



FLORIDA DEPARTMENT of STATE

RICK SCOTT
Governor

KEN DETZNER
Secretary of State

May 4, 2012

Ms. Carol Shull, Keeper
National Register of Historic Places
Department of Interior
1201 Eye Street, N.W., 8th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Ms. Shull:

Enclosed are the nomination and additional materials for the

African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

We believe this site might be worthy of National Historic Landmark designation, and would appreciate your comments as to whether designation should be pursued.

Please do not hesitate to contact me at (850) 245-6364 if you have any questions or require any additional information.

Sincerely,

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

Enclosures

DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

R. A. Gray Building • 500 South Bronough Street • Tallahassee, Florida 32399-0250
Telephone: 850.245.6300 • Facsimile: 850.245.6436 • www.flheritage.com
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(Rev. 10-90)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name African Cemetery at Higgs Beachother names/site number MO 3445

2. Location

street & number 1001 Atlantic Boulevard n/a ☐ not for publicationcity or town Key West ☐ vicinitystate Florida code FL countv Monroe code 087 zip code 33040

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this ☒ nomination ☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ☒ nationally ☒ statewide ☒ locally. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Barbara C. Mattick / DSHPO 5/4/2012
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State Historic Preservation Officer, Division of Historical Resources

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

- ☐ entered in the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet

- ☐ determined eligible for the
National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.

- ☐ determined not eligible for the
National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.

- ☐ removed from the National
Register.

- ☐ other, (explain) _____

African Cemetery at Higgs Beach

Name of Property

Monroe Co., FL

County and State

5. Classification**Ownership of Property**

(Check as many boxes as apply)

- ☐ private
☒ public-local
☐ public-State
☐ public-Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box)

- ☐ buildings
☐ district
☒ site
☐ structure
☐ object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include any previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing**Noncontributing**

0	0	buildings
1	0	sites
0	2	structures
0	1	objects
1	3	total

Name of related multiple property listings

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

n/a

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use**Historic Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions)

Funerary: Cemetery

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

Funerary: Cemetery

Landscape: Park

7. Description**Architectural Classification**

(Enter categories from instructions)

n/a

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation n/a

walls

roof

other

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance**Applicable National Register Criteria**

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- ☐ **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☐ **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☒ **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- ☐ **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ **B** removed from its original location.
- ☐ **C** a birthplace or grave.
- ☒ **D** a cemetery.
- ☐ **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- ☐ **F** a commemorative property.
- ☐ **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References**Bibliography**

Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- ☐ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

Archaeology: Historic -- Non-Aboriginal

Period of Significance

1860

1862

Significant Dates

1860

1862

Significant Person

n/a

Cultural Affiliation

African

Architect/Builder

n/a

Primary location of additional data:

- ☒ State Historic Preservation Office
- ☐ Other State Agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- ☐ Local government
- ☐ University
- ☒ Other

Name of Repository

Mel Fisher Maritime Society, Key West

African Cemetery at Higgs Beach
Name of Property

Monroe Co., FL
County and State

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property Approximately 6 acres

UTM References

(Place additional references on a continuation sheet.)

1	1	7	4	2	0	3	6	0	2	7	1	4	9	3	0
Zone			Easting						Northing						
2															

3															
Zone			Easting						Northing						
4															

☐ See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Corey Malcom/Archaeologist & Diane Silvia/Monroe Co. Historic Preservation Planner, Barbara Mattick/DSHPO

organization Bureau of Historic Preservation date April 2012

street & number R.A. Gray Building, 500 S. Bronough Street telephone 850-245-6333

city or town Tallahassee state Florida zip code 32399-0250

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional items

(check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

name Monroe County, County Administrator Roman Gastei

street & number 1100 Simonton Street telephone 305-292-4441

city or town Key West state Florida zip code 33040

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and amend listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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National Park Service

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Section number 7 Page 1

**AFRICAN CEMETERY AT HIGGS BEACH
KEY WEST, MONROE COUNTY, FLORIDA
DESCRIPTION**

SUMMARY

The African Cemetery at Higgs Beach Archaeological Site is the final resting place of 295 Africans that died in 1860 after being brought to Key West by the United States Navy during efforts to eradicate the slave trade. In separate encounters during the spring of 1860, the Navy captured three American ships carrying a total of approximately 1,432 Africans bound for slavery in the Caribbean. The Africans were rescued and brought to Key West to await transit back to Africa. During this nearly three-month waiting period, while arrangements were made for the return voyages, 295 of the Africans perished as a result of the horrendous conditions during their voyage on the slave ships. They were buried in individual coffins at Higgs Beach in unmarked graves. In 1862, the West Martello Tower was constructed just west of the cemetery, necessitating the relocation of many of the graves. Reburials of the relocated remains were made northwest of the West Martello Tower and to the north of the West Martello Tower. The burials to the north are now separated from the original burial site by Atlantic Boulevard; it is likely that some burials exist below the road. The site includes three areas of burials: the original burial site east of the West Martello; and two areas where many bodies were relocated in 1862, a small collection just northwest of the West Martello, and very large concentration north of where Atlantic Boulevard is now located. There are three non-contributing resources: a protective/interpretive concrete slab over original burial site, a fence with piers surrounding the original burial site, and a Florida Historical Marker.

SETTING

The African Cemetery is located at present-day Higgs Beach, 1001 Atlantic Boulevard, in Key West, Monroe County, Florida. Atlantic Boulevard was constructed through the cemetery site in the early 20th century, perhaps c. 1903 or 1912. This original cemetery burials was established in 1860 on what was then a desolate, sandy beach ridge approximately a mile east of where the Africans were cared for in "barracoons," an enclosure or barracks used for temporary confinement of slaves. The term "barracoon" is derived from the Spanish word "barraca," meaning hut.

In 1862, the United States Navy constructed West Martello directly on a portion of the African Cemetery. A Captain Hunt had written a letter on August 31, 1861, to the absentee owners of Tract 27, where the Africans were buried, in an attempt to acquire the property for the military. He wrote: "...it is made very uninviting for bush colonists by the burying grounds where, besides numerous human waifs left stranded on this ocean outpost, some 200 to 300 poor victims of the African Slave Trade, sleep their last sleep in a long and most desolate row of sand graves" (Foster 1974:141). On September 20, 1861, Hunt wrote a letter to the officials in Washington explaining: "There are two minor objections to your site No. 2, which I will indicate. 1st it is the burying grounds where some 300 Africans were buried last year. 2nd the sand from the beach on each side is needed for the cover face, & if taken for tower No. 2 must be replaced by sand from the beach farther East" (Foster 1974:145). Despite his advice, the construction of the tower proceeded.

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For ground clearance and excavation in preparation for the construction of West Martello, African graves on the site were removed and relocated. It is noted that the sight and smell of the dead was revolting to the workers. The bodies were removed prior to construction and reburied at an undocumented location (melfisher.org 2002). William Cornick, an Army surgeon reasoned the dis-interments might be a source of yellow fever. In a letter dated June 20, 1862, he wrote:

Some local conditions no doubt favored its [yellow fever's] spread and added to its virulence, such as a large amount of decaying vegetation resulting from the clearing of land for military purposes, the breaking of ground for gardens, the excavations involved in the construction of fortifications, and during the progress of the last, the opening and removal of about three hundred graves which is said to have occasioned an intolerable odor (Schmidt 1992:255).

While the location of the reburial site is not specified, Corey Malcom (2010) points out that an 1888 medical journal article by A. Stub suggests it was near the original location, as it refers to the lingering odor:

The United States Engineering Department, on the other side of the island, caused the resurrection of the corpses of Africans buried on the south beach two or three years previous, being obliged to use that portion of ground for military purposes. The graves were opened and the bodies transferred to another locality. I have been told that the removal of the corpses caused an almost insupportable stench, which infested the locality for some time. The work was done by laborers, mostly composed of Irish lately imported from Europe (Stub 1889).

Furthermore, an anonymous article from June 1903 notes the discovery of a mass grave:

While digging out rock for use on the streets of Key West, commissioner Fulford's men uncovered a trench containing about 50 skeletons. They were heaped together and many of them were face downward. It is probably that the bodies were those of slaves who died of some contagious disease, as hundreds of African slaves, captured in the gulf, were landed on the beach near this spot and kept until they were sent back to Africa.

INVESTIGATIONS

Archaeologist Corey Malcom began intensively researching the African Cemetery in 2000. The African Cemetery was depicted on an 1861 map drawn by James C. Clapp of the Army Corps of Engineers. By comparing that map with one from 1865 that shows West Martello, and with recent maps, Malcom determined

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the area likely to contain primary burials. In 2002, in order to pinpoint the location of graves without subsurface disturbance, a ground-penetrating radar study was conducted around West Martello. At least nine burials were located in the only area around the Martello that has not been previously disturbed by construction or erosion. The cluster of burials extends over a 5 by 12 meter area, off the northeast side of the Martello, immediately south of the sidewalk (Conyers and Malcom 2002).

Malcom (2010) notes that Jefferson Browne's account from 1912 indicates the re-burial site was near the site of the original burial grounds, shown on William Whitehead's Map as Tract 27.

The disinterment of human bones on the southeast side of the island, where excavations were being made for public improvements a few years ago, gave rise to the impression that a public burying ground [for Key West residents] had once been located in that vicinity. These remains, however, were those of the Africans who were brought to Key West in two [sic] captured slavers in 1860; a number of these died here, and were buried some distance from the barracoon, at the place where the bones were found (Browne 1912:49).

In an interview conducted by Malcom, Key West native Armando Sosa pointed out that he recalls when workers from his neighborhood came upon burials while installing water and sewer service for the World War II-period military barracks on Atlantic Boulevard. Sosa specified that these were on the north side of Atlantic Boulevard across from West Martello and the original African Cemetery (Malcom 2010).

In November 2010, an expanded ground-penetrating radar study was conducted. Readings were obtained from 10 grids in search of burials that could be impacted by re-development of the area and the possible relocation of the adjacent portion of Atlantic Boulevard. Graves were found in the area immediately northwest of West Martello between the bike path and parking area. Sosa's recollections were confirmed by the study that clearly shows the location of burials in the park area just northeast of West Martello, north of the boulevard. These burials may be in a secondary context, re-interred approximately one year after the initial burial (Conyers 2010; Malcom 2010 and Map by William Horn Architect 2010). Conyers explains the radar cannot penetrate asphalt or concrete, and it is likely graves exist below the surface of the bike trail, sidewalk, and Atlantic Boulevard (Conyers 2010).

West Martello originally had a central tower, a casemated counterscarp to the north, and a double tier of casemate batteries on the south which was never completed because, with the development of rapid fire artillery, it was obsolete, and construction was stopped in 1866. Eduardo H. Gato, a cigar manufacturer purchased the property in the early 1890s and the fort was used for housing, stables and a stockade. This fortification was later modified by the Army in 1898, during the Spanish America War, by the addition of two concrete emplacements on the southern casements for light coastal artillery guns. During World War II, an anti-

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aircraft battery was added. Following the war, the property was considered surplus and was sold to Monroe County. The central tower was partially demolished, and over time there has been extensive damage and deterioration of brickwork. It is currently a partial ruin but still serves as headquarters for the Key West Garden Club (Thurston 1976; Malcolm 2002).

In 2001, a State of Florida Historical Marker was erected to commemorate the African Cemetery and to educate the public on the significance of what occurred at the site. The marker was located at the east end of the cluster of burials discovered during the first GPR study, in an area 5 by 12 meters, off the northeast side of the West Martello, immediately south of the sidewalk (Conyers and Malcom 2002). In order to assure protection of the burials from beach erosion and vandalism, a concrete slab was poured over this entire area. This slab was developed into an interpretive memorial. It depicts the continent of Africa, showing the slavers' route to Cuba; the capture of the vessels and their landing in Key West; and finally the route taken by the Africans in their journey to Liberia. This painting is overlaid with incised and painted lines that depict the actual graves below that were discovered with the ground penetrating radar. The slab is bounded by ten educational markers that explore African symbolism and philosophy. On August 21, 2011, the 3rd Annual Community Observance of the Key West African Cemetery was held at the site, hosted by the Monroe County Black Heritage Foundation (Hentz 2011; Malcom 2011; and O'Neal 2011).

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AFRICAN CEMETERY AT HIGGS BEACH
KEY WEST, MONROE COUNTY, FLORIDA
SIGNIFICANCE

SUMMARY

The African Cemetery at Higgs Beach Archaeological Site is significant at the local, state, and national levels under **Criterion D** in the area of **Archaeology: Historic --Non-Aboriginal**. This cemetery contains the human remains of some of the last victims of the African slave trade that had been practiced beginning in the 1500s by European nations, South America, and the United States. The compound (barracoons) built at Whitehead Point was built to temporarily house 1,432 rescued Africans from three of the last American-owned slave ships: *Bogata*, *Wildfire*, and *William*. The survivors were held for 85 days before they were taken back to Africa. Buried at this site, in three different areas, are 295 victims who did not survive the wait. The cemetery on Higgs Beach in Key West serves as a somber reminder of a despicable institution that is part of world history. Archaeologist Corey Malcom noted, "this is not a slave cemetery; it's a cemetery of African refugees...I don't know of any comparable sites in the New World" (*Miami Herald*, September 17, 2002). The property has yielded and is likely to yield additional information important in the history of the slave trade and of the African victims' physical traits, diet, and health. The burial sites are eligible under **Criterion Consideration D** because of their exceptional historical significance and the information they may yield about the Africans buried there.

HISTORIC CONTEXT

The following material that describes the historic context was written by Corey Malcom, Mel Fisher Museum, copyright 2002 and is reproduced here with permission of the Author. [it has been edited by the State Historic Preservation Office for this nomination.]

African Slavery

Slavery has been known across the world for at least 4,000 years, but to the modern mind, primarily as a result of the Atlantic trade, the institution has been associated with the continent of Africa. Slavery affected Africa both externally and internally. Externally, African peoples were exported as slaves from the continent, in earlier times to the Mediterranean basin and the Arab world, and in later times also throughout the Americas. These people were used primarily as laborers in agriculture, mining, and domestic servitude.

Internally, Africans were used by other Africans as slaves for a variety of reasons. Agriculture, industry and trade required workers for farming, hunting, fishing, portage, mining, weaving, iron working, and salt production, among others uses. Others served in government service as soldiers, bodyguards, musicians, heralds, and interpreters. Many were employed in domestic servitude and worked to maintain the households, palaces and shrines of their owners. Some cultures practiced religions with ceremonies that required human sacrifice, and slaves were most frequently used for this purpose. Others were used as concubines. Unlike those sent out of the continent, slaves in Africa had a better chance of manumission, or at least some degree of assimilation into the ruling society, though there were some cultures that considered slavery to be for life.

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People were taken into slavery, for both markets, through a fairly consistent set of means:

- Warfare - The majority of those sold were captives from numerous wars that occurred across the continent. There is much debate as to whether these wars were fueled by the trade, or simply facilitated it.
- Kidnapping – Bands of outlaw rogues preyed upon unsuspecting people, and simply stole them for the slave markets.
- Tribute – Communities that were the subjects of larger powers sometimes had to deliver a portion of their citizenry as slaves as a “tribute” to their overlords.
- Punishment – People who were found guilty of crimes, witchcraft, or other undesirable activities, were often condemned to slavery.

Glele, King of Dahomey

The African Kingdom of Dahomey was ruled by an absolute monarchy, without interruption, for nearly three centuries. This coastal nation, along the Bight of Benin, was a powerful military state, whose customs and traditions included human sacrifice and an elite corps of female soldiers. Glele ruled from 1858 to 1889, and inherited the throne from his father at the height of Dahomey's power. He was devout in maintaining the traditions of his ancestors, and successfully avoided colonization by Europeans, though by the end of his reign considerable concessions had been made to these outside forces. The Dahomey capital was inland at Abomey, but the coastal city of Whydah was a key trading port. The export of slaves was a very large part of the Dahomean economy when Glele ruled, and he fully sanctioned its practice. When approached in 1863 by representatives of the English government to halt the trade, he reasoned with them that, “He did not send slaves away in his own ships, but ‘white men’ came to him for them, and was there any harm in his selling? We ought to prevent the ‘white men’ from coming to him: if they did not come he would not sell” (Wilmot, 1863. “Commodore Wilmot to Rear-Admiral Sir B. Walker, January 29, 1863.” In *British and Foreign State Papers, 1863-64, Vol. LIV*. Wm. Ridgeway, London).

The Middle Passage

The voyage from the African coast to the Americas was, by all accounts, one of the most horrible in all of maritime history. Africans carried on a slave ship were treated as a cargo of livestock, with hundreds of people crowded into the vessel's hold. During the 6 to 8 weeks they spent at sea, they were given little in the way of

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comfort or reassurance. Their passage across the Atlantic Ocean was dominated by suffering, sickness and fear. A description written from the Congo Coast in 1859 says of the slavers:

...they sail cautiously yet boldly in, anchor, and in two or three hours are filled with negroes, who are carried off to them in canoes. The refractory ones are clapped in irons, or made drunk with rum; and in this stupefied condition they are carried aboard, stowed in a sitting posture, with knees drawn up so closely that they can scarcely breathe, much less move.

Now their sufferings become dreadful – horrible; indeed, human language is incapable of describing, or imagination of sketching even the faint outline of a dimly floating fancy of what their condition is – homesick, seasick, half starved, naked, crying for air, for water, the strong killing the weak or dying in order to make room, the hold becomes a perfect charnel house of death and misery – a misery and anguish only conceivable by those who have endured it.

Despite the drastic and horrific conditions, four out of five Africans on average survived the voyage.

The Law

Although the United States allowed slavery in certain areas until 1863, it had some of the earliest and strictest laws against the international traffic in slaves. In 1794, slave ships were prohibited from outfitting in American ports. In 1800, American citizens, no matter where they were, were prohibited from carrying people for slavery from one foreign country to another, and in 1808 (amended and updated by the Act of 1818) any importation of people for the purpose of slavery into the United States or its territories was outlawed. And in 1820, participation in the slave trade was considered an act of piracy, and punishable by death. Unfortunately, the enforcement of these laws was sporadic and uneven, rendering them ineffective.

American Slave Ships

Many of the ships that sailed from the African coast to Cuba, trading in slaves, were American-built and -owned vessels. Despite such activity being considered an act of piracy by the U.S. Government, and one punishable by death, a variety of factors made it too tempting a venture to pass up.

Beginning in 1852, there was a frenzy of ship construction among the shipyards of New England, based mostly on hopes of cashing in on the rapidly increasing demands of California. Both construction and demand peaked in 1855. As it turns out, this boom was the last hurrah for American sail. Too many ships had been built, and changing times quickly conspired against them. California's markets became saturated – shipping rates fell

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from \$25 per ton in the early 1850s, to \$11 in 1857. Increased domestic manufacturing lessened the need for overseas imports. The ships also began aging, and required more money to be properly maintained. There was a glut of sail in the late 1850s, and ship-owners were eager to make money any way they could.

Increased effectiveness of the British patrols in intercepting slavers, and slowing the trade on the seas did not mean that the taking of prisoners among the African traders was slowed. The resulting abundance of captives for sale along the West African coast meant lower prices. The opposite resulted on the other side of the Atlantic. Cuban sugar prices were reaching all-time highs, and demands for labor increasing. The price being paid for slaves there soared. Otherwise idle American ships could buy low in Africa and sell high in Cuba, making so much money, it was worth any risk of capture.

The U.S. Navy and the Slave Trade

With Great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, and the United States all having outlawed the Slave Trade by 1820, military efforts were begun by all these nations to enforce the ban. Five U.S. Navy vessels left for patrol along the West African coast in 1820-21 to arrest American slavers, and help to establish settlers at Liberia. With the War of 1812 still fresh, U.S. government officials were adamant about British interference with American shipping. Similarly, Spain and France were sensitive to American seizures of their vessels. With difficult physical conditions along the African Coast, and diplomatic or political resolutions on the right of mutual search, which was essential for any success, U.S. Naval forces were withdrawn in 1824.

With no way of stopping them, vessels flying the U.S. flag were virtually immune from prosecution, and American ships entered a golden period of slave trading. Slavers in the 19th century, therefore, often found protection for the illicit trade by sailing their vessels under the American flag. This unintended haven was the result of a deep-seated distrust of the fledgling United States toward the British, and their policies in Africa. Since the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, Great Britain had been the traditional political rival of the U.S.; as the young nation's productivity began to grow, the British also became an economic rival.

Though all of the former slave trading powers had renounced the trade, and had formed cooperative efforts amongst their navies to intercept and capture slave ships, the U.S. felt the British Navy had too much power to harass American merchantmen. Both nations were interested in developing stronger "legitimate" relations with the nations of Africa. Fearing excessive bullying by Britain, the U.S. refused to allow its ships to be boarded and inspected by vessels of any other nation. This policy, combined with the relatively small effort put forth by the U.S. to patrol the African Coast, made it much safer for slavers to fly the American flag.

Often a game of "Show me yours and I'll show you mine" ensued between the patrol vessels and the slavers. For example, when the U.S. Steamer *Crusader* first encountered the slaver *Bogota*, the following exchange was recorded in the log, "At 1.45 made a Barque to the Eastward, stood for her. At 2.30 hoisted English colors, she

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responded with French – at 2.45 sounded to ahead of the Barque and hoisted American colors – she lowered her flag and did not hoist it again...” The *Bogota* had been tricked, and was forced to “take the 5th” by repudiating all nationality. She was later found to be American-owned, and condemned.

