 1980, p. 64.

³¹ Smart, p. 629.

prevention of scarring called for topical applications of tincture of catechu, iodine, sodium hypochlorite, zinc sulphate, zinc oxide ointment, silver nitrate, lead acetate, tincture of ferric chloride, cayenne pepper and simple cerate (wax and lard). For persistent cough, pustules on the tongue, and sore throat: gargles of lead water, potassium chlorate, syrup of squill, slippery elm, morphine dissolved in glycerin, seltzer, lemonade and sage tea. Specific or general pain meant morphine or paregoric, plus mustard applied topically. Doctors relied heavily on purgatives—senna, rhubarb, colocynth and the toxic calomel (mercurous chloride)—both to rid patients of illness and to counteract the constipating effect of opiates. But their use surely weakened patients, as did the vomiting that characterized the early phase of the disease, necessitating in turn the administration of potassium chloride and tonics such as spirit of lavender and other stimulants. All along, a supportive diet was necessary to fortify the patient, and it might include eggs, eggnog, soup, beef broth, milk punch, chicken, and the aforementioned ale.³² Of course, all these treatments depended upon the availability of supplies, which were scarce and likely not distributed liberally or equally among military and civilian and black and white patients.

One of many unsuccessful cures was attempted at Claremont in the spring of 1864, when John Thomas Lane was permitted to test on patients an old American Indian remedy, the northern pitcher plant (*Sarracenia purpurea*). After several weeks' observation by the doctors of the Third Division General Hospital, this herb "proved to be without any curative powers in this disease, and Mr. Lane a humbug. He lost more than fifty per cent. of the cases of variola committed to him, more than were lost by any other treatment."³³

Dr. John Bigelow was discharged from his superintendency of Claremont and Alexandria's "Contraband Hospital" under a cloud in February 1864. He was accused of making personal use of hospital funds and stores, but no charges were brought. There was likely little to the accusation; jealousy and backbiting were common among officers. But Bigelow had not endeared himself to his peers or his superiors, once testifying against Superintendent of Contrabands Albert Gladwin, another time reprimanded for laxity with the vaccination program, and once charged with being absent without leave. His major failing, however, seems to have been self-regard, including an unseemly concern with the quality of his quarters.³⁴ One of his initial recommendations had put him at odds with

³² Record Group 94, Entry 544, District of Columbia Vol. 559; Smart, pp. 629-630, 632 and 633.

³³ Charles Frederick Millspaugh, *American Medicinal Plants: An Illustrated and Descriptive Guide to the American Plants Used as Homeopathic Remedies: Their History, Preparation, Chemistry, and Physiological Effect*, New York and Philadelphia, 1887, p. 72. Another nineteenth-century "remedy" was repeated ingestion of a combination of zinc oxide, digitalis, sugar and water. John Gruber, *Hagerstown Town & Country Almanack* (Hagerstown, MD: Gruber Almanack Co., 1881), p. 15.

³⁴ Dr. Christian M. Hines to Capt. Roland C. Gale, January 14, 1863, Record Group 393, Part IV, Entry 2053. Drs. Bigelow, Shaw and Graves had all testified against Albert Gladwin for his treatment of the freedpeople. Miller, 2007; Lieutenant Colonel H.H. Wells to Brigadier General John P. Slough, February 10, 1863, Letters Sent by the Alexandria Provost Marshal, December 1862 to January 1864, Entry 1526 in Record Group 393, Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, Part IV, National Archives and Records Administration; Lieutenant Colonel H.H. Wells to Brigadier General John P. Slough, March 9, 1863, Letters Received by the Military Governor of Alexandria, 1862-1865, Entry 2053 in Record Group 393, Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, Part IV, National Archives and Records Administration; Endorsements Sent by the Military Governor of Alexandria, August 1864 to July 1865, p. 8 (September 7, 1864), Entry 2050 in Record Group 393, Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, Part IV, National Archives and Records Administration; *The Daily National Republican*, November 2, 1863.

freedmen's-aid workers Julia Wilbur and Harriet Jacobs. He proposed transporting the city's African-American orphans to the Claremont "pest house" to have "the same old women & nurses that take care of the sick... take care of the children." Outraged that the young would be exposed to such obvious danger, Wilbur and Jacobs prevailed upon the military governor to allow them to oversee orphans at the new freedmen's barracks in town. They considered this incident symptomatic of Bigelow's indifference and neglect, which may be partly explained by the small, overextended medical staff.³⁵ General Slough replaced the doctor, but as physicians were still much wanted, he continued to serve in the Third Division General Hospital branches and then at the Fort Woodbury hospital until the end of 1865.³⁶

Both Claremont and the Contraband Hospital were put on a stricter military footing, transferred to the responsibility of the Army Medical Department and supervised by the chief of Alexandria's Third Division General Hospital, Dr. Edwin Bentley.³⁷ The Contraband Hospital had been moved to a larger facility on Prince Street, which came to be called L'Ouverture Hospital for the hero of the Haitian revolution. Under Bentley's direction, Claremont's staff included 22-year-old executive officer Dr. Samuel B. Ward; Dartmouth Medical College graduate Dr. Jacob W. Mooar, who ran the dispensary in French Forrest's old office; and steward J.H. Geary.³⁸ When it was turned over to him, Bentley reported that, "the hospital is intended for 80 beds for patients and nothing [has

³⁵ Julia A. Wilbur to Anna M.C. Barnes, February 27, 1863 and March 10, 1863, Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society Papers. After a favorable first impression of Bigelow—"a person of fine appearance, of decided character, & I think of high social position"—Julia Wilbur concluded, "I hope he will not [stay], I don't like him. Too important entirely." She would come to blame him for a general neglect of patients in the Contraband Hospital. She recorded in her diary that "Milly Lewis [is] in Hos. Very ill... They sent for Dr. Shaw. Bigelow has neglected her & she will probably die in consequence, [she] has diphtheria." Julia Wilbur to Amy Kirby Post, January 23, 1863, Family Papers of Isaac and Amy Kirby Post, 1817-1918, Rush Rhees Library, the University of Rochester; Julia A. Wilbur Diaries, January 1, 1863, February 6, 1863, February 7, 1863, May 7, 1863, October 18, 1863 and January 17, 1864.

³⁶ Registers of Army Hospitals and Their Staffs, Entry 219 in Record Group 115, Records of the Surgeon General, National Archives and Records Administration; Record Group 94, Entry 561; Record Group 94, Compiled Military Service Records, Civil War; Record Group 393, Entry 2053.

³⁷ Bentley, of Norwich, Connecticut, was just shy of 40 years old and had been surgeon to the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery, before being detailed to the headquarters of the Third Brigade of Porter's Division and then to General McClellan's headquarters. In August 1862 he was assigned to Alexandria's Washington Hall Hospital and within three months was placed in charge of all Third Division hospitals. In February 1864, he was given the supervision of "the Medical Affairs of the Contrabands at Alexandria Va," including at L'Ouverture and Claremont. The next month, he took over the Second Division General Hospitals as well. By October 1864 he commanded all of Alexandria's military hospitals and over the winter of 1864-1865 was also the medical director for the Ninth Army Corps. After the war, General Slough commended him to the Surgeon General: "Surgeon Bentley has been at Alexandria within the limits of my command, for more than two years... A successful charge of five Genl Hospitals, (having established and built three and having brought to their present perfection the colored hospitals) with 30,000 different sick and wounded under his care, and 7,000 at one time, with transportation for sick and wounded to and from the several Genl Hospitals under his direction, as also with the business of general transportation of patients, with the care of five prisons and from 4 to 5000 prisoners, and being on prison Boards, and Boards for other purposes, fully establishes his reputation for energy, executive ability, and eminent devotion to the service. His urbanity and gentleness of manners, and his knowledge of men are manifest from the fact that with a Staff, for much of the time of fifty Medical Officers, no case of personal collision or misunderstanding has come to my knowledge." Record Group 94, Entry 561.

³⁸ Record Group 115, Entry 219; Record Group 94, Entry 561; Arthur Wayne Hafner, ed. *Directory of Deceased American Physicians, 1804-1929* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1993); Jacob W. Mooar Civil War pension file, National Archives and Records Administration.

SPECIAL REPORT FOR SMALL-POX HOSPITALS

[To be forwarded monthly to the Surgeon General's Office, with the usual Monthly Sick Report.]

*Claremont Hospital, Alexa V.
February 29th, 1864*

Month of <i>February</i> — — 186 <i>4</i>	SMALL POX.		VARIOLOID.	
	CASES.	DEATHS.	CASES.	DEATHS.
Number of Patients treated in this hospital during the month, of whom it is not known whether they were previously vaccinated, -----	—	—	—	—
Number positively known not to have been vaccinated successfully prior to the attack, -----	<i>90</i>	<i>32</i>	—	—
Number positively known to have been vaccinated once successfully prior to the attack, -----	—	—	<i>62</i>	<i>8</i>
Number positively known to have been successfully vaccinated more than once prior to the attack, -----	—	—	—	—

I certify that the above report is correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Edwin Bentley
Surgeon in Charge.