Traffic to both Cuba and Brazil increased. Tensions escalated once again, though, as British cruisers began to “visit” (their distinction) American ships suspected of slaving. After negotiations, the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty called for renewed U.S. patrols along the African coast, and cooperation with the British. In reality the first and foremost objective of the American patrols was to protect U.S. shipping interests.

For the next twenty years, ensuring the ability of U.S. ships to sail unimpeded by others was the main object of the U.S. Navy’s African Squadron (Du Bois, 1896, pp.146-150. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, Vol 1, Harvard Historical Series, Longmans, Green and Co., New York). Those officers who were zealous in their efforts to restrict the slave trade found little support in lackadaisical administrations and courts at home. The American effort to patrol the 3,000 miles of African coast was never fully realized as it was conceived. If more than five patrol vessels were on station at any one time, it was rare.

In 1859, under pressure from President Buchanan, the African Squadron began to finally show its ability. This was a response to resurgence in the trade that began in 1857, and a corresponding increase in captures by the British. In 1858, the size of the navy was increased, and four steamers purchased in the expansion were stationed around Cuba in late 1859 – their object to intercept American slave ships. Between 1838 and 1859, only two slavers laden with people were captured by U.S. Naval forces. In 1859 and 1860, seven were seized, resulting in the liberation of nearly 4,300 Africans.

Abraham Lincoln’s election as President put into power a leader even more committed to the end of the slave trade, but the Civil War forced the African and Cuban patrols into other duties. It was hoped that the vigorous criminal prosecution of any slavers who were caught would suffice as a deterrent, but it did not. In 1862, swallowing all national pride, Lincoln, and Secretary of State Seward, quietly forged a treaty with the British, allowing them to search and seize American vessels. This served to dampen an already fading American interest in slaving. The imminent end of slavery in the United States was helping to bring a close to the trade elsewhere. The U.S. Navy no longer had to focus efforts on its eradication.

Prize Money

The motivation to stop slave ships was enhanced for the crews of the Navy cruisers through a reward program. For each slave ship that was captured, condemned and auctioned, the proceeds would be split equally between the government and the capturing vessel’s crew. If Africans were found on board the slaver, the cruiser’s crew would receive \$25.00 per person rescued, and delivered safely to U.S. authorities. The 1st Class officers split

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3/20ths of the prize money, and the other officers and seamen shared smaller divisions in proportion to their respective ranks.

Identifying a Slaver in 1860

Ships engaged in the Slave Trade in the mid-19th century had a chameleon-like character, and aimed, as much as possible to disguise themselves as legitimate merchantmen. Generally, they tried to pass with the claim that they were engaged in the palm oil trade. But, because of the specific needs of their intended cargo, all slavers carried telltale signs of their true intentions. Unless a ship was caught red-handed, with a hold full of people, these indicators are what were looked for by the Navy vessels. It often required a persistent and cunning search before the evidence was uncovered.

The most revealing material carried on a clandestine slaver was an abundance of wood planking. This material was intended for the construction of the "Slave deck," in the hold of the ship. Because lumber was not readily available on the African coast, it had to be carried across the Atlantic. A large number of provisions, water casks, and utensils - much more than needed by the crew, and in anticipation of hundreds of Africans - also aroused suspicion. Other indicators that a ship was a possible slaver were double sets of papers, Spanish or Portuguese sailors, unusually high wages for the crew, and large amounts of cash (especially gold). Cargoes of cotton calico-print cloth, crockery, liquor, knives, cigars, iron bars, and guns or gunpowder also aroused suspicion, as they were popular items in the exchange for slaves. Shackles, because they provided such clear evidence of a vessel's intentions, were rarely carried. Captain William Inman wrote in 1859 to the commanding officers of the anti-slavery squadrons about the character of their prey,

The cunning of the slaver is constantly forming new disguises to elude the detection and escape the consequences of his crimes...I have only in view to impress you with a deep sense of the artful character of the adversaries with whom you will have to deal, and of their reckless disregard of all truth and honor as well as of law and humanity. Nothing but the utmost vigilance and caution will enable you to detect them. I have no doubt your own observation and sagacity will soon discover other contrivances for deceiving and escaping you, and I have as little doubt that you will apply promptly and efficiently the requisite means of defeating all such attempts (Toucey, 1859. Isaac Toucey to Capt. Wm. Inman, Orders of July 6, 1859. No.17 in 36th Congress, 2d Session, House of Representatives, Executive Document No.7, *African Slave Trade*. US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC. 1861).

The Bark *Bogota*

The Bark *Bogota* was built in Honfleur, near the northern French port of Le Havre for J.T. Barbay. The ship was built of White Oak, and held together with copper and iron fasteners. The hull was sheathed with metal as

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an anti-fouling agent and protection against wood-boring marine worms. She had one main deck supported by iron knees, and beams installed below for the quick construction of a second. There was also a shorter half-poop deck at the stern. *Bogota* was registered at 232 tons, and classed "A1 ½". In 1859, the ship was listed as being under the command of a captain named "Masquises."

Sometime around October 1, 1859, *Bogota* left New York, and began a voyage that would take her to the slave-trading port of Whydah in the Kingdom of Dahomey. On May 23, the United States Steamer *Crusader*, on patrol for illegal slavers, intercepted a suspicious vessel in the Old Bahama Channel off the north coast of Cuba. The *Crusader's* log states,

At 1.45 made a Barque to Eastward, stood for her. At 2.30 hoisted English colors, she responded with French – at 2.45 sounded to ahead of Barque 84 87 and hoisted American colors – she lowered her flag and did not hoist it again – Then sent Lt. Duncan on board; the vessel proved to be a "Slaver," without name, papers or flag! – the Captain repudiating all nationality. Took the vessel as a lawful prize, and received the crew onboard, as prisoners.

Bogota was taken into Key West on May 25, 1860, where 411 Africans were taken off and put under the care of U.S. Marshal Moreno. "They are a fine body of men and women, large, healthy, and strong, and evidently were well taken care of on board the vessel," wrote Moreno (Moreno, 1860. F.J. Moreno to Jacob Thompson, June 10. In U.S. Department of the Interior (RG 48): African *Slave Trade* and Negro Colonization, Records of, 1854-1872. M160. Roll 6). The captain of the ship proved to be a Frenchman, and all of the crew either French, Spanish or Portuguese. The supercargo of the *Bogota* told authorities that two-thirds of the slave-trading venture had been financed in New York.

On May 28, a libel was filed against the "Bark Name Unknown" by the United States, and Judge William Marvin condemned the ship on June 11th. At public auction on July 12, *Bogota* was sold to Key West businessman William Pinckney for \$4576.96. Pinckney quickly put the vessel into service, and another Key West businessman, Asa Tift, chartered her on July 17 to carry sugar from Cuba to New York. She sailed under a captain named Gibbs. The voyage was apparently successful, and the *Bogota* had new metal sheathing applied to the hull in September of 1860. In February of 1861, *Bogota* was inspected at Boston and rated "A2 ½," an indication that her past had not been too kind to her.

The People of the *Bogota*

When the *Bogota* arrived at Key West, in addition to 127 women and boys, U.S. Marshal Moreno noted, "There are on board of the Barque almost 280 men of gigantic proportion. Many of them were over six feet in height, and stout in proportion. They are from the Gold coast of Africa and are much more savage than the Congo Negroes." When all were finally ashore, they numbered 411 people total. "They are a fine body of men and

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women, large, healthy and strong, and evidently were well taken care of on board the vessel," said Moreno. They were described as being from the "Whydah tribe" by John McCalla, the U.S. government representative who sailed with them from Key West to Liberia (McCalla, 1860). *Journal of John Moore McCalla, Jr.* J.M. McCalla Papers, 1785-1917. Duke University Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library).

From such bits of information, it is clear these people came from the western coast of Africa near the Bight of Benin. Whydah is a key trading center there, and for centuries was the point of departure for many thousands of slaves. In 1860, Whydah was the second largest city in the Kingdom of Dahomey. Dahomey was chronically at war, and much of its income derived from the sale of enemies captured in battle. Glele, as the dictatorial monarch, would have been responsible for the sale of any people from there.

Being mostly healthy, grown men, these people were likely captives from recent wars waged by the Dahomey against its neighbors. Incursions by Dahomey against the Yoruba at Ishagga and Abeokutan are recorded in 1859-60, as well as against the Makhi to the north. It is likely that at least some of the people shipped aboard the *Bogota* were captured in these battles.

The Slave Barque *Wildfire*

Construction for the Clipper Bark *Wildfire* began in 1852 at the Simon McKay shipyard at the mouth of the Powow River in Amesbury, Massachusetts. On March 31, 1853, the *Amesbury Villager* reported,

We learn that the new and beautiful clipper ship built at the yard of Mr. McKay, at Amesbury Ferry, will be launched on Wednesday next. As a specimen of skill in shipbuilding, combining speed, beauty of model and elegance of finish, she cannot be excelled by anything yet set afloat on the Merrimac. Such is the confidence of her builders in her sailing qualities that they will challenge the whole fleet of sailing vessels in New England to a trial of speed.

McKay's confidence apparently was justified. The *Boston Daily Atlas* of July 9, 1853, had this to say:

The clipper barque *Wildfire*, Capt. Mosman, which sailed from this port May 13, arrived at Malta June 8. She passed Gibraltar when 14 days out [a new trans-Atlantic record]; but afterwards encountered a severe Levanter [a strong easterly Mediterranean wind], and had to beat every inch of the way from the Rock to Malta. A letter from her captain says that she is not only an excellent sea boat, but the swiftest vessel he ever saw. Her best day's work was 306 geographical miles, the wind at times rather light and variable; but with a good whole sail breeze, she can ball 15 knots with ease. Her captain asserts boldly that no vessel in the Mediterranean trade can begin to approach her in speed, and we know from personal inspection that she is well built and beautiful.

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Wildfire was built of oak and fastened with copper and iron fasteners, and had one main deck and a half-poop deck. She was listed at 338.3 tons with the following dimensions – length 128 ft. 4 in. (on deck); breadth 27 ft. 4 in.; depth of hold 10 ft. 6 in. she drew 12 feet of water. Her lower hull was covered with metal sheathing in October of 1858 as protection from wood-boring marine worms.

Wildfire was built for Peter Hargous of New York, and was originally intended for the Mediterranean trade. She was later employed by the Hargous Brothers as a packet-ship, sailing between New York and Vera Cruz. She made her last voyage to Mexico in August of 1859.

On December 13, 1859, *Wildfire* was sold to slave-trader Pierre Lepage Pearce, and was entered into the illegal African trade. She cleared New York on December 16, 1859, with a cargo of calicoes and other cotton goods, headed for St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, under William Stanhope, Master. She was outfitted additionally there, and then sailed for the West coast of Africa.

On March 18, 1860, *Wildfire* left the Congo River with 615 Africans, bound for Cuba. She was sighted by the U.S. Steamer *Mohawk* on April 26 off Paredon Grande on the north side of the island. According to *Mohawk's* log, "At 12:30 boarded an American barque, having onboard a Cargo of slaves. Sent Lieuts. Barbot + Carpenter with Master's Mate Craven and 13 men to take charge of her. Received on board 22 prisoners..." That night one of the prisoners committed suicide by jumping overboard. The following crew of the *Wildfire* were delivered to the U.S. Marshal at Key West:

Jas. Thompson	Charles Lewis
Thomas Murphy	Joseph Titman
Thomas Cruse	Thomas Jones
William Stanhope	Antonio Covas
John Brown	Silvestre Morilla
Oliver Martin	Juan Lopez
George T. Edwards	Juan Fortun
George W. Hutchinson	Manuel Balsemo
George Hunter	Salvador Alvarez
William Johnson	Ignacio Silva

Also delivered to the Marshal were 507 Africans – mostly teenagers, and many very sick from the unhealthy conditions suffered during their voyage. *Wildfire* was refitted at the Congo River with extra decking installed in the hold to accommodate this human cargo. May H. Stacey, of the U.S. Steamer *Crusader*, visited the ship and wrote of the space constructed for the Africans, "A glance on the slave deck was enough to fill the mind with indiscernible horror at the thought of what the poor creatures must have suffered in twenty eight days passage.

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The deck was constructed of rough unplanned planks and raised from the ship's bottom about three feet leaving a space of about four feet in height and extending fore and aft."

By May 5, proceedings against "The American Bark *Wildfire*, her tackle, apparel, furniture, guns and appurtenances, +c." were filed by the United States at the court in Key West. The vessel was condemned by Judge William Marvin on June 7, and ordered to be sold by the U.S. Marshal at public auction. Sometime later that month, or in early July, the sale of the *Wildfire* brought \$6454.38, and after expenses, net proceeds of \$6087.76 were divided equally between the U.S. Treasury and the crew of the *Mohawk*.

Wildfire was purchased by Gomez, Wallis & Co., and they had the hull sheathed with new metal in January of 1861. In February, the ship was inspected at New York, and rated class "A2." What became of the *Wildfire* after this apparent rehabilitation is not known.

The Bark *William*

The American Bark *William* was built in 1847 at Damariscotta, Maine. She was registered at 232 tons, and built of mixed woods with iron fasteners. She had one deck, and drew 12 feet of water. In 1855, metal sheathing was applied to her hull as protection from wood-boring marine worms. *William* was owned by the shipping company of Galwey, Casado & Teller.

On June 2, 1859, *William* was sold to Baltimore resident Thomas W. Williams, and she sailed from New York for Mobile on July 4. On September 25, she left there for Havana, and arrived after a voyage of 4 days. In October, plans were made for a voyage to Africa. She sailed for the Congo River, and there took onboard 744 Africans. She set sail for Cuba on March 10, 1860. Near the Isle of Pines, on May 9, *William* was captured by the U.S. Navy Steamer *Wyandotte* off the south side of Cuba; 570 Africans were found on board. Of a crew of 24, only one, the Captain, was American. His name was Washington Symmes of Philadelphia (at capture he was using the alias William Weston – a combination of his brother's first name, and mother's maiden name). The *Wyandotte's* Fabius Stanly was offered \$25,000 by the crew of the *William* to let the ship go, but he refused the bribe. The *Wyandotte* towed the *William* into Key West on May 12, but 53 Africans died during the relatively short voyage to the island; 513 Africans were delivered to the care of U.S. Marshal Fernando Moreno. Most of these people were children, and had been treated very poorly while on the *William*. Many were very sick, or dying. On May 17, a libel was filed against the *William* by the U.S. Attorney, and Judge William Marvin condemned the vessel and ordered her sale. By June 16 the *William* was auctioned, and sold to Antonio Pelletier for \$4571.96. In a bizarre twist, Key West businessman Asa Tift wrote on August 24, "The *William* was run out of town last night, with a one eyed man who pretended to be the owner, and six men. They took an officer who was on board. One of our pilot boats ran out, and brought her back. She will get her papers and go to Mobile – I think." The man who stole her was David Martin (alias, Lincoln Patten, alias Gilman Dresser, alias George Walker) who had also stolen the infamous slaver *Wanderer* in October of 1859. There appears to

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have been some earlier connection between Martin and the *William*, because when he took *Wanderer* he had her name painted over and replaced with "William." Martin was arrested in November for his involvement with the *Wanderer*, and imprisoned. The *Wanderer* had arrived at Jekyll Island, Georgia, in 1858 with 409 Africans; it was one of the last slavers to deliver captives to U.S. soil. The vessel was seized by government authorities and condemned, and though many of the venture's conspirators were tried for slave-trading, none were convicted. In fact, the slaving voyage's sponsor, Savannah businessman Charles Lamar, had repurchased *Wanderer* from the government and was outfitting it for another voyage, when Martin stole it (Wells, 1967).

After *William* left Key West, she was taken to Havana by Pelletier. This man was no stranger to the slave trade, and had been arrested in December 1858, along with his vessel *Ardenne*, for engaging in an illegal slaving voyage to Africa. Apparently Pelletier's interest in the trade was not deterred. Notice was sent to U.S. authorities from Havana on September 5, stating that the ship and a crew of Spaniards had just left there, headed first to New Orleans then Mobile. Their intent was to outfit, and then sail from Alabama to Africa on yet another slaving voyage. Instead, in December Pelletier sailed the *William* to Haiti, adopting the new alias "J. Letellier," and calling the ship "Guillaume Tell." He went with the intent of luring workers aboard his ship with contracts to collect guano at an offshore island, and then kidnap them and sell them as slaves in Cuba. After receiving a warning at Port-au-Prince to leave the country, he sailed to the north coast to continue his scheme. A crewmember broke away from Pelletier, and confessed the plan to the French and Haitian authorities, who petitioned Pelletier to come ashore. On April 5, 1861, he did, and was placed under arrest. He was later convicted and imprisoned. The *William* was taken, and put under the charge of the Haitian government at Fort Liberté. Then, after such sad events in a long career, the *William* was lost to history.

The People of the *Wildfire* and *William*

The people shipped on both the *Wildfire* and the *William* were put aboard the vessels at the Congo River. The area had been a slave-trading center for centuries, its inhabitants having first dealt with the Portuguese in the early 1500s. By 1860, trading had penetrated well upriver and inland. Slaves were purchased there for the domestic and export markets. It is not clear from where exactly the rescued Africans originated, and most likely they were taken from different areas throughout the Congo basin. As said in a newspaper account of the time, "...the whole number is evidently taken from different tribes living in the interior of Africa, but the greater number are Congos" (Anonymous, 1860). *Harper's Weekly*, June 2, 1860, vol.4, pp.344-345). Congo (Kongo, Kicongo) culture is Bantu-based, and is the predominant ethnic group along the west-central African coast.

Some of the people from the *Wildfire* stated they came from the coastal city of St. Paul de Loando. Their names – Francisco, Salvador, Constantia, Antonia, Amelia, and Madia – reflect the Portuguese influence on the region. Many of these people had been baptized by Catholic missionaries, and spoke at least some Portuguese. Some of these people claimed to have been slaves in that city, which is not surprising considering that in 1850, of a

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population of 12,565, over 6,000 were slaves. The group exhibited a variety of cultural markers. It was written about the *Wildfire*'s people,

The women from [Loando] have cut or shaved the hair off the back part of their head, from a point on the crown to the back part of either ear. It is the fashion of their tribe. None of the other women are thus shorn. Many of the men, women, boys, and girls have filed their front teeth—some by sharpening them to a point, and others by cutting down the two upper front teeth. The persons [from Loando] have their teeth in a natural state. Perhaps fifty in all are tattooed more or less (*Harper's Weekly*, June 2, 1860).

In the mid 19th century, slaves were being brought to the Congo markets from much farther inland than ever before. Bobangi fishermen transported captives from areas to the north and east of the river's Malebo Pool (the cities of Brazzaville and Kinshasa). Far to the southeast, the Chokwe also had an increasing influence in the trade, as profits from their traditional produce of ivory and beeswax enabled them to purchase arms. They began an eventually successful war against the Lunda empire, capturing many people for the slave markets.

Beyond these little bits of information, it is difficult to know exactly where the majority of these captured African people came from.

The Africans' Experience in Key West

A total of 1,432 Africans from the *Bogata*, *Wildfire*, and *William* arrived in Key West. They came with nothing. The 3,000 citizens of the island, led by United States Marshal Fernando J. Moreno, came together and built housing, donated clothing, and provided food and medical attention for them during their stay in the city. The well being of the rescued Africans was Moreno's responsibility. Under his leadership, a three-acre beach front parcel at what was known as Whitehead's Point was set aside for the temporary settlement and enclosed with a 6-foot high fence. The barracoons were located approximately 150 yards from the high water mark and included a 215' by 45' long wooden barracks and a 107' by 25' hospital structure, along with a kitchen and guard's quarters. Fences extending into the water served to screen bathing. With the capture of all three ships, the settlement became temporary housing for 1,432 people (*The New York Times* June 2, 1860; Browne 1912:17).

A Key West paper entitled "The Key of the Gulf", dated May 19, 1860, was the source for the June 2, 1860 article in the *New York Times*. It describes the barracks building as "...divided into nine large rooms, so that the sexes are separated, as well as children from those of larger growth. In these spacious and well ventilated rooms they can eat and sleep, and during the heat of the day repose from a vertical sun. They are fed in squads of ten, seated around a large bucket filled with rice and meat, each one armed with a spoon to feed with. Thirty-gallon

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tubs stand in the centre of each room, and they are permitted to help themselves freely to water. This for the well."

The *New York Times* article states there were 180 patients in the hospital. "There are afflicted with ophthalmia, some 60—many totally blind; with dysenteric, dropsical and rheumatic" afflictions, as well as diseased lungs. Some 23 have died, principally from those so attenuated and worn out that it was a marvel they lived as long as they did" (*New York Times* June 2, 1860). The *Harper's Weekly* article, also dated June 2, 1860, states: "We saw on board about six or seven boys and men greatly emaciated, and diseased past recovery, and about a hundred that showed decided evidences of suffering from inanition, exhaustion, and disease. Dysentery was the principal disease." The Africans arrived in Key West malnourished, undernourished, and without clothing. U.S. Marshall Moreno and Key West citizens brought food and clothing to the temporary settlement. Doctors Whitehurst, Skrine, and Weedon were hired to care for the sick (*Harper's Weekly* June 2, 1860; Browne 1912:17).

A total of 295 Africans died during their nearly three-month stay in Key West. The United States Government contracted Daniel Davis to build the coffins and bury the 295 African dead at the price of \$5.50 per burial (Daniel Davis, May 1, 1860 and September 11, 1860).

The *New York Times* (June 2, 1860) gives us an account of one funeral at the African Cemetery:

Among the Wildfire's cargo there is a mother, with a babe about six weeks old. She soon became an object of interest among visitors, and in a very short time both mother and child were suitably and comfortably clad. The baby soon sickened and died-- and as we saw the mother bending and weeping, and kissing its inanimate form—wailing in plaintive song, and responded to by numerous mourners around the corpse—we felt that love was beyond all conditions of pride or place, and that many might rejoice and be flattered in their self love, if they would be missed as much as the dead babe was by its mother. It was laid in a handsome coffin, and a procession of seventeen went with it to its last abode. Low chantings and loud wails of grief would break forth, and when at last the spot was reached, they became as silent as the narrow house which would contain all the heart prized so much. The little coffin was placed in the grave, each threw in its handful of earth, and amid the deepest sorrow they returned in silence back.

For eighty-five days the newly liberated refugees found shelter there, but because of the horrific conditions they had suffered aboard the slave ships, many of the Africans were quite ill, and 295 of them died. They were buried in shallow sand graves on the southern shore of the island. Eventually it was decided the survivors would be sent to Liberia, a country on the West African coast established as a home for liberated American slaves.

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Ships were chartered by the United States through the American Colonization Society for yet another voyage across the Atlantic. Three months after they had first arrived, all the Africans left Key West and were on their way to a new life. In route many more perished as they were still sick and in poor condition from the initial voyage. Only 823 of these people were landed in Liberia (Malcom 2008).

What happened after the Africans left Key West

Once the Africans left Key West, Marshall Moreno requested that the U.S. Government retain the compound in case other slavers were captured. By March 1861, the War Department was given permission to demolish it, but is uncertain as to when this occurred (melfisher.org 2002). The barracoons are last known to have been used on January 30, 1863, as the site for Key Westers to gathered and celebrated the Emancipation Proclamation (*New York Times*, Feb.12, 1863, p.2).

In 1862, construction of West Martello and East Martello, known as Fort Taylor Towers No. 1 and No. 2, began in an attempt to further fortify Key West by expanding the capabilities of Fort Zachary Taylor at the onset of the Civil War. West Martello is recorded as Master Site File No. MO233 and is individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Thurston 1976). There is no mention of the African Cemetery in the nomination documents.

Of the slavers brought into Key West, the *Wildfire*, *William*, and *Bogota* were seized under the Acts of 1794 and 1800, and condemned by Judge William Marvin. They were sold at public auction, and the proceeds were split between the U.S. Treasury and the crews of the Navy cruisers who captured them. The Captains and crews were jailed at Key West, but allowed bail – the seamen for \$450, and the Captains, \$1,000. Eventually charges were brought against Phillip Stanhope, and the crew of the *Wildfire*, and Washington Symmes (alias William Weston), Master of the *William*. They were initially indicted under the Act of 1820, but eventually tried under the Acts of 1800 and 1818. The Grand jury found “no true bill” against Stanhope and crew, and a verdict of “not guilty” against Symmes. Despite being caught red-handed, they were freed.

Fernando J. Moreno served as U.S. Marshal for the Southern District of Florida during the Administration of James Buchanan (1857-61), was the person responsible for the Africans during their stay at Key West. He was an active Democrat, and supporter of its southern wing at the outbreak of the Civil War. Although he was a slave-owner, and sympathetic to the Confederacy, he took the oath of allegiance to the Union in 1861. Despite the oath, his family was exiled to Hilton Head by a local Union commander. Moreno had spent many thousands of dollars of his own money to aid the Africans in 1860, but because of his political leanings, the government refused to compensate him for this. He unsuccessfully petitioned for reimbursement for the rest of his life. He was elected Florida State Senator for the 24th district in 1887, and served for one term. For a brief period under

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President Grover Cleveland, in 1888, he again served as U.S. Marshal. Sometime around 1890, Moreno left Key West for Pensacola. He died in New Orleans in 1905.

Conclusion

The remarkable story surrounding the slave ships *Wildfire*, *William*, and *Bogota* speaks to the pivotal nature of the times. Slavery was a leading topic of political discussion, and its polarizing effects were about to tear the United States in two. The confused character of the American, and even global, mindset is expressed in so many ways when looking at the microcosm of events that occurred here in 1860: A few corrupt African kings resisted development of stable industries in favor of quick profit, and continued to sell their rivals to American slave ships, while hastening their own economic demise; The American military was combating the maritime traffic in slaves, while millions were still held in bondage on U.S. soil. As for the African refugees, there was never a question of their plight, or their freedom, yet it was never suggested they stay in the United States. At Key West, men who were slave owners, and soon to be supporters of the Confederacy, devoted many of their personal resources to ensure the welfare of the Africans, and yet some, without irony, employed their own slaves to give them aid. In the courts, only the ships were found guilty of participation in the slave trade, not the crews. And at one point, the U.S. Marshal at Key West had to consider the use of deadly force against a group intending to steal the Africans – nearly bringing Americans to blows with Africans in what could have easily been a catalyst of the U.S. Civil War. And across the Atlantic, the development and support of what was supposed to be an African “paradise” in Liberia was only sowing the seeds of misery.

Despite all the missteps and contradictions, these events helped push forward a significant shift in the social and political mindset from even a few years before. As difficult and messy as abolition might be, slavery, and the support for it, was rapidly collapsing. With the interrupted missions of the *Wildfire*, the *William*, and the *Bogota* – among the last slave ships to touch on American shores – an institution nearly four centuries old was coming to a close.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Other African Cemeteries in the United States

No other African cemeteries in the United States are directly comparable to the African Cemetery at Higgs Beach. The people were Africans, not enslaved Africans in America, nor enslaved or free African Americans. In addition, the cemetery was only active for the approximately three-month period in 1860, when the Africans were held in Key West until they were taken to Liberia. The U. S. Marshall had wood coffins built and hired a grave digger to perform the 295 interments. The initial ground penetrating radar study showed the remaining undisturbed, primary burials were individual interments. In 1862, burials located in the area the Navy selected to construct West Martello Tower were disinterred and reinterred nearby. Although depicted on period maps, the location of the African Cemetery was quickly forgotten. The second ground penetrating radar study located

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these re-burials in the open area on the north side of present-day U.S. 1 (Atlantic Boulevard), mostly in what is now a small dog park. This study shows these secondary burials were unsystematic, shallow interments that include mass graves.

Below is a comparison of the African Cemetery at Higgs Beach with four other American African cemeteries.

African Cemetery No. 2 located on East Seventh Street in Lexington, Kentucky, was active from the 1820s until 1974 and contains approximately 5,000 burials (www.uky.edu/Projects/AfricanCem/brief_history.html). Articles in a May 1889 issue of *The Kentucky Leader* explain that, as a condition to allow the Presbyterian Church to sell their property, the graveyard located there had to be abandoned so the property would be clear for development. Bodies and gravestones were removed and reinterred at African Cemetery No. 2. Remains from older graves were placed in small boxes and buried in a shallow trench about 1 foot apart. Coffin size boxes were used for less decomposed remains (www.uky.edu/Projects/AfricanCem/reference/ref001001.html and [ref001002.html](http://www.uky.edu/Projects/AfricanCem/reference/ref001002.html)).

The African Cemetery in Lower Manhattan was active in the 17th and 18th centuries and contained approximately 20,000 burials. As with the African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, although depicted on historic maps, the cemetery was forgotten over time. Early 19th century fill was placed over the cemetery to enhance development. This fill inadvertently helped protect the burials from the disturbance. During construction of the Foley Square Federal Building in 1991, 419 burials were encountered. These remains were removed for study and eventual re-interment (www.africanburialground.gov).

The Hurricane of 1928 African American Mass Grave, located in West Palm Beach, Florida was the final resting place for 674 African Americans who were the victims of this category 4 storm. It is located in the pauper's cemetery at 25th Street and Tamarind Avenue. The location of the unmarked cemetery was forgotten over time. The City exchanged the property that contained the mass burial for property owned by the Union Missionary Baptist Church at 23rd Street. The City failed to tell the Church about the mass burial, but did have the deed restricted to only church use. The deed restriction was removed in 1985 and the property was sold to Bernard Kolkana in 1987. Kolkana and the public became aware of the burials when community activists hosted a memorial for those interred in the 1928 mass grave. In 1992, the City planned to build affordable housing on a portion of the 8-acre parcel where there were no burials. A backhoe was used to try to determine site limits and human remains were found. In 2000, the City had a ground penetrating radar study completed which showed a 70' X 30' trench. The trench had been impacted on the north end when they extended 25th Street in 1964. At that time the disturbed remains were reinterred at Woodlawn Cemetery. Influenced by public pressure, the City of West Palm Beach purchased the property from Kolkana in 2000 so the site can be preserved and serve as a memorial (Sinks, Piland, and Mattick 2002).

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Africatown Cemetery, located in Mobile County, Alabama, is associated with a settlement established in 1866 by West Africans who were illegally captured and shipped as slaves to Mobile, Alabama. During the summer of 1860, Captain William Foster of the ship *Clotilde* purchased over 100 captured Africans from the King of Dahomey for Timothy Meaher, a Mobile businessman and plantation owner. Over 40 of the Africans were kept by Meaher as slaves until the end of the Civil War. The others were sold off as individuals or in small groups of two or three. It was Meaher's slaves who, as freedmen in 1866, bought land from Meaher and established a community that came to be known as Africatown. There, they largely self-segregated themselves, and maintained their tribal customs and language (Email to Barbara Mattick from Susan Enzweiler, National Register Coordinator, Alabama Historical Commission, Montgomery, Alabama, April 3, 2012). Descendants of the original 100 slaves still live in the Mobile area. Old Plateau Cemetery, established in 1874 and used until 1990, contains remains of the original slaves, including those of the last original slave survivor, who died in 1935 ([Africatown, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Africatown](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Africatown), accessed 4/2/2012; Mark R. Kent, "Africatown project locates graves of ex-slaves who survived 1859 shipwreck," blog.al.com/live/print.html, accessed 4/2/2012).

Each of the five cemeteries discussed in this nomination is unique. The two in Florida, the African Cemetery at Higgs Beach in Key West and the 1928 African American Mass Grave in West Palm Beach, however, differ from the others in that they were used for a very short time period and for a limited number of burials. In both cases, the cemetery and mass grave were established in response to catastrophic short term events. This contrasts with the African Cemetery No. 2 in Lexington, Kentucky, the African Cemetery in Manhattan, which were active for 100-200 years. Of the five cemeteries, only the Africatown Cemetery remains fully intact, but like the Lexington and Manhattan cemeteries, was used for many decades. The one striking common element of four of the five cemeteries (excluding the Africatown Cemetery) is that each one has a history of disinterment of primary burials so that the properties could be developed either by the government or private entities. Both of the Florida cemeteries have some intact primary burials. Through time, except for Africatown's cemetery, all of these locations faded from public memory and were forgotten. Impact from development has brought each of these cemeteries to light and as the American public has become better stewards of their history, the remaining primary and secondary burials are now protected and memorialized.

Research Questions

The African Cemetery at Key West is not slated to be the subject of any intrusive archaeological excavations for a number of reasons: 1) there are detailed, informative historic accounts describing the plight of the Africans in Key West, 2) many consider the site to be sacred, not to be disturbed, and 3) the site faces no threats from changing land use. As technology improves, however, and computer-based data collection and processing capabilities are increased, tools like non-intrusive, ground penetrating radar will eventually have the capacity to reveal more sub-surface detail, and move beyond being a means for mere location and prospection into one for anthropological research (Conyers, 2010; Conyers & Leckebusch, 2010). There is certainly strong potential for increasingly informative, non-intrusive research to continue at the Key West African Cemetery.

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Although the boundaries of the African Cemetery are defined, the number of burials within them has not been fully determined. Continued remote-sensing surveys would improve an understanding of the number and nature of the burials. As methods of visualizing remote-sensing data are improved, especially in regard to three-dimensional interpretations (see Lin, et al, 2011; Doolittle & Bellantoni, 2010), ability to understand the specifics of the burials will only increase.

The historic accounts attest to the fact the victims buried at Higgs Beach in Key West were from distinct ethnic groups and in different conditions of health. Skeletal remains and DNA could provide information about the age, gender, health, nutrition, descent, and ethnic identity of the buried individuals, as well as insights concerning the physical condition and possibly the cause of death of the victims. The brevity of the event, from the time of the victims' capture in Africa, through their horrific experience of the Middle Passage, until their death within three months of their arrival in Key West, provides a rare opportunity to measure the impact of conditions related to the Atlantic crossing on what is the largest number of such people from any single event known in the United States. The closest identified parallel to the Key West site is the Rupert's Bay cemetery for liberated Africans at the British colony of St. Helena Island in the South Atlantic (Pearson Jeffs, Witkin, & MacQuarrie, 2011). Because the Africans were in Key West for only a few months, were never actually slaves, and were never immersed in American culture, it is highly probable that they retained their tribal customs. Depending on the level of preservation, the burials at Higgs Beach, especially those at their primary locations next to the West Martello, may contain grave goods or other evidence of African burial practices.

The burials may also reflect U.S. national policy regarding victims of the slave trade, including the level of care provided to the refugees by the U.S. government, especially through remains of clothing, evidence of medical treatment, and quality of coffins and/or interment.

In a broader sense, this site and these graves provide opportunities for examination, research, and learning about an event of national significance during a nationally significant period in time that has/had global impact/influence. Research on these graves such as DNA analysis and other biological, archaeological, and cultural based analysis will help link the past to present by enhancing our knowledge of who these Africans were.

By extracting from Antoinette Jackson's ideas about the Kingsley Plantation as an archaeological space (2009), the Africans from these ships, their experiences at Higgs Beach, and their grave sites and material remains at this beach, can help us rethink static, discretely bounded portrayals of the African experience in Florida and the United States in the context of the transatlantic slave trade.

The African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, therefore, is highly significant at the **local, statewide, and national levels under Criterion D** as an archaeological site with the potential to yield significant information about the African victims of the slave trade shortly before the American Civil War. No other such cemetery is known to

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exist in Florida, or perhaps even elsewhere in the United States. Below are specific questions related to the site's potential to yield information:

Site Parameters

- 1) How many graves are within the African Cemetery?
- 2) Through remote sensing, what can be visualized from within the graves?
- 3) Do additional graves exist beneath currently un-surveyed areas of the area (e.g., beneath the roadbed of Atlantic Avenue)?

Burial Practices

- 4) How do the burials at Key West compare to the historical record?
- 5) According to a report in the June 2, 1860 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, some of the Africans were Christians who had been baptized by Portuguese missionaries in Africa. Is there any evidence of Christian or other religious beliefs in the burials?

By all accounts, the Africans arrived naked and without any material goods, but that does not mean they were unable to practice or create material expressions of their cultures once in Key West. Based on this account from the *New York Times* of June 2, 1860, the Africans participated in at least some of the burial events:

Among the Wildfire's cargo there is young mother, with a babe about six weeks old. She soon became an object of interest among visitors, and in a very short time both mother and child were suitably and comfortably clad. The babe soon sickened and died – and as we saw the mother bending and weeping, and kissing its inanimate form – wailing in plaintive song and responded to by numerous mourners around the corpse – we felt that love was beyond all conditions of pride or place, and that many might rejoice and be flattered in their self love, if they would be missed as much as the dead babe was by its mother. It was laid in a handsome coffin, and a procession of seventeen went with it to its last abode. Low chauntings [sic] and loud wails of grief would break forth, and when at last the spot was reached, they became as silent as the narrow house which would contain all the heart prized so much. The little coffin was placed in the grave, each threw in its handful of earth, and amid the deepest sorrow they returned in silence back.

- 6) Do the burials indicate expressions of African cultural origins, values, and practices?

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7) Did the Africans modify the American goods they were given at Key West to reflect the values of their homelands: Were American goods rethought through an African lens? If yes, were any modified goods buried with those who died (e.g., clothes, jewelry, other objects or artworks)?

8) Are there patterns to the items found in the graves?

Skeletal Remains

9) Are the human remains modified according to West African traditions (e.g., teeth filed)?

10) Is their medical treatment reflected in the remains (e.g., medicines; surgeries; repair of broken bones, etc.)?

11) The historical record indicates that most of the captured Africans were teenage boys. Do the burials represent a gender balance consistent with the numbers of Africans rescued, or show a higher level of mortality by gender and age?

12) The historical record reports health issues related to ophthalmia, dysentery, dropsy, rheumatic conditions, and lung disease. Is there evidence of these conditions in the skeletal remains? What other conditions, such as recent trauma of the Middle Passage, are evident?

13) Some victims may have been slaves in Africa. Is there evidence of long-term labor that can be differentiated from the more recent effects of the Middle Passage experience?

14) Does DNA evidence show that any of the victims were related to each other, or identify their specific people groups?

Reflection of U.S. policy

The Key West African Cemetery is much more than a burial ground: its presence is a significant reminder and jumping-off-point for thinking about not only the events of 1860, but also the policies and attitudes in the United States towards slavery and the transatlantic slave trade in general.

15) How do the graves reflect U.S. policy towards Africans liberated from slave ships?

16) Are there remains of clothing to indicate the level of comfort and care the Africans were given by the U.S. government and people of Key West?

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Under contract with the U.S. Government, Key West carpenter Daniel Davis made the coffins and performed the burial for each victim.

17) What sorts of coffins were used?

18) Did the coffins conform to a national governmental standard?

19) Do the secondary burials, performed by the U.S. Army and necessitated by the construction of the West Martello impinging on the original cemetery site, differ from the primary burials? How so?

20) How do any differences reflect a change in policy or attitude toward the Africans?

21) What might those changes have been and why?

Comparisons with African slave or African-descendant burial grounds in the U.S.

The African Cemetery at Higgs Beach could create a unique database of information for comparative data to cemeteries where folks had been immersed in American culture and acculturation (e.g., the African Burial Ground in Manhattan) is a significant anthropological concept that has great importance for understanding race and the formation of racial identity in America. The burials at Key West provide a benchmark for understanding life under the U.S. government system of dealing with African people liberated from slave ships before they became exposed to American culture.

22) How might the burials at Key West compare to other sites, such as those of native Africans, those of slave and freedmen, or those who came to the United States and then lived and were buried here independent of government control?

23) Considering the people buried at Key West were intended for slave labor but never experienced it, can their remains serve as a baseline for comparison with the remains of known slaves in regard to the effects of hard labor? (i.e., they serve as a "pre-labor" data set in understanding how life under slavery affected and shaped the human body.)

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GEOGRAPHICAL DATA**

Verbal Boundary Description

The African Cemetery is located on Higgs Beach on the south coast of Key West. The eastern site boundary is about 125 feet west of the intersection of White Street and Atlantic Boulevard. Atlantic Boulevard, bike paths, and a sidewalk run generally east- west through the cemetery and it is very likely there are still graves below the pavement. The cemetery is bounded by West Martello and the Atlantic Ocean to the south. At present, a picnic area is to the east and then a bandstand. North of Atlantic Boulevard graves were located within the current Small Dog Park. The Large Dog Park bounds the cemetery to the north. Lawrence Conyers (2010) concluded that the absence of graves in the area north of the small dog park may be due to the difficulty of digging graves where bedrock is so close to the surface. See accompanying map entitled Graves on Map.

Boundary Justification

As previously noted, the historic accounts and maps of Key West describe the location and temporary compound where the Africans were held and the location of their cemetery, about a mile to the east (See Topographical Map of the Island of Key West. Capt. E.B. Hunt, Corps of Engineers and James C. Clapp, Draughtsman, Ft. Taylor. September 1861 and the African Cemetery, detail). In addition, the historic descriptions of ground breaking activities for construction of West Martello in 1862 indeed point to this location. Based on the historic record and informant interview, Corey Malcom theorized the relocated burials were near the original cemetery.

The location and limits of the African Cemetery were confirmed archaeologically with ground penetrating radar studies by Lawrence B. Conyers, Geophysical Investigations, Inc. conducted in June 2002 and November 2010 (Conyers L and C. Malcom 2002; Conyers 2010; Map 2010 by William P. Horn Architect, P.A.). Site maps of Higgs Beach by William P. Horn, P. A. 2010 show the existing site plan with graves plotted that were discovered in the ground penetrating radar studies. Site boundaries were drawn to encompass all located graves and paved areas between where graves are likely, but with current technology, cannot be detected with ground penetrating radar.

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PHOTOGRAPHS

- 1 1) African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, 1001 Atlantic Boulevard
 2) Key West, Monroe County, Florida
 3) Diane Silvia, Historic Preservation Officer for Monroe County
 4) July 9, 2011
 5) Monroe County Historic Preservation Office (digitals)
 6) Original cemetery on Higgs Beach, camera facing SW
 7) Photo 1 of 8

Items 1-5 are the same for the remaining photographs.