Above: Dr. Edwin Bentley. Courtesy of Melinda and Paul R. Johnson, M.D., F.A.C.S.

Left: The "Special Report for Small-Pox Hospitals" submitted by Bentley to the Surgeon General's office for the first month of Claremont's operation under the Army Medical Department.

been] found suitable for use except 38 iron bedsteads and a few unwholesome blankets. The medicines had been calculated for 50 beds except when it would be necessary to divide a bottle.”³⁹ Julia Wilbur initially took a more favorable view of Claremont’s operation. The patients “seem well cared for,” and the hospital “is kept clean.... Surgeons seem kind.... But the people suffer for want of clothes.”⁴⁰ Her report to the Rochester Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society indicated real progress.

There has not been probably one fourth as much small pox as during the previous year, and the Small Pox Hospital at Claremont is [now] used for white soldiers as well as colored people. Dr. Bentley of the third Gen. Div. of Hospitals in Alexandria is the surgeon in charge, and he or some other power has made a great change in this hospital. As far as I can learn, the patients now are properly cared for, and all fare alike; and there is also a resident physician, as there always should have been. Mrs. Jacobs, through the Friends Committee of New York, has furnished the colored patients of this hospital to a considerable extent with clothing. When the patients are convalescent they are transferred to the [new L’Ouverture] Colored Hospital in the city.⁴¹

Within two weeks, however, her opinion soured, as it soon would in regard to the management of the new L’Ouverture Hospital for freedpeople. The Claremont “Surgeons seem indifferent to their wants,” she confided to her diary. “5 persons from S. pox Hos. came yesterday [to L’Ouverture]. One wears the same [potentially infected] clothes she wore while there.” And what might today be interpreted as an abundance of caution on the part of hospital personnel, she saw differently. “Persons are kept there after they are entirely well. 5 persons made their escape night before last. I am glad of it. The [staff’s] object is to keep the Hos. full as they can....”⁴²

When the Medical Department assumed control of Claremont, Dr. Bentley stated that there were “no proper records heretofore kept at this hospital on which to base a report to the [Surgeon General’s Office].” Thus, there is little information that predates 1864. Muster rolls of employees between February and October 1863 were retained until at least the mid 1880s, but have since been discarded or misplaced.⁴³ Nonetheless, in addition to possessing records of the doctors at Claremont, we know the identities of several of the African-American nurses and laborers. It seems that only freedpeople were willing to care for black smallpox patients, and when Bentley took command of the freedmen’s hospitals, it was his intention to place African Americans in all the staff positions subordinate to the physicians and stewards.⁴⁴ There were generally six or seven nurses on duty throughout 1864 and 1865, but the

³⁹ Sprouse (October 1989), p. 114.

⁴⁰ Julia A. Wilbur Diaries, March 18, 1864.

⁴¹ Rochester Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society, *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Rochester Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society* (Rochester: Rochester Democrat Steam Printing House, 1864), pp. 13-14.

⁴² Julia A. Wilbur Diaries, March 30, 1864 and April 8, 1864.

⁴³ Record Group 94, E544, Hospital Index for Alexandria Virginia, pp. 65 and 110.

⁴⁴ Julia A. Wilbur Diaries, April 13, 1864. “[He] ‘wants to run a black machine entirely.’”

number dropped to four by mid September 1865, as outbreaks were fewer, troops were being mustered out, and the authorities were shifting the remaining black patients to the L'Ouverture Hospital, soon to be transferred to the Freedmen's Bureau. Among the earliest group of nurses were Silas and Lucy Carter from Caroline County, and Virginia and William Born and Lucy Low(e) of Winchester County.⁴⁵ During the first quarter of 1863, employees included nurses Georgianna Williams and Melinda Lee; stewards James Howard (or Howard James) and Samuel (or Simon) Johnson; ambulance driver Robert Smith; and laborers/gravediggers Silas Carter, Carlos Cox and Isaiah Johnson.⁴⁶ In summer and autumn 1863, nurses included Edmund Strother (or "Strawter") from Page County, and Joseph Turner and Lucy Washington from Prince William County.⁴⁷ The military takeover in 1864 brought several changes to the nursing staff, including a contract with Joseph Turner and the transfer of William Lowe from the shuttered Contraband Hospital in town, while Silas Carter and Edmund Strother were retained.⁴⁸ New female nurses or matrons included Caroline Washington, who served until the hospital's close, and Lucy Carter and Eliza Washington, who remained until at least August 1864 and January 1865, respectively, replaced by Louisa Carter.⁴⁹ Caroline and Eliza Washington may each have contracted varioloid during their tenures.

By and large, these employees must have been courageous and caring individuals. Although most had surely been vaccinated or had recovered from smallpox themselves, the hospital was still a place perilous to their health. The director of Washington's smallpox hospital once wrote a superior, "You must be aware that it is a most difficult thing to obtain Nurses for Small Pox patients."⁵⁰ One of the first military personnel detailed to assist Alexandria's freedpeople similarly complained that "it is difficult to get drivers for small pox ambulances, 2 or 3 of his drivers have it [the disease] already."⁵¹ Family members sometimes even concealed the city's sick to avoid them being sent away to Clarendon, whence they might never return.⁵² Nonetheless, the nurses accepted the risk in order to care for their people and to provide for their families. There was of course a profit motive; male nurses were paid \$15 a month—\$5

⁴⁵ Record Group 94, Entry 544, Virginia Vol. 527.

⁴⁶ Alexandria, Virginia Field Office, Miscellaneous Records, Entry 3878 in Record Group 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, National Archives and Records Administration. James, Johnson and Lowe are listed as "policing" the hospital and Smith simply as "removing small pox patients." Isaiah Johnson was also a part-time gravedigger. The same source indicates that William Lowe and McAlister Craig were also attendants at that time, but a more definitive source suggests that they were then instead nurses at the first "Contraband Hospital" in Alexandria. Record Group 94, Entry 578.

⁴⁷ Record Group 94, Entry 544, Virginia Vol. 527.

⁴⁸ Record Group 94, Entry 578. Lowe was discharged as unnecessary September 21, 1864, and Turner, Carter and Strother were dismissed about a year later. Williams "deserted" his contract in March 1865, and a July 1865 replacement, George Thornton, was fired after a single day.

⁴⁹ Carded Service Records of Hospital Attendants, Matrons and Nurses, 1861-1865, Entry 535 in Record Group 94, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, National Archives and Records Administration.

⁵⁰ Record Group 94, Entry 544, District of Columbia Vol. 542. The army also employed as nurses soldiers who had recovered from the disease. Smart, p. 627.

⁵¹ Sidney A. Burdge, quoted in Julia A. Wilbur to Anna M.C. Barnes, December 23, 1862, Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society Papers.

⁵² "They try to conceal those that have it for fear they will be taken away, so a whole family will be exposed." Julia A. Wilbur to Anna Kirby Post, January 23, 1863, Isaac and Amy Kirby Post Papers.

more than men at the Contraband Hospital and comparable to white orderlies—and the women probably received \$10, equal to the male nurses downtown.⁵³ By comparison, doctors were usually paid \$100 a month.⁵⁴

When he was still in command of Claremont, Dr. Bigelow had developed an appreciation for the value of the surrounding estate. As the government had auctioned land owned by those who had joined the Confederacy, Bigelow managed to acquire a half interest in the farm in July 1864. His partner was the 34-year-old Westel Willoughby, a major of the 137th New York Infantry, also trained in law and later an attorney and judge for Alexandria County. The men paid \$1,900. With the main house occupied by the hospital, Bigelow and Willoughby leased five- to thirty-acre plots of the surrounding land to African-American sharecroppers, including several primarily employed at the hospital. These tenant farmers grew mostly corn.⁵⁵

The Claremont staff treated patients until at least September 19, 1865. The army was to relinquish the property to its new owners a week later.⁵⁶ It had been customary to burn the smallpox patients' clothes and bedding, because they could carry the contagion.⁵⁷ As the government vacated the property, laborers were ordered to incinerate the bedclothes, furnishings and remaining garments. But some items may have been set alight too near, or even within, the house. The flames soon raged out of control. When Bigelow and Willoughby arrived the next morning to take full possession, they found a smoldering ruin. Whatever price he received, Willoughby made a sound deal when he sold his interest in the estate to Bigelow in 1867. The wartime property confiscations had been challenged in the courts, and it had been decided that, while such property could be denied to the use of treasonous owners during their lifetime, it would revert to their innocent heirs. Willoughby and Bigelow had thus essentially purchased an expensive leasehold. It proved a poor bet, as the 70-year-old French Forrest, former owner, died of typhoid fever at the end of 1866. His son initiated a lawsuit, ultimately

⁵³ Record Group 94, Entry 578.