- 2 6) Florida Historical Marker (noncontributing object), camera facing WSW
 7) Photo 2 of 8
- 3 6) Protective/Interpretive slab over original cemetery, showing depiction of ship embarkation sites of
 captured Africans in Africa. Oblong shapes etched in pavement indicate locations of burials
 identified by ground penetrating radar Small piers around the edge provide more interpretation and are
 counted as part of the noncontributing slab. Camera facing S.
 7) Photo 3 of 8
- 4 6) Protective/Interpretive slab over original cemetery, camera facing S
 7) Photo 4 of 8
- 5 6) Protective/Interpretive slab over original cemetery, with white-fenced dog park (where secondary
 burials are located across Atlantic Boulevard), camera facing WSW
 7) Photo 5 of 8
- 6 6) View of the West Martello, camera facing S, from Small Dog Park across Atlantic Boulevard
 7) Photo 6 of 8
- 7 6) Large Dog Park, camera facing NE
 7) Photo 7 of 8
- 8 6) Small Dog Park, camera facing NW
 7) Photo 8 of 8

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APPENDIX 1: Supplies for the Africans at Key West

Buckets – 21
Covered Tin Pail – 1
Covered Wood Pail - 1
Iron spoons – 60
Tin Basins – 7
Tin Pans – 21
Saucepan – 3
Baker's Pans – 2
Skimmer – 1
Cook Knife – 1
Coffee Pots – 4
Pitchers – 2
Nutmeg Grater – 1
Tin Spoons – 1206
Wooden Spoons – 1296
Table Spoons – 3
Tin Can – 1
Funnel – 1
Demi-Johns – 3
Corn Mills – 4
Sieve – 1
Tin Dippers – 2
Ladle – 1
Tumblers – 9
Lanterns – 17
Tin Can for Lard Oil – 1
Tin Pans – 240
Wood Pumps – 3
Cords of Wood – 17
Axes – 2
Axe Handles – 3
Corn Brooms – 44
Hickory Brooms – 6
Oil Feeder – 1

Food

Rice – 24,727 lbs. + 6 casks from Havana
Corn Meal – 1656 lbs. + 1 barrel + 1 peck +
18 bushels
Pilot Bread – 18,403 lbs.
Navy Bread – 8026 lbs.
Flour - 13 ½ barrels
Soda Biscuits – 14 lbs.
Potatoes – 21 barrels
Mess Beef – 12 Barrels + 25lbs.
Jerked Beef – 2283 lbs.
Fresh Beef – 1453 ½ lbs.
Bacon – 2033 ¼ lbs.
Bacon Shoulders – 1031 lbs.
Codfish – 3626 lbs.
Split-peas – 24 bushels
Peas – 1 ½ barrels
Cowpeas – 106 bushels
Beans - 6742 ½ lbs.
Lard Oil – 56 gallons
Brown Sugar – 305 lbs.
Crushed Sugar – 320 lbs.
Molasses – 14 gallons
Salt – 14 ½ bushels
Cayenne Pepper – 2 dozen boxes + 23
bottles + 9 cans
Vinegar – 1 barrel + 10 gallons
Limes – 8800
Lemons – 200
Green Peppers
Nutmegs – 24
Pepper – 104 lbs.
Garlic Cloves – ¼ lb.
Tamarinds – 1 bushel

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Section number Photos & Page 3
 Appendices

AFRICAN CEMETERY AT HIGGS BEACH

**KEY WEST, MONROE COUNTY, FLORIDA
PHOTOS & APPENDICES**

Tubs – 2
Basket – 1
Soap – 174 lbs. + 6 bars
Salt Water Soap – 174 lbs. + 8 bars
Castile Soap – 3 lbs.
Globe Lamps – 6
Balls of Lamp Wick – 8
Lamp Feeder – 1
Matches – 216
Pipes – 4 ½ boxes
Tobacco – 236 lbs.
Snuff – 1 dozen bottles
Oil Can – 1
Marine Clock – 1
Clock – 1
Scissors – 2
Water Casks – 34
Crash – 16 yards
Duck – 4 yards
Shovels – 9
Spade – 1
Rakes – 6
Memorandum Book – 1
Bottle Ink – 1
Manilla – 5 ¼ lbs.
Queen Paper – 1
Paper Tacks – 1
Corks – 144
Cork Screw – 1
Powder – 1 ½ lbs.
Sulphur – 2 lbs.
Hemp Twine – 10 ½ lbs.
Ball Twine – 7
Cotton Twine – 2 ¾ lbs.
Spun Yarn – 3 ½ lbs.
Sail Needles

Black Tea – 24 lbs.
Ice – 725 lbs.
Water – 72,461 gallons
Whiskey – 30 gallons
Cuba Rum – 20 gallons
Brandy – 6 ½ gallons
“Stops” – 1 lb.

Clothing

Blankets – 46 + 492 pair
Spreads – 5
Shirting – 14 pair
Hickory Shirts – 854
Shirts – 373
Check Shirts – 132
Men's Shirts – 576
Boys Shirts – 24
Blue Flannel Shirt – 1
Chemises and Trimmings – 638
Pants – 108
Boys Pants – 2
Boys Caps – 2
Gunny Cloth – 1299 yards
Cotton – 220 yards
Bleached Cotton – 283 ¾ yards
Calico – 964 yards
Muslin – 20 yards
Red Flannel – 3 yards
Thread – 3 ½ lbs. + 59 spools
Handkerchiefs – 174
Shoes – 2 pair

Hospital

Corn Mattresses – 12
Empty Bags – 25
Sponge – 2 ¼ lbs.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section number	Photos & <u>Appendices</u>	Page	4	AFRICAN CEMETERY AT HIGGS BEACH KEY WEST, MONROE COUNTY, FLORIDA PHOTOS & APPENDICES
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Razors -- 6	Arrowroot -- 45 lbs.
Razor Strop -- 1	Wine Glasses -- 2
Deck Buckets -- 1	Chamber Pots -- 30
Stop -- 1	Castile Soap -- 3 lbs.
Faucet -- 1	Brandy -- 4 ½ gallons
Chain -- Two pieces	Medicine Chest -- 1
Cowhide -- 1	Oil -- 1 bottle
"Cusares" -- 35 packages	Crushed Sugar -- 20 lbs.
Triangles -- 3	Flapseed -- 2 lbs.
Bell -- 1	Claret Wine -- 6 bottles
Slack Lime -- 2 Barrels	Fowls -- 6
Stocks -- 1	Demijohn -- 1
Bale Hay -- 1	Stove -- 1
Iron Boilers -- 3	Bottles 1 dozen
Stove -- 1	

APPENDIX 2: The Africans at Key West - A Time-line

September - November 1859 -- The U.S. Navy steamers *Mohawk*, *Crusader*, *Wyandotte*, and *Water Witch* are given orders to patrol the waters surrounding Cuba in order to suppress the slave trade.

March 6, 1860 -- The Cuba squadron is given notice of the suspected slaver *William* bound for the island.

April 26, 1860 -- *Mohawk* intercepts and seizes the *Wildfire* off Nuevitas with a cargo of 540 Africans

April 30, 1860 -- *Mohawk* arrives at Key West with *Wildfire* in tow.

May 1, 1860 -- The first African dies at Key West, and is buried there.

May 4, 1860 -- After the construction of baracoons and a hospital, 507 Africans are delivered to US Marshal Fernando Moreno.

May 9, 1860 -- *Wyandotte* captures the *William* off the Isle of Pines with 570 Africans onboard.

May 12, 1860 -- *Wyandotte* arrives at Key West with the *William* and 513 Africans.

May 19, 1860 -- President Buchanan addresses Congress regarding the Africans at Key West, and asking for their cooperation in funding transportation of them to Liberia.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section number	Photos & Appendices	Page	5	AFRICAN CEMETERY AT HIGGS BEACH KEY WEST, MONROE COUNTY, FLORIDA PHOTOS & APPENDICES
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May 22, 1860 – Buchanan sends another message to Congress relating the arrival of the *William*, and the urgency of the situation at Key West.

May 23, 1860 – *Crusader* captures the *Bogota* near Lobos Island on the Bahamas Bank.

May 25, 1860 – *Crusader* brings *Bogota* to Key West with 411 Africans.

May 28, 1860 – A boy is born at Key West to a woman rescued from the *Wildfire*.

May 30, 1860 – A contract is signed between the United States and the American Colonization Society to send the Africans to Liberia.

June 7, 1860 – *Wildfire* is ordered condemned by Judge William Marvin.

June 10, 1860 – Moreno notes that 133 Africans have died.

June 25, 1860 – 222 Africans are dead.

June 30, 1860 - Ship *Castilian*, after arriving at Key West, takes 400 Africans to Cape Mount, Liberia.

July 14, 1860 - Ship *South Shore* takes aboard 385 Africans for Liberia. Two drown before embarkation.

July 19, 1860 – Ship *Star of the Union* takes on 383 Africans, the last group, for Liberia. A total of 295 Africans died while at Key West.

August 26, 1860 – *Castilian* arrives at Cape Mount with 308 Africans.

September 6 – *South Shore* arrives at Gran Bassa with 233 Africans. *Star of the Union* arrives at Sinoe with 320.

December, 1860 – Charges are dropped by the Grand jury against Phillip Stanhope for his participation in the slave trade as Master of the *Wildfire*. Washington Symmes of the *William* is found "Not Guilty."

March 26, 1861 – Permission is given by Secretary of the Interior Caleb Smith to the Army to tear down the African baracoons at Key West.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Section number	<u>Photos & Appendices</u>	Page	<u>6</u>	AFRICAN CEMETERY AT HIGGS BEACH KEY WEST, MONROE COUNTY, FLORIDA PHOTOS & APPENDICES
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APPENDIX 3: Images from media coverage at the time of the event

The Slave Deck of the Bark "Wildfire," Brought into Key West on April 30, 1860 – [From a Daguerreotype.]
Harper's Weekly, June 2, 1860.

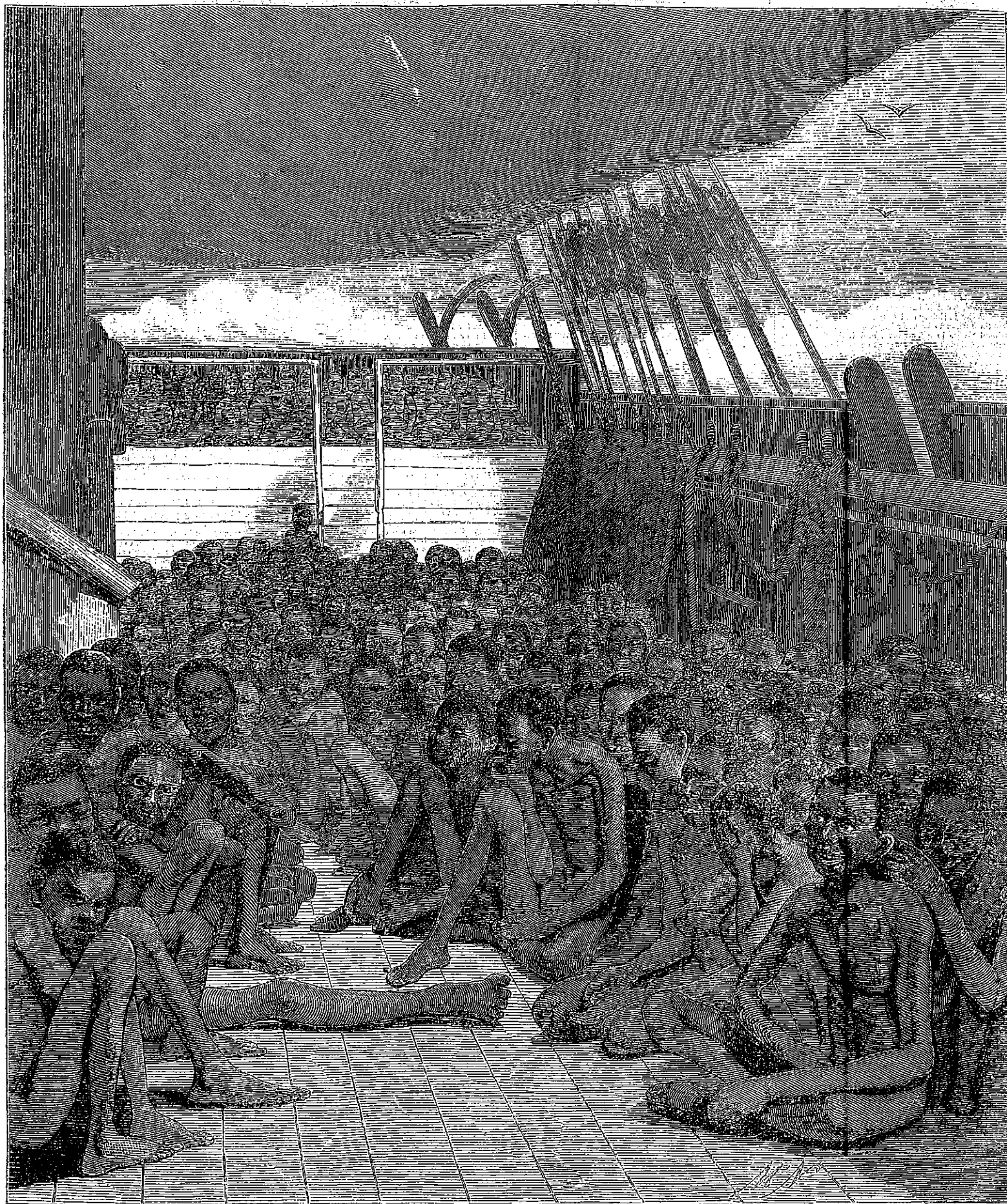
An African. – [From a Daguerreotype.] *Harper's Weekly*, June 2, 1860.

The Only Baby Among the Africans. – [Daguerreotyped.] *Harper's Weekly* June 2, 1860.

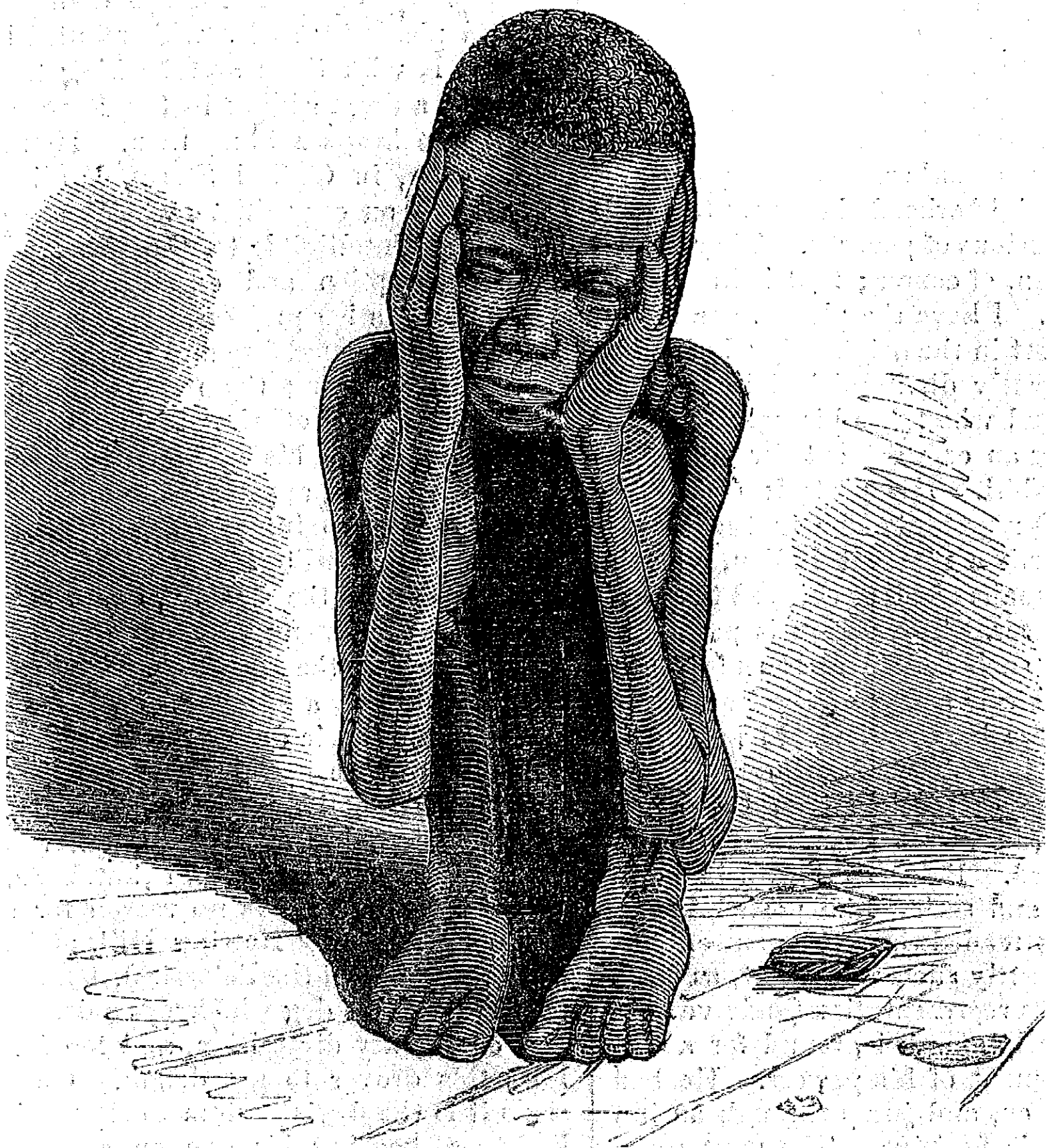
The Barracoon at Key West, Where the Africans are Confined.—[From a Daguerreotype.] *Harper's Weekly*,
June 2, 1860.

[Incomplete caption] . . .ties for the Accommodation of the Negroes Captured from Slavers by the United States
Cruise, see Page 65." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 23, 1860.

THE AFRICANS OF THE SLAVE BARK "WILDFIRE."—[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]



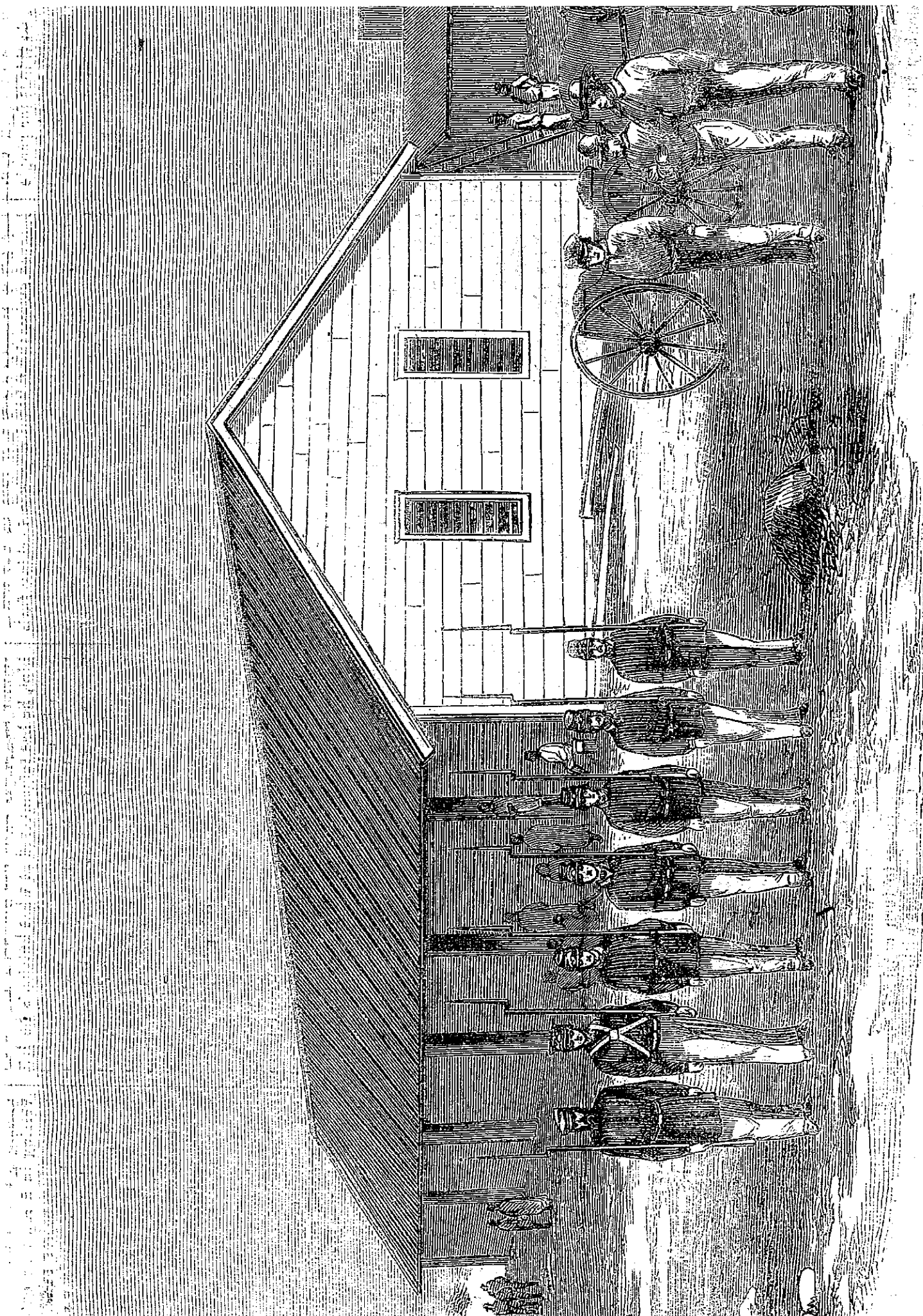
THE SLAVE DECK OF THE BARK "WILDFIRE," BROUGHT INTO KEY WEST ON APRIL 30, 1860.—[FROM A DAGUERRETYPE.]



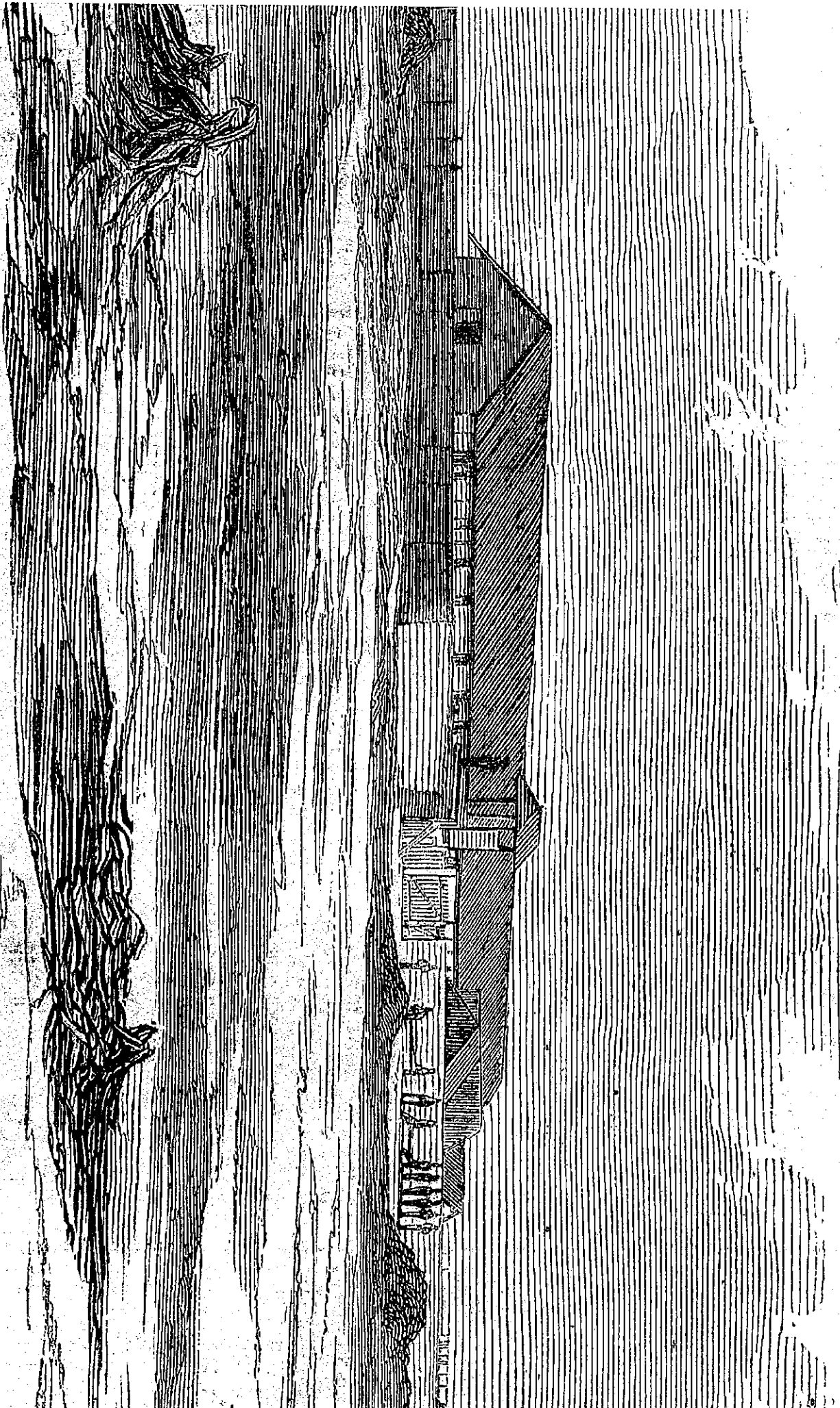
AN AFRICAN.—[FROM A DAGUERRETYPE.]



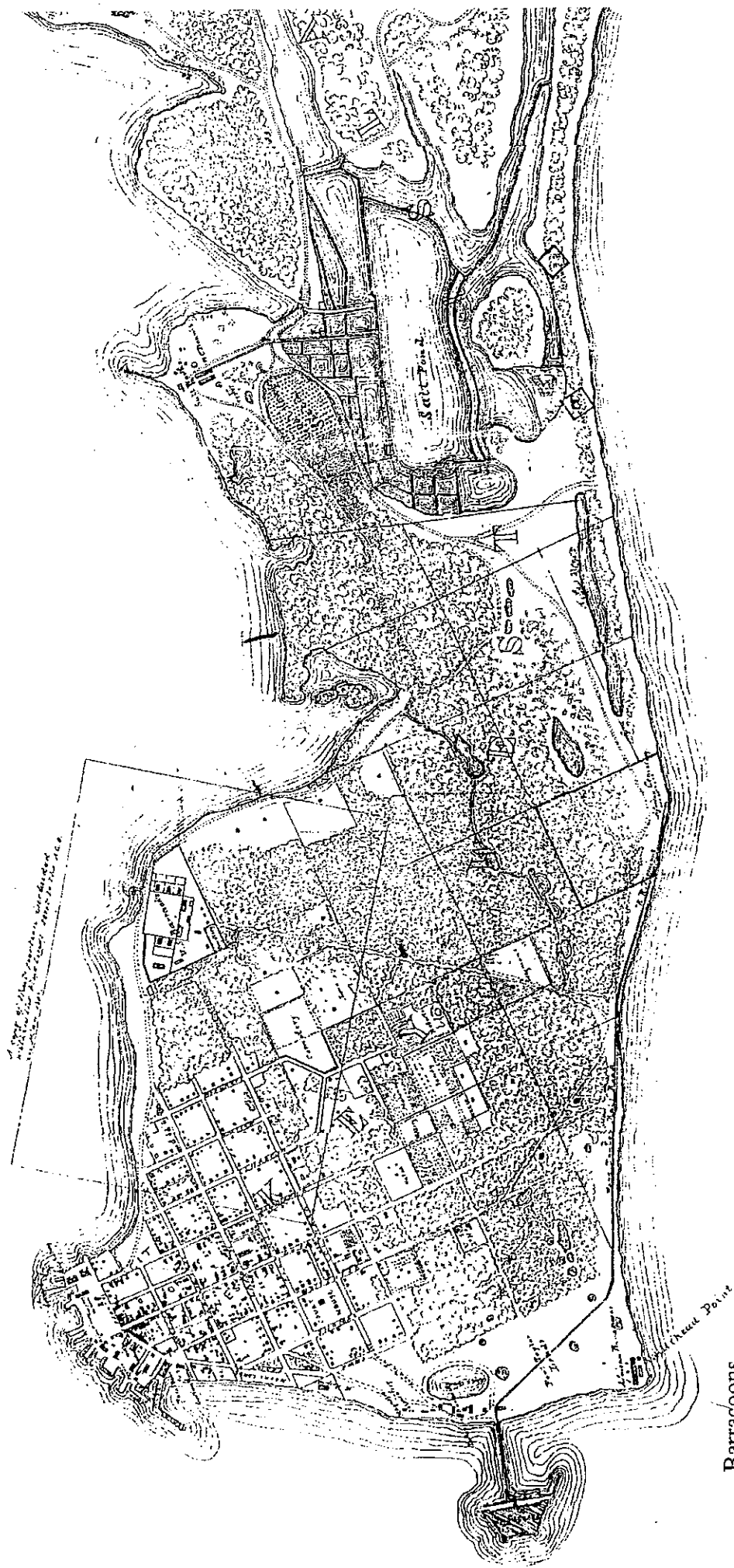
THE ONLY BABY AMONG THE AFRICANS.—[DAGUERREOTYPED.]



THE BARRACoon AT KEY WEST, WHERE THE AFRICANS ARE CONFINED.—[FROM A DAGUERRETYPE.]



RIES FOR THE ACCOMMODATION OF THE NEGROES CAPTURED FROM SLAVERS BY THE UNITED STATES CRUISE
SEE PAGE 65.



African Cemetery

AFRICAN CEMETERY AT HIGGS BEACH
Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Barracoons

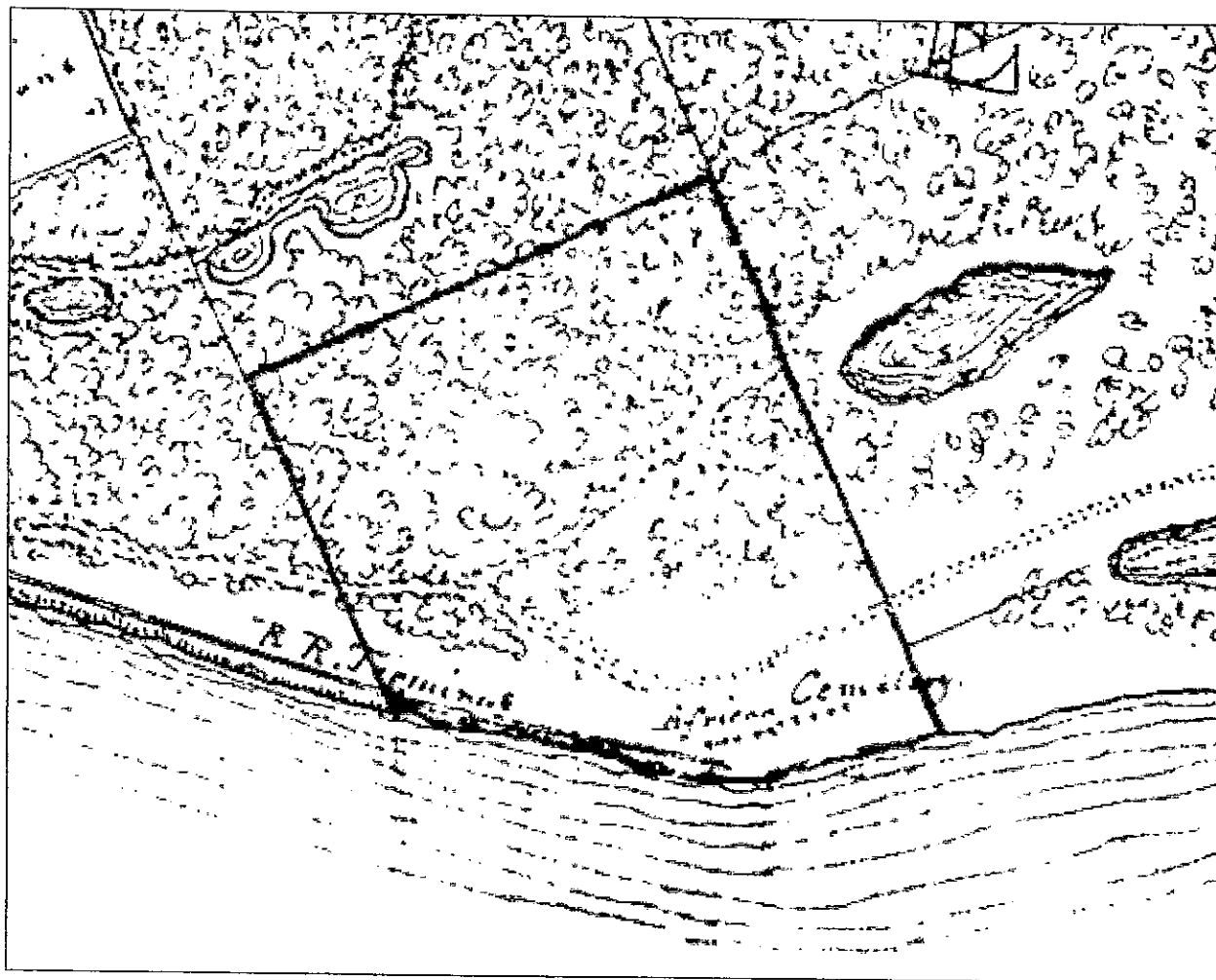
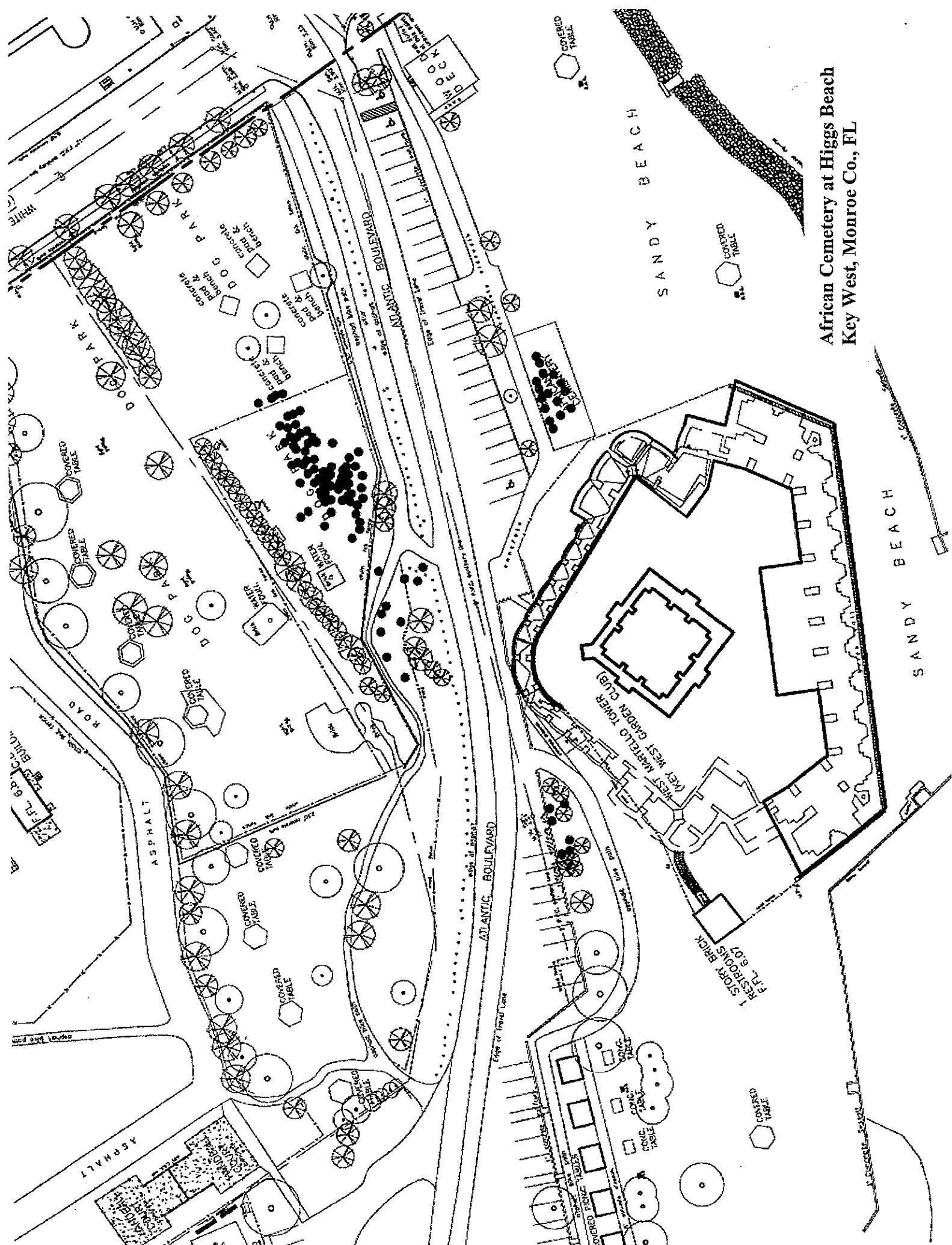


Figure 4. The African Cemetery, 1861. Detail from *Topographical Map of the Island of Key West*. Capt. E.B. Hunt, Corps of Engineers, and James C. Clapp, Draughtsman, Ft. Taylor. September, 1861.

**African Cemetery at Higgs Beach
Key West, Monroe Co., FL**

African Cemetery at Higgs Beach
Key West, Monroe Co., FL



WILLIAM P. HORN
ARCHITECT, P.A.

1115 EAST 10TH ST
KEY WEST,
FLORIDA
33603

TEL: (305) 294-4462
FAX: (305) 294-1531

WWW.WPHORN.COM
AN 0000010

HIGGS BEACH
KEY WEST, FL

LANDWISER

ARTIST'S CONCEPTS & DESIGN

PROPOSAL FOR IMPROVEMENTS

TRAFFIC TECH. AND IMPROVEMENTS

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

IN LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE
P.L.L.C.

SEAL

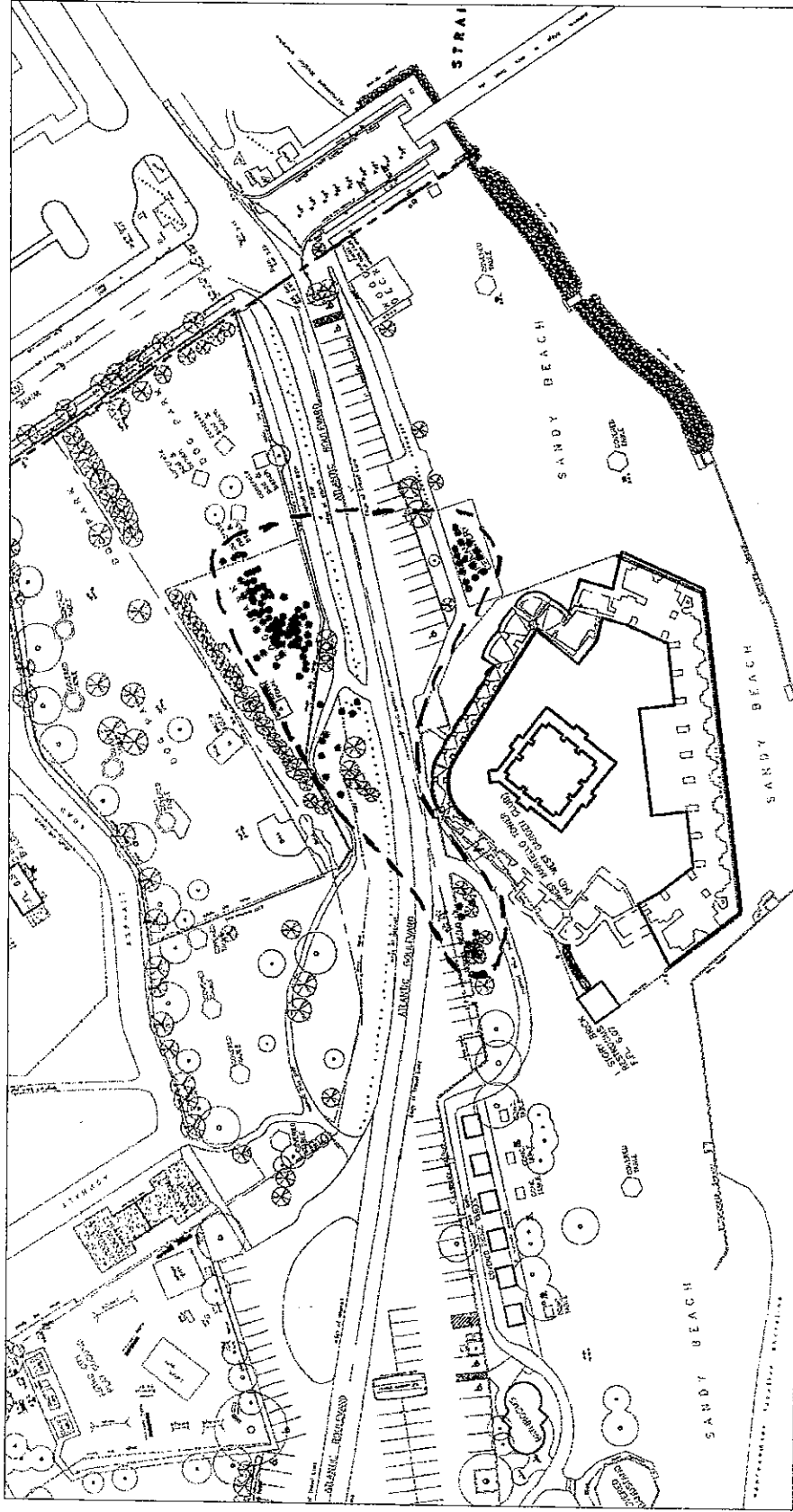
THIS SEAL VERIFICATION
AND IS NOT A PROFESSIONAL
AUTHORIZATION TO
PRACTICE IN FLORIDA

DATE
06-22-10

REVISIONS

DRAWN BY
EMA

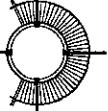
PROJECT
NUMBER
104

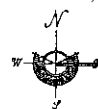
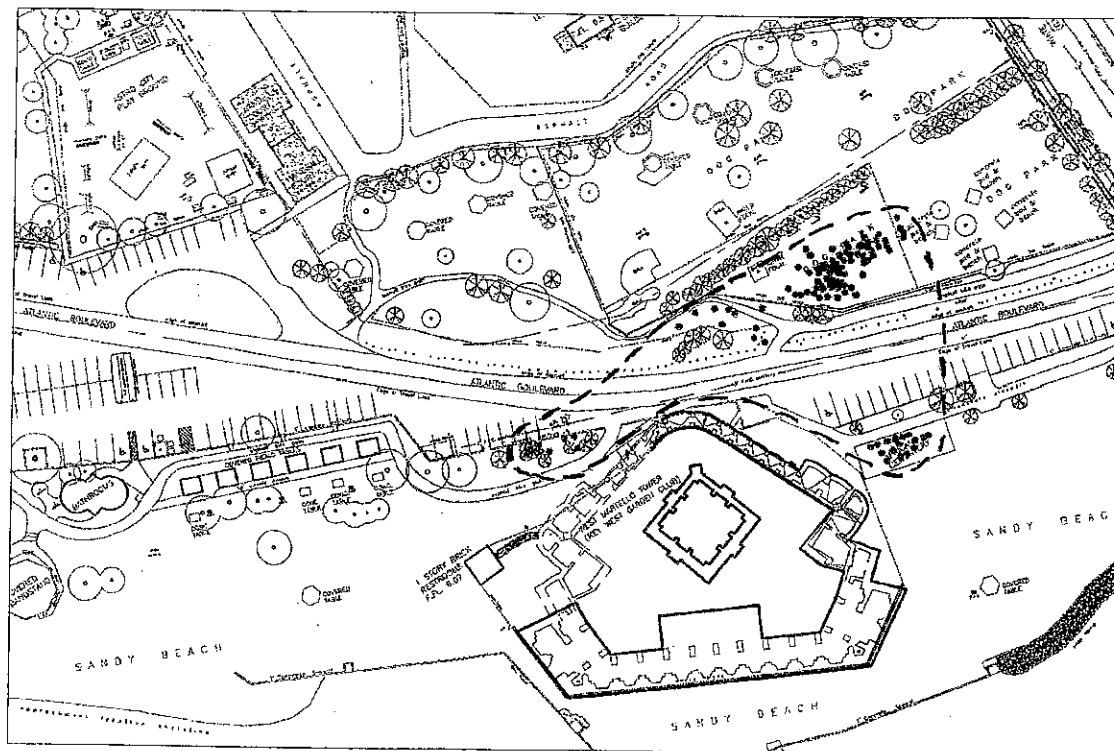


African Cemetery at Higgs Beach Key West, Monroe Co., FL

GRAVES ON MAP
SITE PLAN BASED ON INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM SURVEY PREPARED
BY FREDERICK H. HILDEBRANDT, SURVEYOR DATED ON 04-23-10 N.T.S.