⁵⁴ Record Group 94, Entry 561.

⁵⁵ Sprouse (October 1989), p. 113. Through the death records of Alexandria's freedpeople, we know the names of a couple of Bigelow's postwar tenants, Cornelia Bridget and Thaddeus Carter. Virginia Peyton's husband worked for the doctor in some capacity after the war. By 1865, Bigelow also owned a row of shanties in Alexandria's new "Petersburg" or "Grantville" neighborhood for rental to freedpeople. Harry Dudley, Rachel Webb, and the Andrew Webster family were among the residents. According to Julia Wilbur, upon the visit to Alexandria of some of the leading lights of the freedmen's aid movement, "Dr. B. had showed them Grantville, all but his own houses." Wesley E. Pippenger, *Alexandria, Virginia Death Records, 1863-1868 (The Gladwin Record) and 1869-1896* (Westminster, Maryland: Family Line Publications, 1995), pp. 20 and 25; Register of Complaints [Alexandria Office], January 1867 to December 1868, Entry 3868, Record Group 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, National Archives and Records Administration; Julia A. Wilbur Diaries, December 10, 1863; Register of People Arriving at Freedmen's Village, January 1867 to June 1868, Entry 578 in Record Group 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, National Archives and Records Administration; Eliphalet Owen memoranda book in Miscellaneous Records [of the Alexandria Office], 1865-1868, Entry 3878, in Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, National Archives and Records Administration.

⁵⁶ Record Group 94, Entry 544, Virginia Vols. 276, 353, 524, 525 and 527.

⁵⁷ "When they leave the pest house they need entire suits of clothes, & second hand clothing for men, women & children is in demand." Julia A. Wilbur to Anna Kirby Post, January 23, 1863, Isaac and Amy Kirby Post Papers.

successful, for restoration of the property. Bigelow then petitioned Congress to be compensated for his loss, but decades passed before his widow, Eunice, received even a modest rent payment, without interest, for the government's use of the property between July 19, 1864 and September 26, 1865.⁵⁸

One of the estate's appurtenances was a sizeable burying ground of the hospital's dead. They had been interred not far from the house, but downhill and remote enough to remove the danger of communicating the dread disease to the living. To the extent that white patients were also buried there, the races were probably segregated in death, as it appears that the cemetery was divided into two sections. Some white civilians, most of whom were government employees, were interred alongside white soldiers. Each grave had been marked with a wood headboard, probably whitewashed white pine, and likely inscribed with a grave number and the surname and first initial of the deceased, sometimes the date of death or burial, and rank and unit if a soldier.⁵⁹ Perhaps reacting to a complaint from Dr. Bigelow, or simply as part of an ongoing effort to gather in most of the military burials in the region, the Quartermaster Department exhumed the remains in May, June and July 1867 for re-interment at Arlington National Cemetery. Initially, the Acting Quartermaster General ordered that only soldiers' remains be recovered and moved, but he later changed his mind. A Quartermaster Department inspector found on "the Forrest Farm... nearly... one hundred graves... There are (3) three head boards now standing, all of which are nearly obliterated, on one, part of the name of a soldier can be made out, with the date 'July—1864'; on another the date '1865,' and the other of an 'unknown negro woman.' I counted (92) ninety two graves, and I think that there are 15 or 20 more in the same ground..."⁶⁰

In fact, there were at least 121 burials ultimately exhumed, and perhaps as many as 140. Apparently, 77 were thought to be African

⁵⁸ United States Senate Report No. 885 (to accompany S. 1360), 53rd Congress, Third Session, February 6, 1895; United States Census for 1870, Virginia Population Schedules; Compiled Military Service Records, Civil War, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration; Sprouse (October 1989), p. 114. United States House of Representatives Report No. 916 (54th Congress, First Session, March 24, 1896) recommended approval of a payment of \$284.66. Willoughby may have needed the money from his share in 1867, as he and his wife were expecting their second child any day. The Willoughbys moved to Washington, D.C. before 1890 and are buried in Arlington National Cemetery. By the time Bigelow bought Willoughby's interest, some farm outbuildings stood on the property; Bigelow's foreman shot a burglar trying to break into one. *The Alexandria Gazette*, September 16, 1867.

⁵⁹ Civil War cemeteries were often expansions of existing burying grounds. A close examination of Clermont deeds and plats might locate an earlier family plot that could be the location of the larger hospital cemetery as well. The markers were probably similar to those used at Alexandria's "Soldiers' Cemetery" and many other burying grounds of the war. Headboards were typically long planks stood upright in the upper end of the open grave, to protrude about two feet once the excavation was filled.

⁶⁰ Samuel Bootes, Engineer, to Brevet Brigadier General J.C. McFarran, Deputy Quartermaster General, May 20, 1868, in General Correspondence and Reports Relating to National and Post Cemeteries, 1865-1890, Entry 576 in Record Group 92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, National Archives and Records Administration; Sexton's Records of Death and Interment and Orders for Burial and of Reburial of Soldiers, Known and Unknown, at Various Cemeteries But Chiefly Arlington National Cemetery, 1864-1867, Entry 578 in Record Group 92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, National Archives and Records Administration.



Photographs of the Arlington National Cemetery headstones of identified re-interments from the Claremont smallpox hospital graveyard. There are also 71 Claremont “unknowns” at Arlington.

Americans and were re-interred in the “Contraband” or “lower” cemetery (now Section 27) at Arlington.⁶¹ The reburial party may have missed graves or misidentified remains, as at least 96 black civilians and six U.S. Colored Troops had perished at Claremont, as indicated by the hospital records recapitulated below. Only one of these deceased is known to have been buried in Alexandria’s Freedmen’s Cemetery, established in early 1864, but some could have been laid to rest in the city’s potter’s field before that. The loss of most headboards to rot and the depredations of fuel-seeking soldiers and neighborhood residents left only six of the deceased freedpeople identifiable: Thomas Alexander, Virginia Carter, Sarah Dorsey, Martha A. Miles, Caroline Neil and Henry Williams.⁶²

The deceased were, of course, patients first. And it is the patient records that are the most extensive documentation of Claremont hospital. With the exception of one entry, the two tables below—African-American civilians divided from U.S. Colored Troops (beginning on pages 24 and 45, respectively)—are compiled from information in several volumes (Volumes 276, 353, 524, 525, 526 and 527) of Virginia military “Field Records of Hospitals, 1821-1912,” Entry 544 of Record Group 94, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, held by the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C.⁶³ Additional information on some of those individuals transferred to L’Ouverture Hospital—such as the maladies necessitating further treatment and dates of release or death—is taken from the L’Ouverture book 578 in the same series. This compilation is only partial, with a nearly complete accounting of African-American patients for the period of February 3, 1864 through September 19, 1865, but only several patients from 1862 and 1863 mentioned. The records frequently do not agree in terms of spellings or dates. There are at least two reasons for the date discrepancies. Most of the extant records are recapitulations of earlier ones. The patient register in Volume 526 has the earliest and presumably most accurate dates, and these most commonly appear below. Volume 527 was kept nearly contemporaneously with events, but as it consists of morning reports, it typically describes admittances, releases, transfers and deaths that occurred the previous day, or usually two days earlier—and occasionally, three. This may indicate that burials typically took place a day or two after death. A comparison of the records indicates that only infrequently was a death recorded in the morning book the same day it occurred.

Some alternate names or spelling variants appear. The presumed “best” spelling of names has been chosen below based upon comparisons between the volumes, familiarity with some of the names from other period records and, in the case of soldiers’ names, comparison with their military service records. The ages are mainly provided by Volume 525, although some are given in Volume

⁶¹ See Tim Dennee, “A District of Columbia Freedmen’s Cemetery in Virginia? African-American Civilians Interred in Section 27 of Arlington National Cemetery, 1864-1867,” <http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/arlington-section27.pdf>.

⁶² Record Group 92, Entry 576; Record Group 92, Entry 578. On May 22, 1868, E. Shubert of the U.S. Burial Corps reported to Deputy Quartermaster General J.C. McFerran the presence of 121 graves. “All evidence shows that there was a Burial Ground for Contrabands, and I very respectfully suggest that thorough information may be obtained from Dr. — Bigelow, the proprietor of the place, which he purchased when he was in charge of the all the Hospitals in the vicinity.”

⁶³ Louisa Johnson’s entry is taken from the superintendent of contrabands’ death record as published in Pippenger, p. 44.

527. Ages should be considered approximate, as the formerly enslaved often did not know their exact date of birth, and those recording ages were often guessing or informed by third parties.