CLARENCE HIGGS BEACH - MASTER PLAN
KEY WEST, FLORIDA





GRAVES ON MAP

SITE PLAN BASED ON INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM SURVEY PREPARED BY FREDERICK H. HILDEBRANDT, SURVEYOR DATED ON 04-25-10

N.T.S.

African Cer
Key West, FL

CLARENCE HIGGS BEACH - MASTER PLAN
KEY WEST, FLORIDA

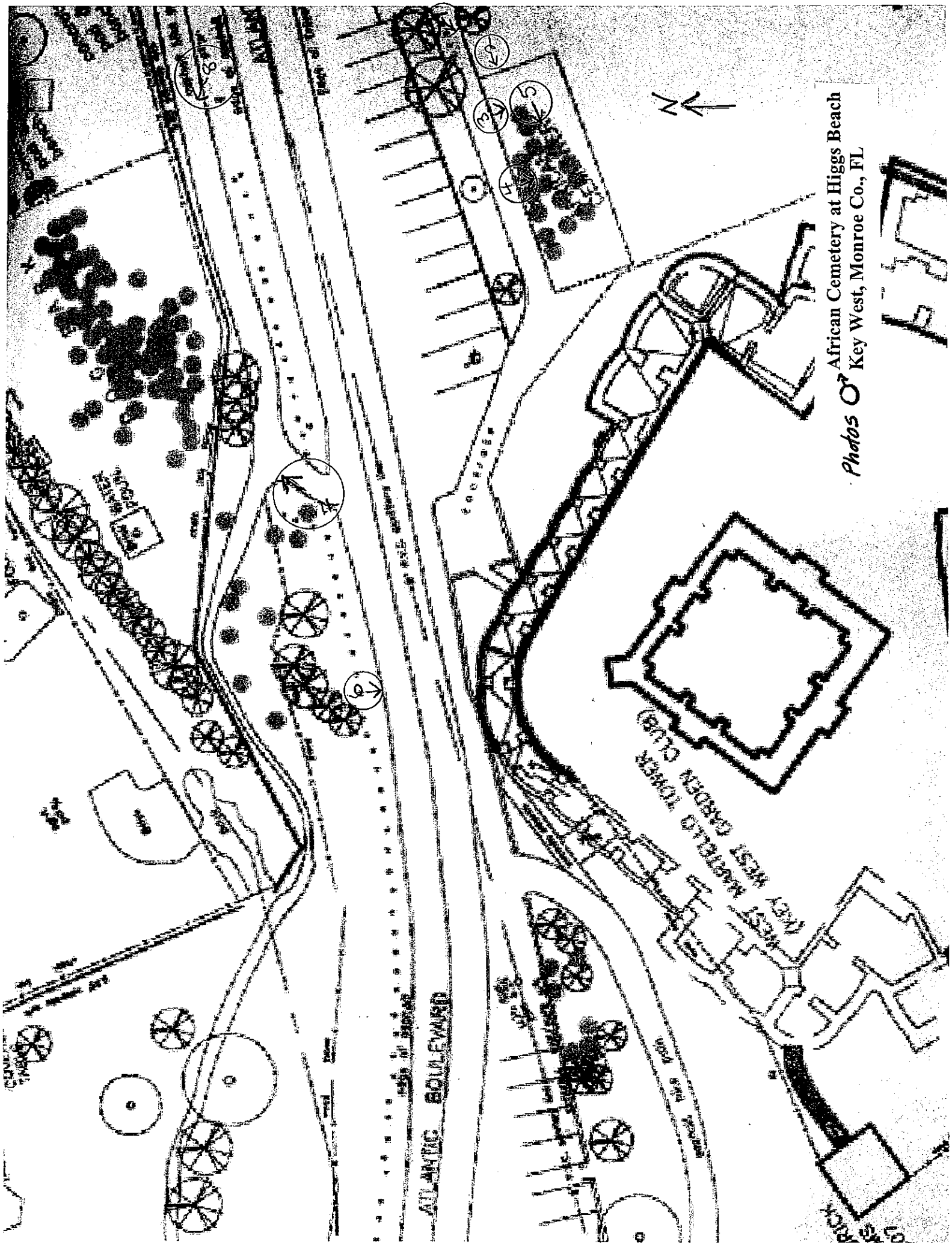


Google earth

feet
meters



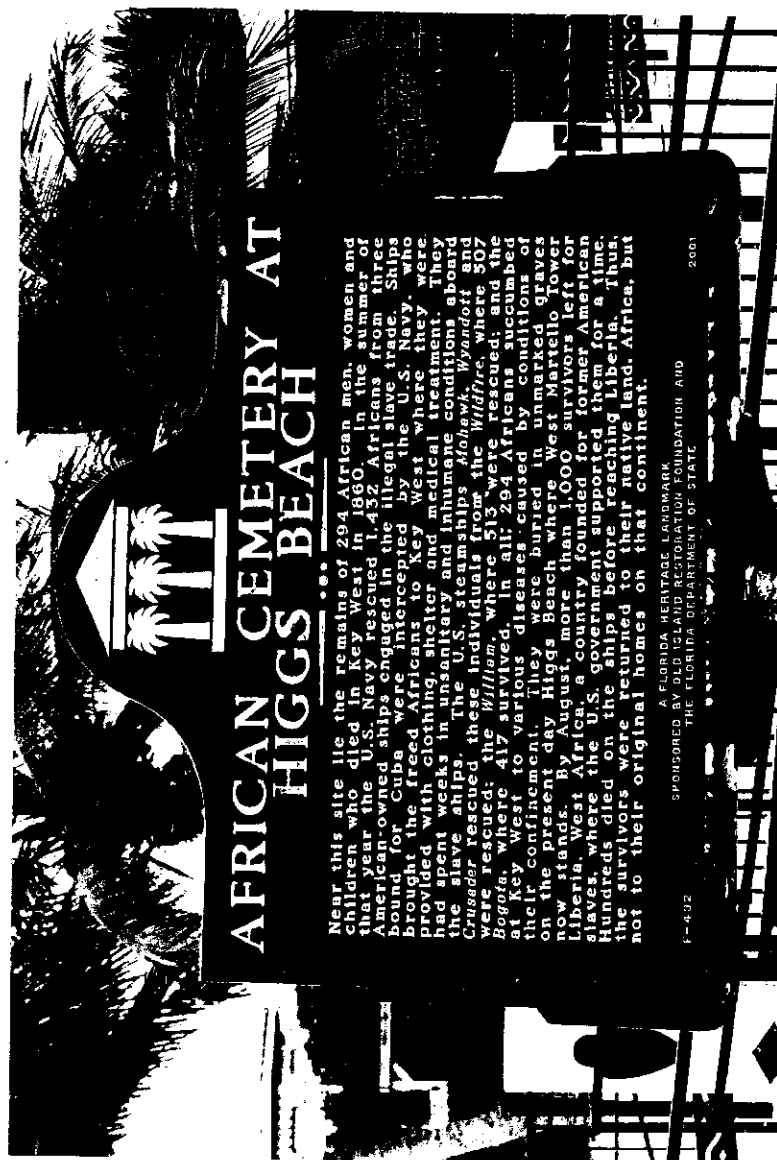
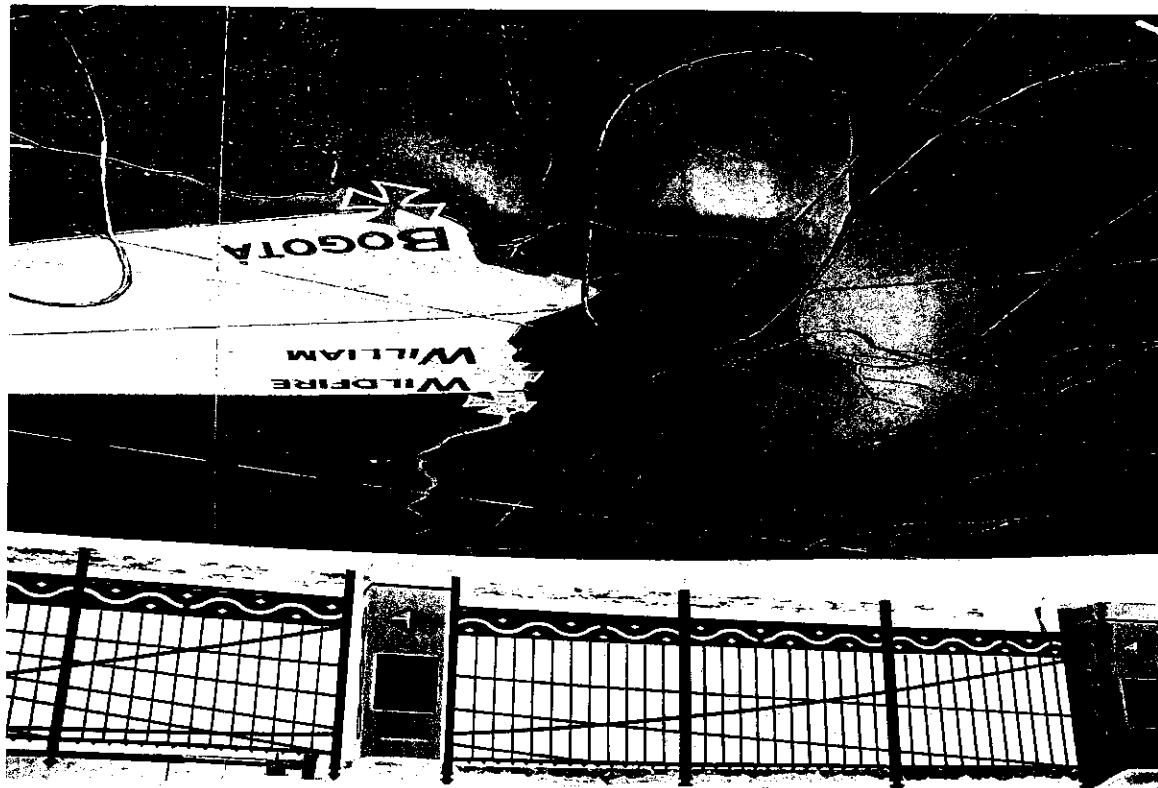
African Cemetery at Higgs Beach
Key West, Monroe Co., FL



Photos of African Cemetery at Higgs Beach
Key West, Monroe Co., FL

Key West, Monroe Co., FL
17 420360 2714930





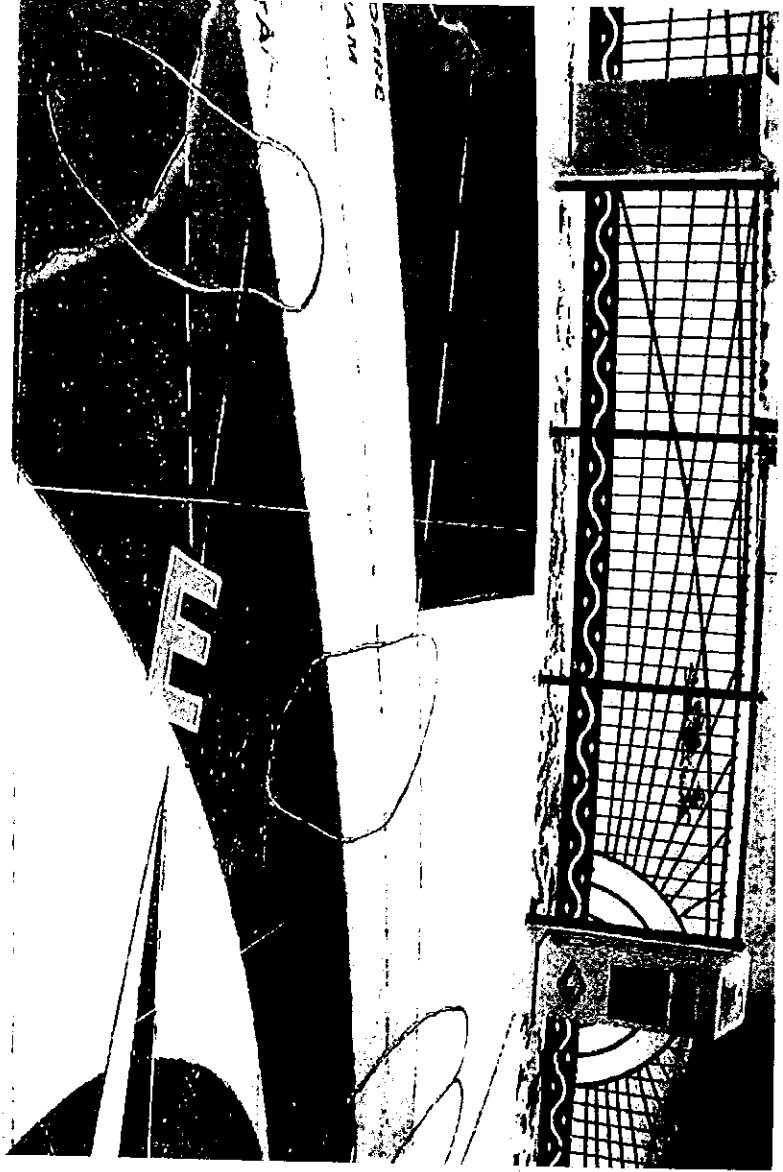
AFRICAN CEMETERY AT HIGGS BEACH

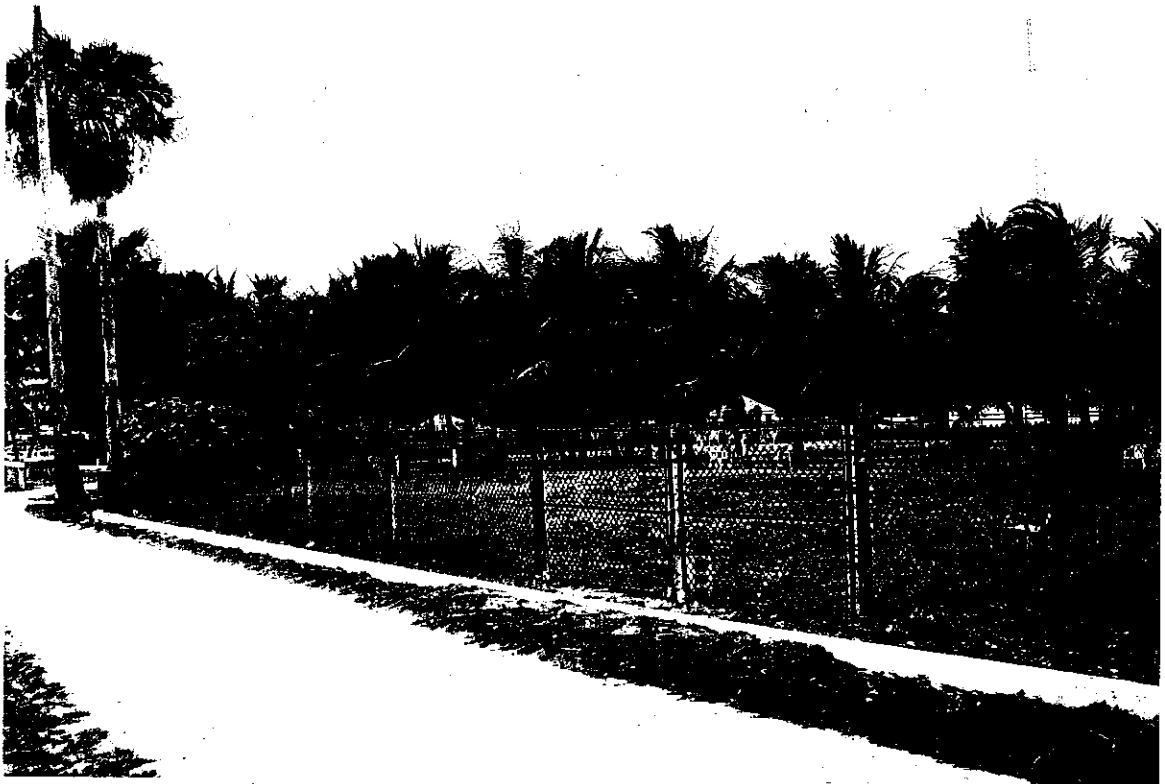
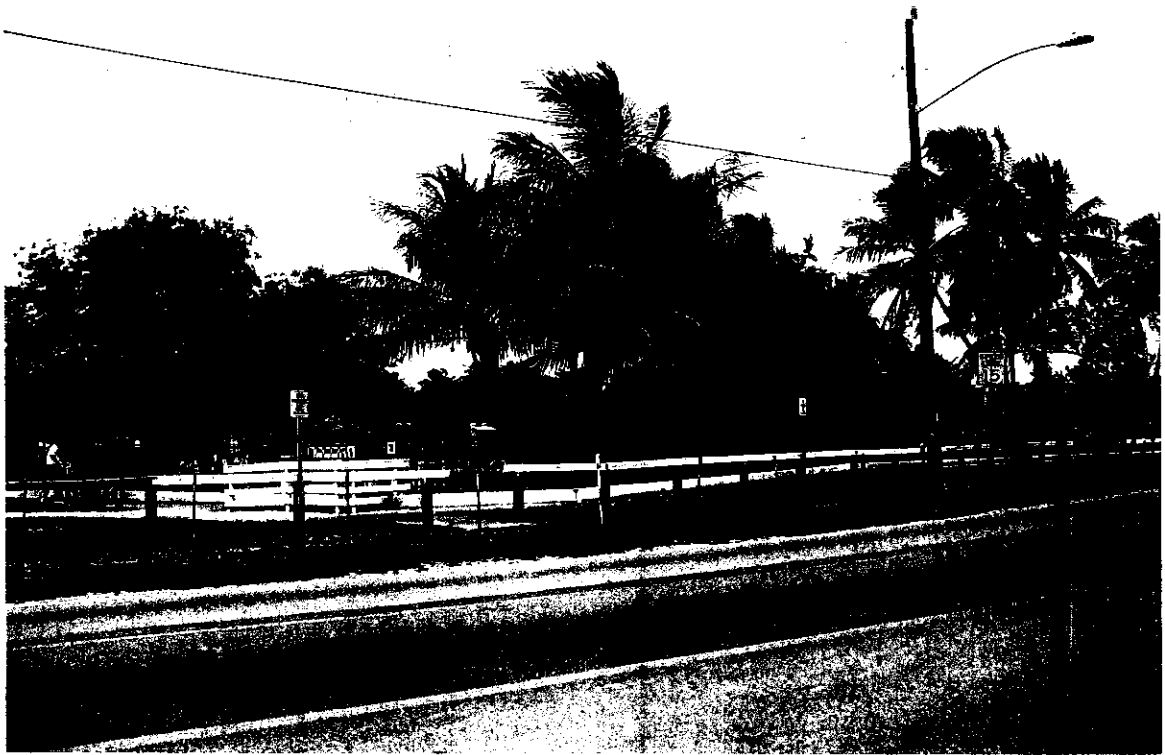
Near this site lie the remains of 294 African men, women and children who died in Key West in 1850. In the summer of that year the U.S. Navy rescued in 1850. Africans from three American-owned ships engaged in the illegal slave trade. Ships bound for Cuba were intercepted by the U.S. Navy, who brought the freed Africans to Key West where they were provided with clothing, shelter and medical treatment. These had spent weeks in unsanitary and inhumane conditions aboard the slave ships. The U.S. steamships *Mohawk*, *Wyandott* and *Cruiser* rescued these individuals from the *Wildfire*, where 507 were rescued; the *William*, where 513 were rescued; and the *Key*, where 417 survived. In all, 294 Africans succumbed to various diseases caused by conditions of their confinement. They were buried in unmarked graves on the present day Higgs Beach where West Martello tower now stands. By August 1850, more than 1,000 survivors left for Liberia, West Africa, a country founded for former American slaves, where the U.S. government provided them with a time. Hundreds died on the ships before reaching land, but the survivors were returned to their native land, Africa, but not to their original homes on that continent.