Nearly all of the civilian patients were admitted from Alexandria, including the Quartermaster Hospital, and from the defenses and camps in the vicinity, including Forts Ellsworth, Ward, and Albany. Only two individuals below resided in Fairfax County beyond the forts, the location of the hospital itself. There are a number of people, however, from various counties of Virginia, a couple of patients from Maryland and the District of Columbia, and two men fresh off a Union transport. These must have been recent arrivals who came in sick. The soldiers were sent from their units in Alexandria, from Camp Casey, the nearby U.S. Colored Troops recruiting and training depot, and from the nearest forts and “the field” generally, including field, regimental, and general hospitals at nearby and forward locations.

For the civilians, a diagnosis is not provided in more than three percent of cases. For those supplied, about 74 percent were of virulent smallpox, *variola major*. There is no further distinction among these as to how the disease presented itself—as “variola confluens,” “variola discreta” or, the most severe, “variola hemorrhageia”—as was commonly noted at the time. The remainder of the stricken had the less severe “varioid” or “varioides” (i.e., *variola minor*, alastrim, or “modified” variola), although discrepancies suggest that as many as three patients were instead ill with measles and one with erysipelas, a streptococcal infection of the skin. These hint at additional errors elsewhere in the diagnoses and within the records generally. Some of those admitted seem not have been sick at all; despite having a diagnosis listed, one woman was actually present to nurse to her sister, and several came to take care of their children, some after they themselves had recovered from smallpox. At least two of these contracted other illnesses while at Claremont and were transferred to L’Ouverture Hospital.

The number of full-blown smallpox cases (seventeen) among individuals reported as previously vaccinated appears to be no error of diagnosis or recordation. Despite inoculations described as successful, many contracted smallpox or, more commonly, varioid. And several did die as a consequence. This explains why many city residents, including Julia Wilbur, were vaccinated more than once.⁶⁴ As the Army Medical Department required monthly reports from smallpox hospitals, there are extant aggregated records of cases for February through November 1864 provided by Dr. Bentley, a summary of which follows:⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Julia A. Wilbur Diaries, December 26, 1862 and February 22, 1864.

⁶⁵ “Special Report for Small-Pox Hospitals [for 1864]” in Entry 620, Papers Relating to Cholera, Smallpox and Yellow Fever Epidemics, 1849-1893, Reports on Diseases and Individual Cases, in Medical Records, 1814-1919 of Record Group 94, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, National Archives and Records Administration.

	Smallpox		Varioloid	
	Cases	Deaths	Cases	Deaths
Unvaccinated	351	101	15	0
Successfully vaccinated	29	4	196	7

Nearly 28 percent of patients died at Claremont, consistent with historical smallpox fatality rates. By comparison, the death rate among smallpox-afflicted U.S. Colored Troops nationwide was 35 percent.⁶⁶ Assuming accurate records, 79 percent of the Claremont dead had not been vaccinated (but 90 percent in the above sample), seventeen percent had been, and the vaccination status for four percent is unknown. None of these numbers, including the ages of those who were infected or died, can be claimed as a representative sample of Alexandria's civilian African-American population. The very young and very old were presumably the most vulnerable, and death rates had been historically much higher for infants and children. The median age at death at Claremont was a little over twenty years, suggesting that a great number of these deaths were indeed among minors—as young as three, six and nine months—but many of the youngest afflicted may have simply perished in their homes. Indeed, many people succumbed before making it to a hospital, true for 30-year-old William Craig, who perished near the Quartermaster's office at the northeast corner of Princess and Fairfax Streets.⁶⁷ Some were at death's door when admitted, including some unconscious or not lucid enough to provide their names.

Among the black soldiers, represented in the hospital in smaller numbers than the civilians or their white comrades in arms, the instances of conflicting diagnoses—of smallpox *and* varioloid—are more numerous, indeed, for 27 percent of patients if we count Andrew Jackson, admitted twice, once for each disease. When two diagnoses appear in an entry below, the first is the more likely accurate, as it is probably drawn from the original record. On the other hand, varioloid will be the more likely affliction when the individual had previously been vaccinated. The discrepancies are numerous enough to render impossible an evaluation of the efficacy of inoculating these men. Army records suggest that vaccinations worked only 75 or 80 percent of the time. Indeed, twenty percent of the black soldiers died at Claremont. It was a better recovery rate than among the civilians, perhaps reflecting better health overall and more consistent inoculation. But again, the sample size is much smaller. One of the soldiers, William H. Towers, may not have been African-American, and a few others cannot be matched with extant service records.

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⁶⁶ Smart, p. 627.

⁶⁷ Pippenger, p. 29.

Civilians:

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Adams, George	36	smallpox	3/17/64	Alexandria	3/31/64			no	
Alexander, Betsy/Betty	60	smallpox	5/17/64	Alexandria	5/22/64			yes	
Alexander, Thomas/Thornton	50	smallpox	5/17/64	Alexandria			5/18/64	no	A government employee
Annis/Amus, Nancy	32	smallpox	1/25/64	Alexandria	3/8/64			no	
Asker, Henry	20	smallpox	6/24/64	Alexandria	8/22/64			no	
Banks, Alberta	10	smallpox	5/13/64	Alexandria	7/25/64			no	
Banks, Ann	23	smallpox	2/11/64	Alexandria			2/20/64	no	
Banks, James H.	25	smallpox	3/6/64	Alexandria			3/15/64	no	
Banks, Jane	30	smallpox	3/6/64	Alexandria	4/4/64			no	
Banks, Julia	3	smallpox	2/11/64	Alexandria	4/8/64			no	
Banks, Mary	36	smallpox	2/1/64	Alexandria			2/11/64	no	
Banks, Nettie A.	45	smallpox	5/13/64	Alexandria	7/25/64			no	
Beale/Beebe, Israel	6	smallpox	4/8/64	Alexandria	5/11/64			no	
Beale, James	16	smallpox	6/27/64	Alexandria	8/1/64			no	“[Eruption] 1 [Day]”
Bender/Beander, Philip H.	17	varioid	2/26/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		yes	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/5/64
Bearman, Permelia	21	smallpox/measles	3/8/64	Fort Ellsworth	3/15/64			yes	
Beaton, Edward	27	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria	7/13/64			no	
Bell, Charles	20	smallpox	4/22/64		5/20/64			yes	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Beverly, Harriet	6	smallpox	4/2/64	Alexandria			4/16/64	yes	Died of lung inflammation
Beverly, Laura	4	smallpox	4/2/64	Alexandria			4/8/64	yes	Died of acute bronchitis
Blackwell, Albert J	8	varioid	3/15/64	Alexandria	5/3/64			yes	
Blackwell, Bernard	2	varioid	4/14/64	Alexandria			4/17/64	yes	
Blackwell, Delia	11	smallpox	3/29/64	Alexandria	5/22/64			no	
Blackwell, Edward	8	varioid	4/14/64	Alexandria	5/22/64			no	
Blackwell, Fanny	9	smallpox	4/14/64	Alexandria	5/22/64			yes	
Blackwell, Mary	40	smallpox	3/5/64	Alexandria	5/2/64			no	
Blackwell, Taylor	15	smallpox	3/7/64	Alexandria			3/26/64	no	
Blanon/Blanham, Thompson	28	smallpox	1/31/64	Page Co., VA			2/9/64	yes	
Blassinger, Jefferson	29	smallpox	2/21/65	Alexandria	6/12/65			no	
Blunt, Anthony	17	smallpox	4/10/65	Alexandria	6/12/65			no	From North Carolina? His contact, George H. Hilton
Bole, Angeline	16	smallpox	6/23/64	Alexandria			7/8/64	no	
Bole, Washington	7	smallpox	7/1/64	Alexandria	7/25/64			no	"no Eruption"
Bonce [Bontz?], George	25	smallpox	2/13/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 5/4/64
Botts/Bolt, John	3	varioid	1/26/64	Alexandria			1/30/64	yes	
Bowman, Curtis?	3	smallpox	5/3/64	field	5/11/64			no	
Brink, Eveline		smallpox	5/7/64	Alexandria	7/13/64			yes	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Brink, George W.		smallpox	5/7/64	Alexandria			5/15/64	no	
Brink, Maria	5	smallpox	5/20/64	Alexandria	7/13/64			no	
Brown, Alice	12 or 13	smallpox	3/23/64	Alexandria		4/22/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with tonsillitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 5/3/64
Brown, Caroline	12	smallpox	4/8/64	Alexandria			5/6/64	no	Died of lung inflammation
Brown, Elias A.	10	smallpox	4/7/64	Alexandria			4/14/64	no	Died of lung inflammation
Brown, Eliza	3 mos	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria			3/27/64	no	
Brown, Hugh	19	varioid/measles	2/18/64	Alexandria			3/2/64	yes	
Brown, Mary	26	smallpox	1/28/64	Richmond, VA		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/24/64
Brown, Mary J.	23	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria	4/3/64				"came to nurse her child"
Brown, Spottswood	45	smallpox	1/15/64	Alexandria	2/11/64			yes	
Bruce, Richard	17	smallpox	4/30/64	field	5/30/64			no	
Bryan, Milton A.	10 or 14	smallpox/varioid	2/27/64	Plowmans Camp? or Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with abscesses on face		yes	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 3/31/64
Caldwell, Creed		varioid	2/21/64	Alexandria	5/7/64			yes	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Canley/Cawley, Alcinda	23	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/9/64
Canley/Cawley, D. Franklin	8	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/9/64
Canley, Littleton	40	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria			3/30/64	no	
Canley, William F.D.	4	smallpox	3/11/64	Alexandria			3/17/64	no	
Carter, Eveline	30	smallpox	7/1/64	Alexandria			7/1/64	no	"[Eruption] 2 [Days]"
Carter, Joseph A.	6	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria	7/11/64			no	
Carter, Louisa			5/30/62		9/21/64				
Carter, Louisa		varioid	9/21/64	Alexandria	9/19/65			no	
Carter, Louisa A.	20	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria	7/11/64			no	
Carter, Martin	20	smallpox	4/28/64	Alexandria			5/5/64	no	
Carter, Mary E.M.A.	2	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria	7/11/64			no	
Carter, Virginia	3	smallpox	7/1/64	Alexandria			8/22/64	no	"[had no Eruption]"
Carter, Wyatt	30	smallpox	4/24/64	Alexandria	5/20/64			no	
Cartwright, Henry		smallpox	5/8/64	Alexandria	7/9/64			no	
Champ, Laura	9	varioid	5/16/64	Alexandria	6/9/64			yes	
Chapman, John	28	smallpox	2/3/64	Washington	3/25/64			no	
Clagett, Amanda	9 mos	smallpox	8/4/65	Alexandria			9/4/65	no	
Clagett, Angeline	22	smallpox	8/4/65	Alexandria	9/14/65			no	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Clark, Nellie		varioid	10/9/64	Alexandria	12/17/64			yes	
Clayton, Edward	23	smallpox	2/8/64	Alexandria	2/21/64			yes	
Coleman, Ada		smallpox	5/6/64	Alexandria			5/28/64	yes	Died of lung inflammation
Coleman, Dacy Ann	16	smallpox	4/5/64	Alexandria	6/9/64			no	
Coleman, Jane	22	smallpox	7/16/64	Alexandria			12/17/64	no	"came to nurse her children"
Coleman, Robert	21	varioid/measles	2/8/64	Alexandria	2/19/64			yes	
Collins, Virginia	18	smallpox	5/1/64	field			5/18/64	no	
Cook, Nathan	9	varioid	3/16/64	Alexandria	4/2/64			yes	
Countz/Kuntz, Jane	27	smallpox	2/11/64	Alexandria	2/23/64			no	"recovered before she came here with her child"
Countz/Kuntz, Sarah		smallpox	2/11/64	Alexandria	2/23/64			no	"was recovering when...admitted"
Cook, William		smallpox	2/21/64	Alexandria			3/13/64	no	
Cox, William	25	varioid	2/27/64	Alexandria			3/6/64	yes	
Craig, Lucretia	30	smallpox	2/11/64	Alexandria			3/11/64	no	
Craig, William	7	smallpox	2/11/64	Alexandria			2/22/64	no	
Davis, Edmund	40	smallpox	2/3/64	Alexandria			3/8/64	no	
Davis, Leanna	40	smallpox	5/14/64	Alexandria			5/20/64	no	
Day, Caroline	1	smallpox	4/2/64	Alexandria	4/21/64			no	
Day, Ellen	23	smallpox	5/20/64	Alexandria	6/21/64			no	
Day, Frank	6	smallpox	5/20/64	Alexandria	6/21/64			no	
Day, Matilda	4	smallpox	3/31/64	Alexandria	5/5/64			no	
Day, Rosetta	60	varioid	4/13/64	Alexandria	4/21/64			yes	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Day, Washington	25	varioid	2/2/64	Charles Co. MD	2/8/64			yes	
Dent, Clara	25	smallpox	5/3/64	field	7/8/64			no	
Dent, Lewis	35	smallpox	4/30/64	field			5/5/64	no	
Dickinson, Elijah	21	smallpox	3/7/64	Alexandria			3/15/64	no	
Diggs, Larkin	28	smallpox	2/3/64	Nottoway Co., VA			2/10/64	no	
Dixon, Samuel	21	smallpox	2/20/64	Alexandria			3/6/64	no	
Dolcey/Dorsey, Hannah	41 or 42	smallpox		Fort Albany		4/22/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with ulcers		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 5/2/64
Dorsey/Darcy, Sarah	30	smallpox	5/16/64	Alexandria			5/22/64	no	Died of lung inflammation
Edwards, Catherine	16	varioid	2/29/64	Alexandria	4/4/64			yes	
Edwards, Lewis (or Lewis, Edward)	22	smallpox	3/20/64	Alexandria			4/23/64	no	
Edmunds, Thornton	16	smallpox	5/23/65	Alexandria	8/15/65			no	
Elkins, Philip	21	varioid	2/6/64	Alexandria			2/23/64	yes	
Ferguson, Mark	8	smallpox	3/6/64	Alexandria			3/16/64	no	
Ferguson, William	30	varioid	3/15/64	Alexandria			3/26/64	yes	
Field, Martha	16	smallpox	2/6/64	Alexandria	4/8/64			no	
Fields, Charles "Charlie"	44	smallpox	4/7/64	Alexandria	5/9/64			no	
Fields, Isabella	3	varioid	4/7/64	Alexandria	5/9/64			yes	
Fields, Lucy	12	varioid	4/27/64	Alexandria	5/9/64			yes	
Fields, Oscolia	13	smallpox	4/7/64	Alexandria			4/28/64	no	
Fisher, Jackson	40	smallpox	1/24/64	Norfolk, VA			2/27/64	no	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Fletcher Caleb/Gabriel	22	varioid	1/6/64	Rappahannock Co., VA	4/12/64			yes	
Franklin/Walker, Lewis	30	varioid	2/20/64	Alexandria			2/24/64	yes	
Freeman, Arthur	27	smallpox	3/24/64	Alexandria			4/6/64	no	
Frye, Dennison	50	varioid	2/24/64	Alexandria	4/23/64			yes	
Garner/Garrison, Charles	26	varioid	4/12/64	Alexandria	7/10/64			yes	
Gaskings, Albert	30	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria	4/7/64			no	“did not have any eruption disease”
Gaskings/Gaskins, Charles H.	1	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria		4/7/64 to L’Ouverture Hospital with abscesses		no	Recovered and discharged from L’Ouverture Hospital 4/13/64
Gaskings, Octavia	23	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria		4/7/64 to L’Ouverture Hospital with tonsillitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L’Ouverture Hospital 4/13/64
Gibson, Darkey	35	smallpox	4/7/64	Alexandria	4/12/64			no	“came to nurse her child”
Gibson, Milly	16	smallpox	4/7/64	Alexandria			4/11/64	no	Died of lung inflammation
Gordon, Mahaley		smallpox	4/21/64	Alexandria	5/11/64			no	
Gordon, Rachael		varioid	4/21/64	Alexandria	5/11/64			yes	
Green/Glenn, Lewis	45	smallpox	1/29/64	Alexandria	2/21/64			no	
Green/Greene, Milly	50	smallpox	4/14/64	Alexandria			4/17/64	no	
Greene, Jane	10	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria			3/12/64	no	
Greene, John	18	smallpox	5/21/64?	Quartermaster Hospital	5/9/65			no	
Griffin, James		varioid	5/5/64	Alexandria	5/28/64			no	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Grimes, H. Gertrude	22	smallpox	3/21/65	Alexandria	3/27/65			yes	
Hamilton, Adalena	35	smallpox	4/12/65	Alexandria	8/15/65			no	
Hamilton, Edmund	9	smallpox	4/12/65	Alexandria	8/15/65			no	
Handley, Henry	16	smallpox	2/7/64	Alexandria			2/14/64	no	
Harris, Benjamin	20	varioid	4/16/64	Alexandria			4/20/64	yes	
Harris, Charles H.	31	smallpox	4/30/64	Alexandria			5/22/64	no	Died of lung inflammation
Harris, John	45	varioid	2/13/64	Alexandria	2/19/64			yes	
Harris, Mary	35	smallpox	4/24/64	Alexandria	5/22/64			no	
Harris, Moses/Morton	6	smallpox	7/11/64	Alexandria	8/12/64			no	
Harris, Norval	24	smallpox	6/13/64	Alexandria	8/13/64			no	
Harrison, James	19	smallpox	4/21/65	Alexandria	5/9/65			no	
Hill, Henry	30	varioid	2/27/64	Alexandria	4/10 or 4/20/64			yes	
Humphreys, Harriet	30	smallpox	5/16/64	Alexandria	7/5/64			no	
Hunter, Henry	24	smallpox	8/7/65	Alexandria				no	
Hurd, William	18	varioid	2/12/64	Alexandria	3/23/64			yes	
Hutchinson, Stantine	23	varioid	2/19/64	Alexandria	2/24/64			yes	"came here to nurse her child, William"
Hutchinson, William	1	smallpox	2/19/64	Alexandria			2/23/64	no	Stantine Hutchinson's son
Jackson, Emanuel	16 or 18	varioid; chronic bronchitis	2/27/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		yes	"Discharged Convalescent" from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/4/64

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Jackson, Henry	24	smallpox	8/7/64	Alexandria	12/17/64			no	“remaining in hospital”
Jackson, William	19	smallpox	4/11/64	Alexandria	7/8/64			yes	
Jefferson, John	29	varioid	11/5/64	Alexandria	2/2/65			yes	
Johnson, Chapman	10	smallpox	4/2/64	Alexandria		4/22/64 to L’Ouverture Hospital with otalgia		no	Kitty Johnson’s son; recovered and discharged from L’Ouverture Hospital 5/4/64
Johnson, Flora	31	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria			3/31/64	no	Died of lung inflammation
Johnson, Henry	70	smallpox	2/16/64	Alexandria	3/20/64*		3/10/64*	no	
Johnson, James	5	smallpox	4/2/64	Alexandria		4/22/64 to L’Ouverture Hospital with abscesses		no	Kitty Johnson’s son; recovered and discharged from L’Ouverture Hospital 5/4/64
Johnson, Joseph	12	smallpox	7/25/65	Alexandria	9/11/65			no	
Johnson, Julia		smallpox	5/10/64	Alexandria	5/17/64			no	
Johnson, Kitty	30	varioid	4/2/64	Alexandria		4/22/64 to L’Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		yes	James and Chapman Johnson’s mother; “came here to nurse her children”; recovered and discharged from L’Ouverture Hospital 5/4/64

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Johnson, Louisa	12						9/22/63		[from 'Gladwin' death record]
Johnson, Maria		varioid	5/10/64	Alexandria	6/9/64			yes	"came to nurse her sister"
Johnson, Robert/Richard	15 or 16	varioid, acute bronchitis	2/23/64 or 2/24/64	L'Ouverture Hospital, Alexandria			3/8/64	yes	"of Alexandria"
Johnson, Simon			1/29/64		9/11/65				
Jones, Amy	40	smallpox	3/17/64	Alexandria			3/25/64		
Jones, Ann	29	smallpox	4/8/64	Alexandria	5/5/64			no	
Jones, Charles	11	smallpox	4/21/65	Alexandria	5/28/65			no	
Jones, Daniel	9	smallpox	4/21/65	Alexandria	5/28/65			no	
Jones, Eliza	7	smallpox	4/21/65	Alexandria	5/28/65			no	
Jones, Henry	6	smallpox	3/26/64	Alexandria			3/28/64	no	
Jones, Louisa	5	varioid	3/17/64	Alexandria	4/15/64			yes	
Jones, Mary	1	smallpox	7/25/65	Alexandria	9/11/65			no	
Jones, Moses	10	smallpox	4/4/64	field		4/22/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with ulcers		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 5/4/64
Jones, Sandy [Alexander?]	8	varioid	4/11/64	Alexandria	4/20/64			yes	
Jones, Susan A.	19	smallpox	7/25/65	Alexandria	9/11/65			no	
Keith, George	20	smallpox	2/9/64	Culpeper Co., VA	3/1/64			no	
Lawson, John	35		12/21/63	Culpeper Co., VA	3/30/64			no	
Lewis, John	5	smallpox	4/8/64	Alexandria	5/11/64			no	
Lewis, Julia Ann	19	smallpox	2/11/64	Alexandria	2/14/64			no	
Lewis, Letitia		smallpox	4/21/64	Alexandria	5/11/64			no	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Lewis, Mack	20	varioid	3/25/64	Alexandria	4/4/64			yes	
Lewis, Martha	16	varioid	4/1/64	Alexandria	5/5/64			no	“came to nurse child. She had Smallpox a year ago.”
Lomberger, Lewis	22	varioid	12/26/63	Warrenton, VA	2/6/64			yes	
Lowe, Lucy Ann			5/30/62		9/21/64				
Lowe, William			10/12/62		9/21/64				
Lucas, Alexander	54	smallpox	4/11/64	Alexandria	5/10/64			yes	
Mack, Nelson	28		12/29/63	Baltimore, MD		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with abscesses on body		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/18/64
Mackey, Josiah	20	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria			6/21/64	no	
Mallory, Nimrod	23	varioid	3/15/64	Alexandria	3/19/64			yes	
Marquise, Robert	32	varioid	3/21/65	transport Nevada	3/27/65				
Marr, Mary Elizabeth	9 or 14	smallpox	3/23/64	Alexandria		4/22/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with abscesses		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 5/4/64
Marshall, Lucy	25	smallpox	2/14/64	Alexandria			2/21/64	no	
Marshall, William	15	varioid	12/10/63	Culpeper Co., VA	9/14/64			yes	
Mason, Forrester	35	smallpox	3/23/64	Alexandria			3/31/64	no	
Mason, Samuel	27	varioid	3/25/64	Alexandria	4/26/64			yes	
McGee, David	23	smallpox	2/2/64	Alexandria	3/23/64			no	
McIntosh, John	13	varioid	3/2/64	Alexandria			3/7/64	no	
Miles, Jane	20	varioid	5/17/64	Alexandria	5/23/64			yes	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Miles, Martha A.	6 mos	smallpox	5/17/64	Alexandria			5/19/64	no	
Miles, Mary J.	6 mos	smallpox	5/17/64	Alexandria			5/17/64	no	
Miller, David	24	smallpox	4/15/64	Alexandria	5/22/64			no	
Miller, Henry	46	varioid	4/28/64	Alexandria	5/24/64			yes	
Minor, Charles	1	varioid	5/16/64	Alexandria	7/22/65			yes	
Minor, Emily	23	varioid	5/16/64	Alexandria	7/8/64			yes	
Minor, Emily		varioid	9/21/64	Alexandria	7/22/65			no	
Minor, Ephraim	10	varioid	5/16/64	Alexandria	7/22/65			yes	
Minor, Jordan		varioid	10/30/64	Alexandria	2/5/65			yes	
Minor, Millie	8	varioid	5/16/64	Alexandria	7/22/65			yes	
Monroe, Mary E.	22	smallpox	3/18/64	Alexandria	3/31/64			no	
Morgan, John	21	varioid	3/21/65	transport <i>Nevada</i>	3/27/65				
Neff, Samuel	70	smallpox	3/25/64	Alexandria			4/2/64	no	
Neil, Caroline	18	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria			6/15/64	no	government employee
Neil, Creasey	6	smallpox	6/20/64	Alexandria	7/25/64			no	
Neil, Duval/David	12	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria	7/25/64			no	
Neil, Hennie	30	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria			6/16/64	no	
Neil, Kitty		smallpox	6/20/64	Alexandria	7/25/64			no	
Neil, Mary	10	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria	7/25/64			no	
Neil, Susan	25	smallpox	5/24/64	Alexandria	7/5/64			no	
Neil, William	7	smallpox	6/20/64	Alexandria	7/25/64			no	
Nelson, Sarah Jane	20	smallpox	9/1/63	Rappahanno ck Co., VA	7/8/64			no	
Newby, Jerry	10	smallpox	4/5/64	Alexandria			5/6/64	no	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Nicholson/ Nickerson, Frank	2	smallpox	2/19/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with eczema		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/13/64
Nickens/Nickson, Mary L.	9	smallpox	3/18/64	Alexandria	4/8/64			no	
Nickson, Dolly Ann	24	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria			4/11/64	no	Died of lung or bowel inflammation
Nickson, Silas	23	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria			3/27/64	no	
Norton/Nutting/ Nodden, Mary	25	smallpox	3/13/64	Alexandria		4/7/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with conjunctivitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/19/64
Oscar, William	15	varioid	2/7/64	Alexandria	2/11/64			yes	
Passey/Pessy, Thomas	21	smallpox	3/23/64	Fort Berry	4/15/64			no	
Payne, Jessie	26	smallpox	1/30/64	Fairfax Co., VA			2/9/64		
Payne, Philo/Philip	27	smallpox	2/19/64				2/26/64	no	"Contraband"
Payton, Adeline	23	smallpox	4/4/64	Alexandria	4/13/64			no	"came to nurse her child"
Payton, Richard	3	smallpox	4/4/64	Alexandria			4/12/64	no	
Pleasant, Alexander	12	smallpox	8/9/65	Alexandria	9/14/65			no	
Randolph, Edward	22	smallpox	2/14/64	Alexandria			2/27/64	no	
Ransom, Isaac		smallpox	3/6/65	Fort Ward	6/12/65			no	
Reddick, Moses	15	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria	4/20/64			no	
Ricks, Griffin	37	smallpox	3/8/64	Alexandria			5/2/64	no	
Robinson, J.R.					3/29/64				