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THE FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF STATE

F-492

2001







FLORIDA DEPARTMENT of STATE

RICK SCOTT
Governor

KEN DETZNER
Secretary of State

July 12, 2012

Ms. Diane Silvia
Historic Florida Keys Foundation
Old City Hall
510 Greene Street
Key West, Florida 33040

Re: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Dear Ms. Silvia:

It is a pleasure to advise you that the above referenced property was officially listed in the National Register of Historic Places on June 26, 2012.

The enclosed fact sheet outlines the results of listing in the National Register with reference to major Federal and State laws and regulations related to listed properties. Local planning agencies should be aware of the review requirements pertaining to any Federally or State assisted activities that may have an impact on listed properties. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at 850-245-6333 or 1-800-847-7278.

Sincerely,

Barbara E. Mattick, PhD.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

BEM/ajw

Enclosure

Pc: Ms. Enid Torregrosa
Mr. Corey Malcolm

DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

R. A. Gray Building • 500 South Bronough Street • Tallahassee, Florida 32399-0250

Telephone: 850.245.6300 • Facsimile: 850.245.6436 • www.flheritage.com

Commemorating 500 years of Florida history www.fla500.com





FLORIDA DEPARTMENT of STATE

RICK SCOTT
Governor

KEN DETZNER
Secretary of State

July 12, 2012

The Honorable David Rice
Mayor, Monroe County Board of County Commissioners
1100 Simonton Street
Key West, Florida 33040

Re: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Dear Mayor Rice:

It is a pleasure to advise you that the above referenced property was officially listed in the National Register of Historic Places on June 26, 2012.

The enclosed fact sheet outlines the results of listing in the National Register with reference to major Federal and State laws and regulations related to listed properties. Local planning agencies should be aware of the review requirements pertaining to any Federally or State assisted activities that may have an impact on listed properties. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at 850-245-6333 or 1-800-847-7278.

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Barbara E. Mattick, PhD.
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Enclosure



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Telephone: 850.245.6300 • Facsimile: 850.245.6436 • www.flheritage.com
Commemorating 500 years of Florida history www.fla500.com



DELAWARE, NEW CASTLE COUNTY,
Riverview Cemetery Company of Wilmington, Delaware, 3300 & 3117 N. Market St., Wilmington,
12000378, LISTED, 7/03/12

DELAWARE, SUSSEX COUNTY,
Tunnell--West House,
39 Central Ave.,
Ocean View, 12000379,
LISTED, 7/03/12

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA STATE EQUIVALENT, Park Road Courts,
1346 Park Rd., NW.,
Washington, 12000380,
LISTED, 7/03/12
(Apartment Buildings in Washington, DC, MPS)

FLORIDA, MONROE COUNTY,
African Cemetery at Higgs Beach,
1001 Atlantic Blvd.,
Key West, 12000362,
LISTED, 6/26/12

M03445

GEORGIA, BALDWIN COUNTY,
Zattau, Dr. Charles and Louise, House,
290 Lakeside Dr.,
Milledgeville, 12000381,
LISTED, 7/03/12

GEORGIA, MONTGOMERY COUNTY,
McArthur, Willie T., Farm,
165 McArthur Rd.,
Ailey vicinity, 12000382,
LISTED, 7/03/12

INDIANA, WAYNE COUNTY,
Richmond Gas Company Building,
100 E. Main St.,
Richmond, 81000023,
REMOVED, 6/15/12

KANSAS, BUTLER COUNTY,
Gish, Amos H., Building,
317 S. Main,
Eldorado, 12000383,
LISTED, 7/03/12

KANSAS, DICKINSON COUNTY,
Gordon, David R., House,
400 N. Cedar St.,
Abilene, 12000384,
LISTED, 7/03/12

KANSAS, OSAGE COUNTY,
Arvonja School,
S. 9th St.,
Lebo vicinity, 12000387,
LISTED, 7/03/12

- ☒ Original
☐ Update
 (give site#)



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE FORM FLORIDA MASTER SITE FILE

Version 2.2 3/97

Consult Guide to Archaeological Site Form for detailed instructions.

Site #8 **M03445**
 Recorder Site# 1
 Field Date 1/1/00
 Form Date 7/20/00

Site Name(s) African Cemetery at Higgs Beach

Project Name _____

Multiple Listing (DHR only) _____

FMSF Survey # _____

Ownership: ☐ private-profit ☐ private-nonprofit ☐ private-individual ☐ private-unspecif. ☐ city ☒ county ☐ state ☐ federal ☐ foreign ☐ Native American ☐ unknownUSGS 7.5 Map Name & Date Key West Quadrangle, 1971County MonroeTownship 68S Range 25E Section unidentified Check if Irregular Section; Qtr. Section (check all that apply): ☐ NE ☐ NW ☐ SE ☐ SW

Landgrant _____ Tax Parcel # (s) _____

City / Town (if within 3 mi.) City of Key WestIn Current City Limits? ☒ yes ☐ no ☐ unknownUTM: Zone ☐ 16 ☒ 17 Easting 4 2 030 0 Northing 2 71 490 0Address / Vicinity of / Route to South side of Atlantic Blvd., just west of White Street. East of West Martello Tower

Name of Public Tract (e.g., park) _____

TYPE OF SITE (Check all choices that apply; if needed write others in at bottom)

SETTING *		STRUCTURES - OR - FEATURES *			FUNCTION *
<input type="checkbox"/> Land - terrestrial	<input type="checkbox"/> Lake/Pond - lacustrine	<input type="checkbox"/> aboriginal boat	<input type="checkbox"/> fort	<input type="checkbox"/> road segment	<input type="checkbox"/> none specified
<input type="checkbox"/> Cave/Sink - subterranean	<input type="checkbox"/> River/Stream/Creek - riverine	<input type="checkbox"/> agric/farm building	<input type="checkbox"/> midden	<input type="checkbox"/> shell midden	<input type="checkbox"/> campsite
<input type="checkbox"/> terrestrial	<input type="checkbox"/> Tidal - estuarine	<input type="checkbox"/> burial mound	<input type="checkbox"/> mill unspecified	<input type="checkbox"/> shell mound	<input type="checkbox"/> extractive site
<input type="checkbox"/> aquatic	<input type="checkbox"/> Saltwater - marine	<input type="checkbox"/> building remains	<input type="checkbox"/> mission	<input type="checkbox"/> shipwreck	<input type="checkbox"/> habitation (prehistoric)
<input type="checkbox"/> Intermittently flooded	<input type="checkbox"/> marine unspecified	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> cemetery/grave	<input type="checkbox"/> mound unspecified	<input type="checkbox"/> subsurface features	<input type="checkbox"/> homestead (historic)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Wetland - palustrine	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> "high energy" marine	<input type="checkbox"/> dump/refuse	<input type="checkbox"/> plantation	<input type="checkbox"/> surface scatter	<input type="checkbox"/> farmstead
<input type="checkbox"/> usually flooded	<input type="checkbox"/> "low energy" marine	<input type="checkbox"/> earthworks	<input type="checkbox"/> platform mound	<input type="checkbox"/> well	<input type="checkbox"/> village (prehistoric)
<input type="checkbox"/> sometimes flooded					<input type="checkbox"/> town (historic)
<input type="checkbox"/> usually dry					<input type="checkbox"/> quarry
<input type="checkbox"/> Other _____					<u>cemetery</u>

HISTORIC PERIODS (Check all that apply; use most specific subphases if given; if only date is given, use Glades I)

Aboriginal *		Nonaboriginal *	
<input type="checkbox"/> Alachua	<input type="checkbox"/> Englewood	<input type="checkbox"/> First Spanish 1513-99	
<input type="checkbox"/> Archaic, Early	<input type="checkbox"/> Fort Walton	<input type="checkbox"/> First Spanish 1600-99	
<input type="checkbox"/> Archaic, Middle	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades Ia	<input type="checkbox"/> First Spanish 1700-1763	
<input type="checkbox"/> Archaic, Late	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades Ib	<input type="checkbox"/> First Spanish unspecified	
<input type="checkbox"/> Archaic unspecified	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades I unspcif.	<input type="checkbox"/> British 1763-1783	
<input type="checkbox"/> Belle Glade I	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades I Ia	<input type="checkbox"/> Second Spanish 1783-1821	
<input type="checkbox"/> Belle Glade II	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades I Ib	<input type="checkbox"/> American Territorial 1821-45	
<input type="checkbox"/> Belle Glade III	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades I Ic	<input type="checkbox"/> American Civil War 1861-65	
<input type="checkbox"/> Belle Glade IV	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades II unspcif.	<input type="checkbox"/> American 19th Century	
<input type="checkbox"/> Belle Glade unspcif.	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades II Ia	<input type="checkbox"/> American 20th Century	
<input type="checkbox"/> Cades Pond	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades II Ib	<input type="checkbox"/> American unspecified	
<input type="checkbox"/> Deptford	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades II Ic	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> African-American	
<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Less common phases are not check-listed. For historic sites, also give specific dates if known.)	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III unspcif.		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III Ia		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III Ib		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III Ic		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III unspcif.		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III Ia		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III Ib		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III Ic		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III unspcif.		
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	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III Ic		
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	<input type="checkbox"/> Glades III unspcif.		
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE FORM

Site #8

Consult Guide to Archaeological Site Form for detailed instructions.

SITE DETECTION*

- ☐ no field check
☒ literature search
☐ informant report
☐ remote sensing
☐ exposed ground
☐ posthole digger
☐ auger--size: _____
☐ unscreened shovel
☐ screened shovel

Other methods; number, size, depth, pattern of units; screen size (attach site plan) _____

SITE BOUNDARIES*

- ☒ bounds unknown
☐ none by recorder
☐ literature search
☐ informant report
☐ remote sensing
☐ insp exposed ground
☐ posthole tests
☐ auger--size: _____
☐ unscreened shovel
☐ screened shovel
☐ block excavations
☐ estimate or guess

Extent Size (m²) _____ Depth/stratigraphy of cultural deposit unknown

Temporal Interpretation* - Components (check one): ☐ single ☒ prob single ☐ prob multiple ☐ multiple ☐ uncertain ☐ unknown
 Describe each occupation in plan (refer to attached large scale map) and stratigraphically. Discuss temporal and functional interpretations:
(see attached -The Slaves on Higgs Beach by Gail Swanson 2000).

Integrity Overall disturbance*: ☐ none seen ☐ minor ☐ substantial ☐ major ☐ redeposited ☐ destroyed-document ☒ unknown
 Disturbances/threats/protective measures Construction activities during planned renovations at West Martello Tower.

Surface: area collected _____ m² # collection units _____; Excavation: # noncontiguous blocks _____

Total Artifacts # _____ (C)ount or (E)stimate? Surface # _____ (C) or (E) Subsurface # _____ (C) or (E)

COLLECTION SELECTIVITY*

- ☐ unknown
☐ unselective (all artifacts)
☐ selective (some artifacts)
☐ mixed selectivity

SPATIAL CONTROL*

- ☐ uncollected ☐ general (not by subarea)
☐ unknown ☐ controlled (by subarea)
☐ variable spatial control
☐ Other _____

ARTIFACT CATEGORIES* and DISPOSITIONS* (example: A bone-human)

Pick exactly one code from Disposition List ⇨ ⇨ ⇨

- _____ bone-animal
 _____ bone-human
 _____ bone-unspecified
 _____ bone-worked
 _____ brick/building debris
 _____ ceramic-aboriginal
 _____ ceramic-nonaboriginal
 _____ daub
 _____ exotic-nonlocal
 _____ glass
 _____ lithics-aboriginal
 _____ metal-nonprecious
 _____ metal-precious/coin
 _____ shell-unworked
 _____ shell-worked
 _____ Others: _____

Disposition List*

- A - category always collected
S - some items in category collected
O - observed first hand, but not collected
R - collected and subsequently left at site
I - informant reported category present
U - unknown

Artifact Comments _____

DIAGNOSTICS (Type or mode, and frequency: e.g., Suwanee ppk, heat-treated chert, Deptford Check-stamped, Ironstone/whiteware)

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. _____ N= _____ | 5. _____ N= _____ | 9. _____ N= _____ |
| 2. _____ N= _____ | 6. _____ N= _____ | 10. _____ N= _____ |
| 3. _____ N= _____ | 7. _____ N= _____ | 11. _____ N= _____ |
| 4. _____ N= _____ | 8. _____ N= _____ | 12. _____ N= _____ |

Nearest fresh water type* & name (incl. relict source) sub-surface Distance (m)/bearing _____

Natural community (FNAI category* or leave blank) Mangrove community around nearby salt ponds.

Local vegetation halophytic shrubs and grasses

Topography* beach

Present land use Public Beach/Park Min Elevation 2 meters Max Elevation 3 meters

SCS soil series Key Largo Limestone Soil association Entisois

FURTHER INFORMATION

Informant(s): Name/Address/Phone/Email Corey Malchholm, Mel Fisher Maritime Museum

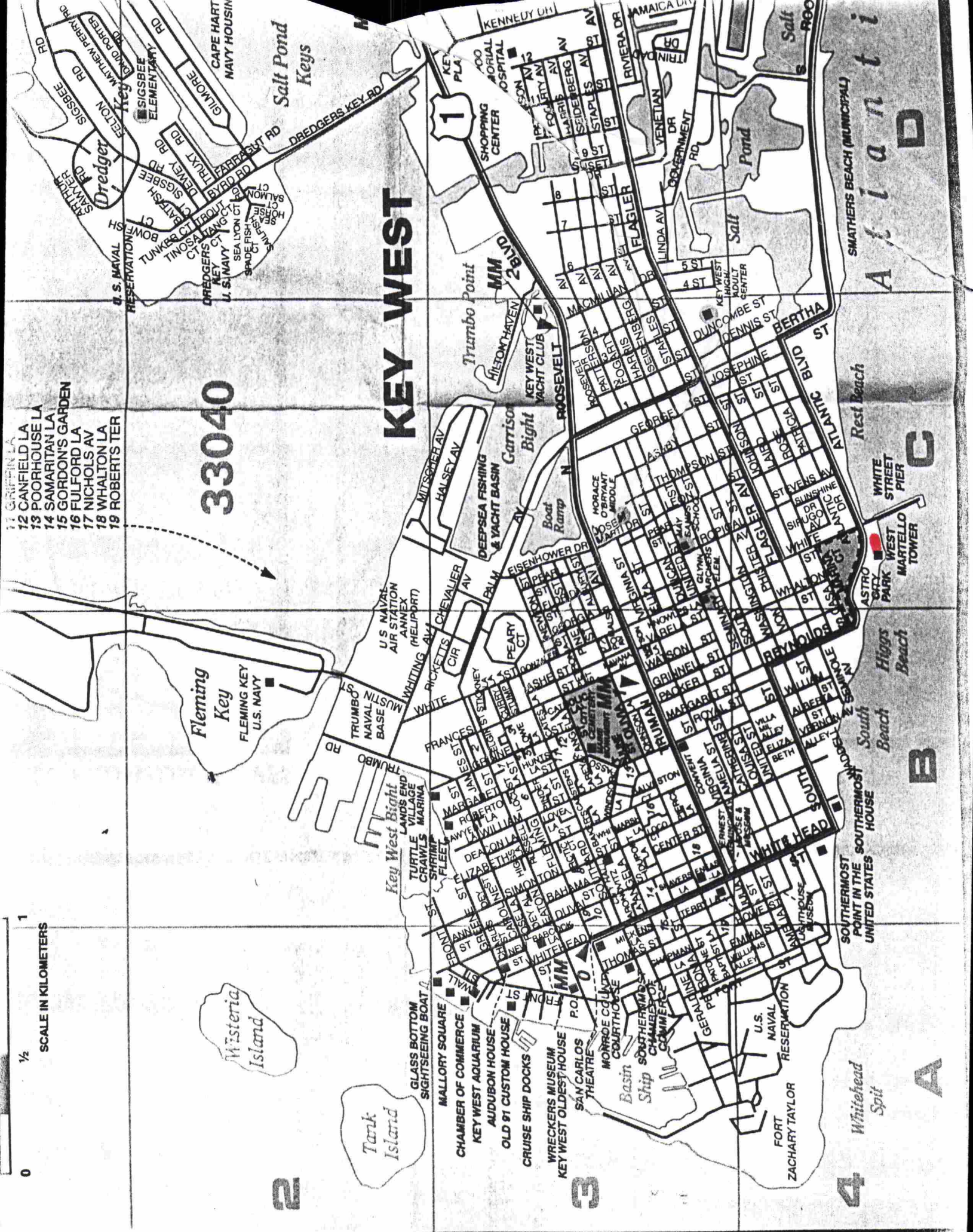
Describe field & analysis notes, artifacts, photos. For each, give type* (e.g., notes), curating organization*, accession #s, and short description.
200 Greene Street, Key West, FL 33040
(305)294-2633 ext. 22
ShipLine@aol.com

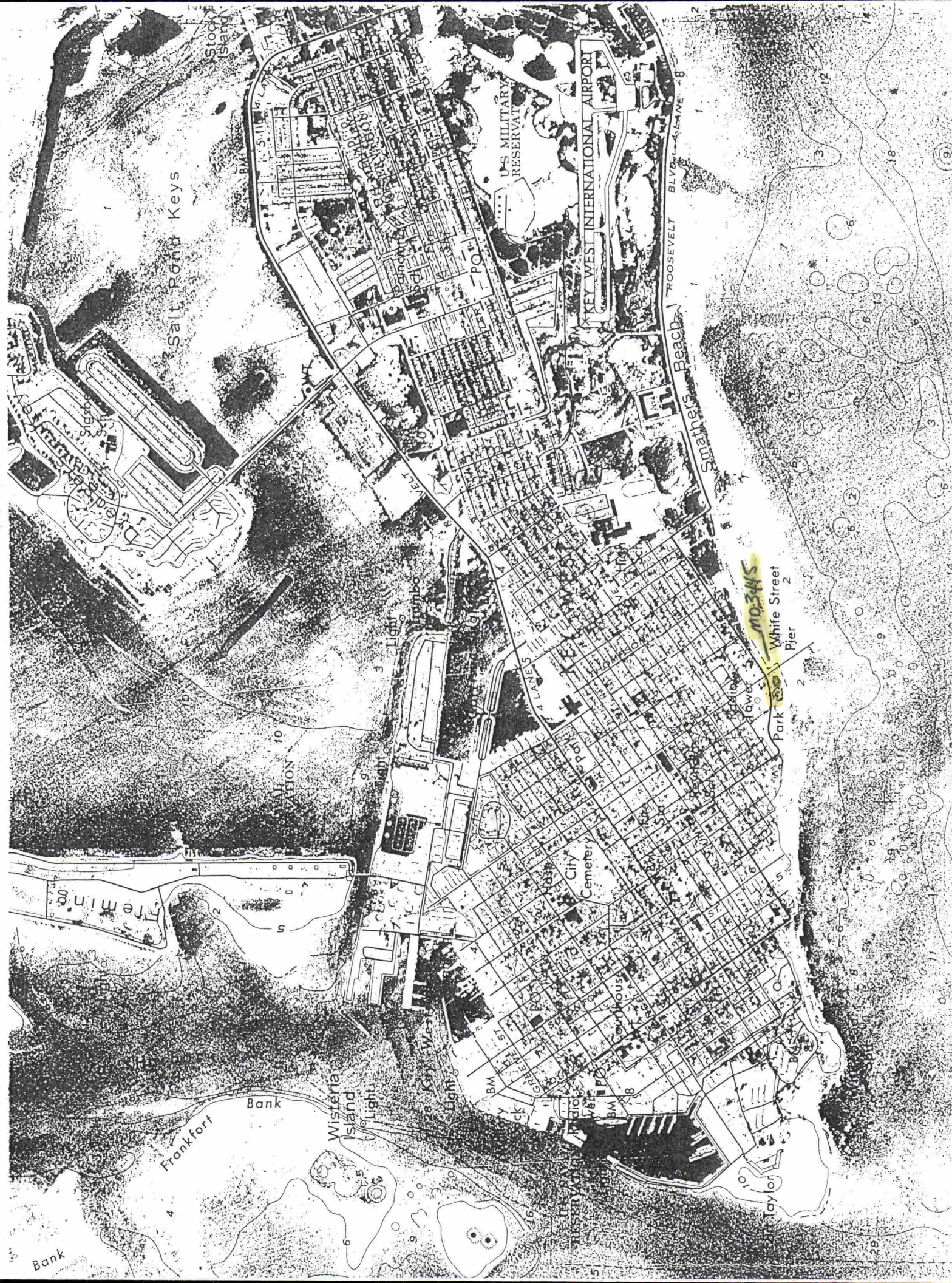
Manuscripts or Publications on the site (Use continuation sheet, give FMSF# if relevant) The Slaves on Higgs Beach, Gail Swanson 2000; Key West the Old and the New, Jefferson Browne 1912; see Misc. ship's logs, newspaper articles, official documents and papers attached

Recorder(s): Name/Addr./Phone/Email Diane Silvia, 604 Simonton St. P.O. Box 1409 (305)293-6484
 Affiliation* or FAS Chapter City of Key West, FL 33040

* Consult Guide to Archaeological Site Form for preferred descriptions not listed above (data are "coded fields" at the Site File).