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Robinson, J. Sarah	22	varioid	2/3/64	Alexandria	7/8/64			yes	
Robinson, James	5	smallpox	2/3/64	Alexandria	3/27/64			no	
Robinson, Leanna	3	smallpox	7/24/64	Alexandria	1/18/65			no	
Rodgers, Joseph	18	smallpox	6/24/64	Alexandria	8/22/65			no	
Rolls/Ralls, George	19	smallpox	4/3/64	Alexandria			4/13/64	no	
Rolls, John	60	varioid	4/26/64	Alexandria	5/20/64			yes	
Sacks, Dennis	17	smallpox	4/6/64	Alexandria	5/5/64			no	
Sanders/Sands, Ellen	19	varioid	5/20/64	Alexandria	7/5/64			yes	
Savage, Andrew	19	smallpox	2/7/64	Alexandria			2/10/64	no	
Scott, Lucy Ann	18 or 19	smallpox	2/13/64	Alexandria		3/10/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with syphilis		no	Died at L'Ouverture Hospital of peritonitis 3/25/64
Shackleford, Berta	11	varioid	4/13/64	Alexandria	5/5/64			yes	
Shackelford, Howard	15	varioid	4/2/64	Alexandria	5/11/64			yes	
Shelton, Betsy	50	smallpox	4/6/64	Alexandria	5/11/64			no	
Sherman, Reuben	50	smallpox	5/29/65	15 th Army Corps				no	
Simms, George	23	smallpox	1/27/65	Alexandria	2/21/64			no	
Simms, John	50	smallpox	3/13/64	Alexandria			3/17/64	no	
Slider, George	40	smallpox	3/11/64	Alexandria	3/12/64			no	
Smith, Eliza	45 or 60	smallpox	2/7/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/13/64
Smith, George	25	smallpox	4/11/64	Alexandria	5/5/64			no	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Smith, Samuel	24	smallpox	8/4/65	Alexandria	9/14/65			no	
Smith, Thornton	50	smallpox	4/8/64	Alexandria	5/11/64			no	
Sparks, Orange	33	smallpox	3/20/64	Alexandria	7/5/64			no	
Spence(r), John		smallpox	5/9/64	Alexandria	7/5/64			yes	
Spotsett, George	30	smallpox	4/10/65	Alexandria				no	Contact is Willis Spotsett in Washington, DC
Spruel, Henry	30	smallpox	2/19/64	Alexandria		4/7/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with inflammation of left eye lid		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/8/64
Steele, William	15	varioid	5/17/65	Quartermaster Dept.				yes	
Strother, Edmond			7/30/62						
Suttle/Settles, Martha		smallpox	5/5/64	Alexandria	7/25/64			no	
Sutton, Shepherd	40	smallpox	7/20/64	Alexandria	12/17/64			no	"[Eruption] 3 [Days]"
Taylor, Catherine	7	smallpox	4/11/64	Alexandria	7/8/64			no	
Taylor, Fanny	31	smallpox	3/15/64	Alexandria			4/1/64	no	
Taylor, Lizzie	19	varioid	6/1/65	Alexandria	6/1/65			yes	
Taylor, Robert	18	smallpox	2/20/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with "Frozen Right Foot"		no	"Discharged Convalescent" from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/4/64
Thomas, Alice	1	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with bronchitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/9/64

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Thomas, Edward	50	smallpox	5/20/64	Alexandria	6/1/64			no	
Thomas, Jane	30	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/9/64
Thomas, Lizzie	7	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/9/64
Thomas, Nabias	15	smallpox	2/12/64	Maryland	2/65			no	
Thomas, Samuel	21	varioid	12/10/63	Alexandria	2/5/64			yes	
Thompson/ Thornton, Charles	30	smallpox	1/26/64	Alexandria	2/9/64			no	
Thompson, Charles	1	smallpox	5/3/64	field			5/12/64	no	
Thompson, Eliza	23	smallpox	5/3/64	field	5/12/64			no	
Thompson, Elizabeth	4	smallpox	2/2/64	Alexandria			2/10/64	no	
Thompson, George	18	smallpox	3/3/64	Alexandria	3/15/64			no	
Thompson, Mary Ann	50	varioid	2/2/64	Alexandria	2/12/64			yes	
Thompson/ Thomas, Samuel	21	varioid	12/10/63	Alexandria	2/5/64			yes	
Thornton, Davenport		smallpox	3/31/64	Alexandria			4/22/64	no	
Thornton, Jane	6	smallpox	3/31/64	Alexandria			4/23/64	no	Died of lung inflammation
Thornton, Maria	2	varioid	4/2/64	Alexandria			4/15/64	no	Died of lung inflammation
Thornton, Minta	35	smallpox	4/2/64	Alexandria	5/3/64			yes	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Thornton, William	40	smallpox	4/2/64	Alexandria			4/8/64	no	Died of lung or larynx inflammation
Toba, Jane	40	varioid	3/21/65	Alexandria	3/27/65			yes	
Tolliver, John	30	smallpox	1/26/64	Alexandria	4/12/64			no	
Travers, Newton	40	varioid	11/1/63	King George Co., VA	12/9/64			yes	
Travis/Travers, Newton	30	varioid	3/16/64	Alexandria		12/9/64 to "Freedmen's Camp" [Freedman's Village]		yes	
Unknown child	9 mos	varioid	1/26/64				2/5/64	yes	
Unknown child	3 wks	smallpox	2/14/64	Alexandria	2/24/64			no	
Unknown man		smallpox	7/31/64	Alexandria			8/1/64	no	
Unknown woman		smallpox	4/28/65				4/29/65	no	
Walker, Joshua	30	smallpox	4/22/64				4/26/64	yes	
Wanzer/Walzer, Julia	30	smallpox	2/17/64	Alexandria	3/11/64			no	
Wanzer/Wensor, Julia	50	smallpox	2/11/64	Alexandria	3/2/64			no	
Washington, Bert	16	smallpox	4/11/64	Alexandria			5/12/64	no	
Washington, Caroline	17	varioid	2/26/64	Alexandria	7/8/64			yes	
Washington, Caroline		varioid	9/21/64	Alexandria	1/18/65			no	
Washington, Dennis	60	varioid	4/29/64	Alexandria	5/23/64			yes	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Washington, Eliza			9/7/63		9/21/64				
Washington, Eliza		varioid	9/21/64	Alexandria	11/3/64			no	
Washington, Henry	22	smallpox	5/3/65	Alexandria	8/15/65			no	
Washington, James	24	smallpox	2/6/64	Alexandria	3/19/64			no	
Washington, Lemuel			12/26/62		9/19/65				
Washington, Malinda "Lindey" Jane	8	smallpox	5/1/63	Alexandria	3/13/64			no	
Washington, Rebecca Jane "Becky"	6 or 8	smallpox	5/1/63	Alexandria		3/12/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital		no	Sarah Ann Washington's daughter. Recovered and released from L'Ouverture Hospital 5/4/64 to go to Freedman's Village.
Washington, Samuel	10	varioid	1/10/64	Prince [William Co., Va?]	4/11/64			yes	
Washington, Sarah Ann	24 or 25	smallpox	5/1/63	Alexandria		3/12/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic pneumonia		no	Rebecca Washington's mother. Released from L'Ouverture Hospital 5/4/64 to go to Freedman's Village.

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Washington, William	30	smallpox	3/18/64	Alexandria			3/31/64	no	Died of lung inflammation or congestion
Watson, Warren	35	smallpox	2/12/64	Alexandria	2/29/64			no	
Weathers, Sally	3	smallpox	7/16/64	Alexandria	12/17/64			no	"had no Eruption"
Weathers, Winter	6	smallpox	7/16/64	Alexandria	12/17/64			no	"Eruption 5 Days"
Weaver, William	21	varioid	1/26/64	Alexandria	2/11/64			yes	
Webb, Mary	40	smallpox	1/20/64	Alexandria	2/20/64			no	
Webb, Mary Jr.	15	varioid	1/20/64	Alexandria	2/20/64			yes	
Weeden, Peter	37	smallpox	4/20/64	Alexandria	5/24/64			no	
West, Moses	27	smallpox	3/17/64	Alexandria	4/19/64			no	
West, William	22	smallpox	2/9/64	Culpeper Co., VA	3/4/64			no	
Whaley, Adeline	36	smallpox	1/12/64	Fairfax Co., VA	4/24/64			no	
White, Anderson	38	smallpox	3/20/64	Alexandria	4/20/64			no	
White, Eliza	20	smallpox	6/10/64	Alexandria	7/11/64			no	"came to nurse her husband"
White, Elliott F.	2	smallpox	6/10/64	Alexandria	7/11/64			no	"came along with mother"
White, Peter	26	smallpox	6/8/64	Alexandria	7/13/64			no	
Whiting, Frank	37	smallpox/erysipelas	2/6/64	Alexandria	3/18/64			no	
Whiting, Frank	35	smallpox	3/26/64	Alexandria			3/30/64		
Williams, Arthur	18	varioid	5/30/62	Stafford Co., VA	2/14/64			yes	
Williams, Benjamin	34	smallpox	2/10/64	Culpeper Co., VA	2/19/64			no	

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Williams, Charles	13	smallpox	7/17/65	camp of First Maine Infantry		7/17/65 to L'Ouverture Hospital			
Williams, Clara/Chloe	12 or 13	smallpox	3/22/64	Alexandria		4/22/64 to L'Ouverture with chronic bronchitis		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/28/64
Williams, Eliza			pre-2/3/64		2/13/64				
Williams, Elizabeth	22	varioid	2/13/64	Alexandria	3/11/64			yes	
Williams, Henry	19	varioid	3/23/64	Alexandria	4/18/64			yes	
Williams, Henry	6 or 30	smallpox	8/10/64	Alexandria			8/21/64	no	A government employee?
Williams, James	36		1/1/63	Alexandria	2/18/63			yes	
Williams, James	36	varioid	2/7/64	Alexandria	2/18/64			yes	
Williams, Londie	5	smallpox	5/16/64	Alexandria	5/23/64			no	
Williams, Montella		varioid	2/15/64		2/21/64				
Willis, Richard B.	26	smallpox	3/10/64	Alexandria			3/13/64	no	
Wilson, Frank	25	smallpox	2/14/64	Alexandria			2/24/64	no	
Wilson, James	18	varioid	1/15/64	Alexandria	2/18/64			yes	
Winters, William	24	varioid	2/2/64	Port Tobacco, MD	2/29/64			yes	
Wormley, Lucinda	35	varioid	1/26/64	Alexandria			2/6/64	yes	
Wright/Light/Bright, James	35 or 19	smallpox	2/6/64	Maryland		4/7/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital		no	Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 5/4/64, to go to Freedman's Village

Name	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence admitted	Released	Transferred	Died	Previously vaccinated	Notes
Young, Caroline	30	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with "ulceration of the Breast"		no	"came here [Claremont] to nurse her children. She had Varioloid two years ago." Discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/16/64
Young, Eliza E.	7	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria			3/11/64	no	
Young, Laura E.	9	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with chronic bronchitis			Recovered and discharged from L'Ouverture Hospital 4/16/64
Young, Mary E.	10	smallpox	3/1/64	Alexandria		3/27/64 to L'Ouverture Hospital with cutaneous abscesses		no	Died 4/17/64. "Recovered... [but] Pulmonary Inflammation then set in. It was relieved but was followed by ulcers upon the Epiglottis and in the Larynx, with, ultimately, membranous effusion in the Larynx."

Soldiers:

Abbreviations

Bn	Battalion
Cpl	Corporal
IL CI	Illinois Colored Infantry
MA Cav	Massachusetts Cavalry
Pvt	Private
Sgt	Sergeant
USCC	United States Colored Cavalry
USCHA	United States Colored Heavy Artillery
USCI	United States Colored Infantry
VRC	Veteran Reserve Corps

*The three men below whose names are followed by asterisks were admitted to Claremont in 1865, and their information is drawn directly or indirectly from morning reports. Thus, their recorded admittance and release or transfer dates are probably a couple of days later than the actual events.

Name/Rank	Unit	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence Admitted	Released to Duty	Transferred	Died	Previously Vaccinated
Ackaz/Ackis, Smallwood, Pvt	Co. E, 23 USCI	25	smallpox	3/29/64	regimental hospital	7/12/64			no
Bernard, Peter, Pvt	Co. A, 29 USCI	18	smallpox	5/15/64	Alexandria	7/12/64			no
Cook, James, Pvt	Co. H, 23 USCI	22	varioid	4/25/64	Alexandria	5/5/64			yes
Dolley/Dollay, Charles, Pvt	Co. F, 23 USCI	30	varioid/ smallpox	4/24/64	regimental hospital	5/26/64			yes
Flowers, Cato, Pvt	Co. C/H, 29 USCI	17	smallpox	5/14/64	Alexandria			6/12/64	no

Name/Rank	Unit	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence Admitted	Released to Duty	Transferred	Died	Previously Vaccinated
Forten, Llewellyn, Pvt	Co. H, 23 USCI	18	smallpox/varioid	4/19/64	regimental hospital	5/22/64			yes
Gard [Guard], Timothy, Pvt	Co. D, 29 USCI	19	varioid	5/4/64	Alexandria	5/31/64			yes
Gasper, Cyrus C./P., Pvt	Co. K, 39 USCI	19	smallpox	4/29/64	regimental hospital			5/12/64	no
Henry, James, Pvt	Co. B, 5 MA Cav	19	smallpox	3/28/65	L'Ouverture General Hospital		to L'Ouverture General Hospital 6/7/65 [then convalescent transferred to Slough General Hospital 9/16/65]		no
Henry, Samuel, Pvt	Co. C, 30 USCI	16	smallpox	5/14/65	L'Ouverture General Hospital		to L'Ouverture General Hospital 7/17/65; then to Slough General Hospital 9/16/65		no
Housman, David, Pvt	Co. B, 30 USCI	24	smallpox	5/3/64	field	5/30/64			no
Jackson, Andrew, Pvt	Co. F, 23 USCI	21	smallpox	3/29/64	regimental hospital	4/4/64			no
Jackson, Andrew, Pvt	Co. F, 23 USCI	20	varioid	4/14/64	Camp Chase [Camp Casey?]			4/30/64 inflamed lungs	yes
Jacobs, Wesley, Pvt	Co. F, 5 MA Cav	20	smallpox	5/22/64	Alexandria			6/14/64	no
Jennings, Moses, Pvt	Co. E, 23 USCI	26	smallpox/varioid	4/21/64	regimental hospital	5/5/64			yes
Johnson, Samuel, Pvt	Co. F, 23 USCI	33	varioid/smallpox	5/1/64	field	5/30/64			no

Name/Rank	Unit	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence Admitted	Released to Duty	Transferred	Died	Previously Vaccinated
Latham/Lathram, Robert, Pvt	Co. G, 8 USCHA	30	smallpox	5/11/65	L'Ouverture General Hospital (where adm 4/21/65 with chronic diarrhea)	discharged 6/29/65			no
McCauley/McCullough, Milton, Pvt	Co. F, 23 USCI	22	smallpox	4/7/64	regimental hospital	5/5/64			yes
McCaslin, William, First Sgt	Co. A, 29 USCI	34	varioid	5/19/64	Alexandria	5/31/64			yes
Minor/Miner, Joseph, Cpl*	Co. D, 23 USCI	19	smallpox	3/27/65	L'Ouverture General Hospital		to Slough Barracks General Hospital 9/19/65		no
Neal, John H., Pvt	Co. K, 30 USCI	25	smallpox	5/3/64	field	5/28/64			yes
Phillips, James R., Pvt	Co. E, 29 USCI	20	smallpox	5/10/64	Camp Casey			5/22/64	no
Russell, Charles, Pvt*	Co. G, 115 USCI	38	smallpox	2/19/65	Augur General Hospital, Camp Distribution		to Slough Barracks General Hospital 9/19/65		no
Suttle(s), Lane, Pvt	Co. G, 30 USCI	??	smallpox/varioid	5/5/64	Alexandria	6/9/64			no
Towers, William H., Pvt	Co. G, 23 USCI or prob. 22 Bn VRC		smallpox	4/3/64		7/1/64			
Unknown	unknown	??	smallpox	3/16/64	unknown			3/19/64	unknown
Washington, George, Pvt	Co. B, 30 USCI	22	smallpox	5/3/64	field	5/30/64			no

Name/Rank	Unit	Age	Disease	Admitted	Whence Admitted	Released to Duty	Transferred	Died	Previously Vaccinated
Washington, Robert, Pvt	Co. E, 2 VA Vols “Colored”	20	varioid	3/20/64	regimental hospital	5/5/64			yes
Wells, Jacob, Pvt	Co. C/D, 23 USCI	20	varioid/ smallpox	4/6/64	regimental hospital	5/5/64			yes
Williams, Charles, Pvt	Unassigned 5 USCC	28	smallpox/ varioid	5/20/64	Alexandria	7/12/64			yes
Williams, Kinney, Pvt	Co. B/C, 30 USCI	18	smallpox	5/3/64	field	5/30/64			no