SITE PLAN & USGS REQUIRED At 1"=300' (1:3600) or larger scale, show: site boundaries, scale, north arrow, datum, test/collection units, landmarks, mappers, date.





Key West, Fla 1971 75 Quadangle



FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF STATE - KATHERINE HARRIS - SECRETARY OF STATE

This questionnaire is intended only to provide preliminary information about the property to the Bureau of Historic Preservation.

1. Name and Location of Property
(Include the County)

African Cemetery

Higgs Beach, Key West

Monroe County, Florida

2. Name and Address of Owner

Monroe County

1200 Truman Avenue

Key West, Florida 33040

3. Date of Construction or Significant Historic Associations 1860

4. Type of Property:

☐ Archaeological Site

☐ Residential Building

☐ Public Building

☐ Commercial Building

☒ Other (Describe) Historic Cemetery

5. Original Use:

Cemetery

6. Present Use:

Public Beach

7. Physical Description (Indicate basic design and construction, and general condition at present time.)

The cemetery area is used as a public beach/park. It lies just east of West Martello Tower built in the cemetery vicinity in 1862 (recorded on Historical Structures Form as 8Mo00233). Sand fill has been added to the beach area.

8. Why is the property significant?

In 1860, more than 1,400 Africans were rescued by the U.S. Navy, intercepting slave ships, and brought to Key West. Within their two month stay, 294 died and were buried in unmarked graves at Higgs Beach.

9. Enclosures: Selected Documents and Research Relating to 294 Africans Buried at Key West, Florida, 1860

☒ Current Photos (original, required)

☒ Historic Photos (if available, photocopy acceptable)

☒ Location Map

10. Name and Address of Person Submitting

(Swanson 2000)

Diane E. Silvia

P.O. Box 1409

604 Simonton Street

City of Key West

Key West, Florida 33041

11. Telephone (Daytime)

(305) 293-6484

Date: 7/20/00

Signature: Diane E. Silvia

JUL 2000

BUREAU OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION - R.A. GRAY Building
500 BRONOUGH STREET - TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32399-0250

TELEPHONE (850) 487-2333 OR 1-800-847-7278

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Posted on Tue, Sep. 17, 2002

The Miami Herald

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Keys ceremony preserves site of African cemetery

At least 9 graves holding refugees found on beach

The Associated Press

A portion of beach was isolated in Key West on Monday to preserve what archaeologists believe may be the only African cemetery in the United States.

A barrier was erected and a purification ceremony was performed in an African dialect.

This summer, a ground-penetrating radar survey revealed the presence of at least nine graves at Higgs Beach.

The graves are those of Africans who died in 1860 after being freed by the U.S. Navy from three American-owned slave ships captured off Cuba and brought to Key West for sanctuary, said Corey Malcom, director of archaeology for the Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society.

"We venerate our ancestors as much as the deities and the gods," said Adegbolu Adefunmi, who poured water on the ground to purify the site and acknowledge ancestors. "This site is sacred ground."

Adefunmi's father, Oba Oseijeman Adefunmi, is the leader of the Yoruba African tribe in America and a leader of the African culture restoration movement.

"This is not a slave cemetery; it's a cemetery of African refugees," said Malcom, whose research led to the discovery. "I don't know of any comparable sites in the New World."

While most of the 1,400 rescued refugees were returned to Africa, 295 died in Key West after succumbing to illness because of brutal conditions aboard slave ships. They were buried in unmarked graves along the island's southern shore.

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Two years later, construction began on a fort that encompassed part of the cemetery, and the graves were forgotten.

In 2001, after Malcom's research revealed the cemetery was in the Higgs Beach area, a plaque was installed on the beach by the state to tell the refugees' story.

Earlier this summer, Lawrence Conyers, a geophysical researcher at the University of Denver, used ground-penetrating radar to pinpoint the cemetery's location, discovering at least nine and possibly as many as 15 graves.

"These people have an important story to tell, and they deserve respect," Malcom said. "We can't have them forgotten under the sand of a public beach."

A recently established Key West African Memorial Committee is raising funds for a permanent memorial, and the Mel Fisher Society plans a December exhibition about the Africans and the final days of the slave trade.



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Ervin A. Higgs, CFA
Property Appraiser
Monroe County, Florida

office (305) 292-3420
 fax (305) 292-3501

Friday - April 22, 2011, Our Offices will be closed in observance of
Property Record View

Alternate Key: 1059285 Parcel ID: 00058790-000100

Ownership Details

Mailing Address:
 MONROE COUNTY
 500 WHITEHEAD ST
 KEY WEST, FL 33040

Property Details

PC Code: 86 - COUNTIES OTHER THAN (PC/LIST)
 Millage Group: 10KW
 Affordable Housing: No
 Section-Township-Range: 05-68-25
 Property Location: 1001 ATLANTIC BLVD KEY WEST
 Legal Description: KW PT TR 27 RR-342/343 W-458/459 OR561-949 OR603-558/564 OR619-949/956

[Show Parcel Map](#)

Exemptions

Exemption	Amount
14 - COUNTYLANDS	28,123,734.00

Land Details

Land Use Code	Frontage	Depth	Land Area
100E - COMMERCIAL EXEMPT	0	0	220,413.00 SF

Misc Improvement Details

Nbr	Type	# Units	Length	Width	Year Built	Roll Year	Grade	Life
1	PT3:PATIO	1,899 SF	0	0	1986	1987	2	50
2	FN2:FENCES	1,260 SF	0	0	1986	1987	4	30
3	CL2:CH LINK FENCE	6,726 SF	0	0	1989	1990	1	30
4	TK2:TIKI	889 SF	0	0	1986	1987	2	40

Parcel Value History

Certified Roll Values.

[View Taxes for this Parcel.](#)

Roll Year	Total Bldg Value	Total Misc Improvement Value	Total Land Value	Total Just (Market) Value	Total Assessed Value	School Exempt Value	School Taxable Value
2010	0	21,656	28,102,658	28,124,314	28,124,314	28,124,314	0
2009	0	22,145	33,061,950	33,084,095	33,084,095	33,084,095	0
2008	0	22,724	33,061,950	33,084,674	33,084,674	33,084,674	0
2007	0	23,016	33,061,950	33,084,966	33,084,966	33,084,966	0
2006	0	24,016	12,783,954	12,807,970	12,807,970	12,807,970	0
2005	0	24,818	12,783,954	12,808,772	12,808,772	12,808,772	0
2004	0	26,072	12,783,954	12,810,026	12,810,026	12,810,026	0
2003	0	27,459	12,783,954	12,811,413	12,811,413	12,811,413	0
2002	0	28,712	12,783,954	12,812,666	12,812,666	12,812,666	0
2001	0	29,874	12,783,954	12,813,828	12,813,828	12,813,828	0
2000	0	12,707	10,359,411	10,372,118	10,372,118	10,372,118	0
1999	0	13,171	10,359,411	10,372,582	10,372,582	10,372,582	0
1998	0	13,688	10,359,411	10,373,099	10,373,099	10,373,099	0
1997	0	14,240	9,918,585	9,932,825	9,932,825	9,932,825	0
1996	0	14,756	9,918,585	9,933,341	9,933,341	9,933,341	0
1995	0	15,222	9,918,585	9,933,807	9,933,807	9,933,807	0
1994	0	15,825	9,918,585	9,934,410	9,934,410	9,934,410	0
1993	0	16,290	9,918,585	9,934,875	9,934,875	9,934,875	0
1992	0	0	9,918,585	9,918,585	9,918,585	9,918,585	0
1991	0	0	9,918,585	9,918,585	9,918,585	9,918,585	0
1990	0	0	8,871,623	8,871,623	8,871,623	8,871,623	0
1989	0	0	8,816,520	8,816,520	8,816,520	8,816,520	0
1988	0	0	5,730,738	5,730,738	5,730,738	5,730,738	0
1987	0	0	1,392,790	1,392,790	1,392,790	1,392,790	0
1986	0	0	1,314,543	1,314,543	1,314,543	1,314,543	0
1985	0	0	991,861	991,861	991,861	991,861	0
1984	0	0	991,861	991,861	991,861	991,861	0
1983	0	0	991,861	991,861	991,861	991,861	0
1982	0	0	991,861	991,861	991,861	991,861	0

Parcel Sales History

NOTE: Sales do not generally show up in our computer system until about two to three months after the date of sale. If a recent sale does not show up in this list, please allow more time for the sale record to be processed. Thank you for your patience and understanding.

There are no sales to display for this parcel.

This page has been visited 11,733 times.

DENNIS CLAPP'S GRAVE

Resting Place of Massachusetts Man
Discovered in Key West

1963 June 16

While digging out rock for use on the streets at Key West, Commissioner Fulford's men uncovered a trench containing about 50 skeletons. They were heaped together and many of them were face downward. It is probable that the bodies were those of slaves who died of some contagious disease, as hundreds of African slaves, captured in the gulf, were landed on the beach near this spot and kept until they were sent back to Africa.

Near the spot were three tombstones, upon which were inscriptions showing that the interments were made in 1835. On one stone is the name of Captain D. R. Augur, commander of the United States revenue cutter Dexter; on another is the name of Pierce P. Fellows, who died in 1835, aged 39, and on a third is the name of Dennis Clapp, a native of Massachusetts, who died Nov. 12, 1835. Just who Dennis Clapp was the local genealogical record of the Clapp family does not give, further than to say that he was born in 17—, married and went west.

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Department of Veterans' Affairs

September 13, 2000

Ms. Gail Swanson
277 Peachtree Street
Marathon, Florida 33050

Re: African Cemetery, Key West, Florida

Dear Ms. Swanson:

Thank you for all the information you sent us concerning the African Cemetery in Key West. The events that happened there in 1860 are gripping and deserve to be recognized by listing the cemetery in the National Register of Historic Places. One of the most critical requirements for listing any property in the National Register is a determination of boundaries based on physical evidence. Without documentation of these points, we will be unable to nominate the site.

Before responding to you, I expended some time investigating the best way to determine the actual location of the burials and the boundaries of the cemetery. All of the archaeologists I have consulted with agree that ground penetrating radar (GPR) would be the best way to determine where to look for the cemetery. The GPR would provide preliminary indications of its location, requiring then only limited digging and disturbance to verify the findings. The GPR and follow-up testing could cost as much as \$15,000-\$16,000, but I think the importance of this site merits the expense and effort. The City, County, or a non-profit entity would be eligible to apply for a matching grant from the Bureau of Historic Preservation to assist in covering the costs. Some of the match requirement for the application could be covered with volunteer services from local archaeologists, or perhaps interested local groups could raise funds. I have discussed this project with Diane Silvia, an archaeologist with the City of Key West, and she has expressed an interest in assisting with this project.

We greatly appreciate your bringing the African Cemetery to our attention, and commend you for your excellent research and endeavors to recognize the victims of that sad chapter of our national history. I would like to talk with you about the possibilities of pursuing this matter further. I can be reached at 1-800-847-7278 or by writing me at the address below.

Sincerely,

Barbara E. Mattick

Barbara E. Mattick
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

COPY

500 S. Bronough Street • Tallahassee, FL 32399-0250 • <http://www.flheritage.com>

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Miami Herald: Key West honors African slaves buried at beach

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Posted By [The Sysop](#) on June 29, 1999 at 00:56:48:

Date: Mon, 28 Jun 1999 18:26:13

From: nattyreb@ix.netcom.com Add to Address Book

Subject: !*Miami Herald Key West honors African slaves buried at beach

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>Date: Mon, 28 Jun 1999 10:19:36 -0500 (CDT)

>From: KamariYah

"<http://www.herald.com/content/today/docs/076992.htm>"

Miami Herald: Key West honors African slaves buried at beach

KEY WEST -- The thousands of sunbathers who flock each year to this island's Higgs Beach don't know the grim secret buried beneath it for almost 140 years. Unwittingly, they lay their towels atop a burial ground, an unmarked cemetery for 294 African slaves who died on the shoreline awaiting freedom.

By Marika Lynch, Herald Staff Writer

Published Friday, June 18, 1999, in the Miami Herald

In this fabled town where people visit the island's Oldest House, Hemingway's home and museums that celebrate the lives of treasure hunters and spongers, not one plaque marks the slaves' sad chapter in Keys history.

Never have the people of Key West publicly remembered those who survived the Middle Passage -- the slave-trade route from Africa to the United States -- only to succumb to typhoid and yellow fever on their beaches.

Until today.

This evening, as the sun dips into the Gulf of Mexico, a group will gather at the burial site to say prayers for those who perished awaiting the voyage home. The celebration is being organized by the Bahama Conch Community Land Trust, a local group that this week officially opened the island's first museum dedicated to black history.

Trust director Norma Jean Sawyer said she heard the story of Higgs Beach in hushed tones on front porches and over family meals while growing up in the island's Bahama Village.

"Some people didn't like to talk about slaves. Slavery has been one of those taboo subjects. People would say, 'We're not from Africa. We were born here. We don't know anything like that,' " Sawyer said.

"But as the community tries to come into the mainstream, it's time that we tell our stories as they relate to the history of Key West, and the history of black people."

Tonight, Sawyer and others will arrange 50 fold-up chairs on the beach in hopes that townsfolk will share the story and attend the service.

The story begins back in 1860, when three slave ships were captured by the U.S. Navy steamer Mohawk, bringing 1,432 Africans to Key West in a few months. It was an event so dramatic that it became the focus of island life.

At the time, Key West was the second largest -- and by far the wealthiest -- city in the state, enjoying a boom from turtling, sponging, salvaging and salt manufacturing.

The United States had banned the importation of slaves in 1808, although few slavers were ever convicted. As tensions over slavery heated up toward mid-century, the federal government sent more ships to patrol for slavers. When such ships were captured, the African occupants were sent to Key West and other way stations before being returned to their native lands.

Historical documents

Files at the Monroe County Library -- newspaper articles, government documents and medical journals collected by Keys historian Gail Swanson -- shed light on what happened in the spring of 1860.

First came the slave ship Wildfire -- built five years earlier in Philadelphia and carrying an American crew -- with 510 Africans, most of them aged 12 to 16.

The captain begged the officers of the Mohawk to land him somewhere else, not Key West, to avoid prosecution. "He tried to bribe them to take his ship to Cuba," Swanson said.

His \$100,000 offer, according to an 1860 article in the Boston Post, was to no avail. The slave ships William and the Bogota were captured soon after, and followed the Wildfire to the

southernmost city.

Seeing no shelter for the Africans, the U.S. marshal in Key West commissioned all 24 carpenters in town -- plus just as many slaves, since slavery was legal in Florida at the time -- to build barracks on Whitehead Point, now part of the island's Navy base. The slaves ate meat and rice from large bowls in groups of 10, and bathed in the ocean.

Unhealthful conditions

A hospital staffed by seven nurses and a doctor was built for the slaves. But the mosquitoes, the heat and the latrines created a nest of pestilence.

Within six days of the Wildfire's arrival, 15 of the slaves aboard had died, and 27 others contracted typhoid fever. The hospital at one point had 180 patients.

Some slaves became despondent. A report in the Journal of the Florida Medical Association of 1944 noted: "Several rammed their heads against the cross beams of the barracoon, sustaining injuries of the skull from which a few died." A barracoon was a confined area where slaves were temporarily kept awaiting transportation.

The situation was so dire that it got the attention of President James Buchanan, who, in a speech to Congress on May 22, 1860, called Key West "the worst spot for an African Negro depot on the coast of the United States."

By late July, the American Colonization Society, which aimed to repatriate former slaves in Africa, had carried the majority of the Africans back to Liberia.

But disease had thinned the ranks -- 294 of them had died of illness or from suicide.

A contractor laid their remains in trenches, charging the government \$5.50 per body. The total bill for the 80-day stay: \$225,000, paid by the U.S. marshal.

The ship captains, illegally profiting from the inhumane trade, were never convicted.

Unexpected discovery

A year later, in 1861, while laying the foundations for Fort West Martello, workers unearthed the remains of the slaves by accident. So disturbed were the slave laborers on the project that they halted work and refused to return. The fort's foundations were pushed back about 50 feet to avoid building over the remains.

Such a dramatic time in the island's history must be documented, Swanson said.

"If we've got a brochure on the Key West Cemetery, why not a pamphlet for the 300 people buried in trenches on the beach?" Swanson asked.

"If we don't have anything in print, it's going to be forgotten. I'd like to see something in metal."

Indeed, this time next year the Bahama Conch Community Land Trust plans to erect a marker designed by architecture students from Florida A&M University.

Tonight, the prayers, led by Ghana native the Rev. Martin Adu of St. Mary Star of the Sea -- the same Key West Catholic church that baptized some of the slaves in 1860 -- will suffice. As the waves lap the seawall, he'll lay a wreath, read a passage from the Bible and pour libations on the ground, a traditional African offering to the dead.

"It's important to remember the dead. We believe they are not gone forever but are still living in a different mode of existence," Adu said.

"They are not gone. They are still with us."

e-mail: mlynch@herald.com

- [The Black List](#)

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: Date: Mon, 28 Jun 1999 18:26:13
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: >Date: Mon, 28 Jun 1999 10:19:36 -0500 (CDT)

: >From: KamariYah <ngozi@secapl.com>

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The United States
for Recaptured Africans

To T. Davis Esq.

For making Coffins and burying
294 deceased African Negroes from
the cargoes of the Barks Wildfire,
William, & Name unknown by Order
of F. I. Moreno U. S. Marshal
@ \$5.50 each

\$1617.00

Rec'd Key West Sept. 11th 1860
of F. I. Moreno Esq. U. S. Marshal of the
Southern District of Florida, the sum of
sixteen ^{hundred} & seventeen dollars - in full of
the above account - signed in duplicate

Daniel Davis

The United States
for Recaptured Africans

T. D. Davis

For making coffins and burying
294 deceased African Negroes from
the cargoes of the Barks Wildfire,
William, & Name Unknown by order
of F. I. Moreno U. S. Marshal
at \$ 5.50 each

\$ 1,617.00

Rec'd Key West Sept. 11th 1860
of F. I. Moreno Esq. U. S. Marshal of the
Southern District of Florida, the sum of
sixteen hundred and seventeen dollars in full of
the above account Signed up duplicate

FLORIDA
COLLECTION

Daniel Davis

Topography of the Island of Jay Wis
James C. Clapp, Sept 1861
found by John Wick in
April Archives 1990's



Topography of Jay Wis
James C. Clapp, Sept 1861
found by John Wick in
April Archives 1990's

W103 / RLT?

Tuesday, September 17, 2002

Archaeologists: African cemetery may be on Key West beach**News-Journal wire services**

KEY WEST -- A portion of beach was isolated here Monday to preserve what archeologists believe may be the only African cemetery in the United States.

A barrier was erected, and a purification ceremony performed in an African dialect after a ground-penetrating radar survey revealed the presence of at least nine graves at Higgs Beach earlier this summer.

The graves are those of Africans who died in 1860 after being freed by the U.S. Navy from three American-owned slave ships captured off Cuba and brought to Key West for sanctuary, said **Corey Malcom**, director of archaeology for the Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society. (305) 294-2633 x 22

"We venerate our ancestors as much as the deities and the gods," said Adegbolu Adefunmi, who poured water on the ground to purify the site and acknowledge ancestors. "This site is sacred ground."

Adefunmi's father, Oba Oseijeman Adefunmi, is the leader of the Yoruba African tribe in America and a leader of Americas African culture restoration movement.

"This is not a slave cemetery; its a cemetery of African refugees," said Malcom, whose research led to the discovery. "I don't know of any comparable sites in the New World."

While most of the 1,400 rescued refugees were returned to Africa, 295 died in Key West after succumbing to illness due to brutal conditions aboard slave ships. They were buried in unmarked graves along the island's southern shore. *a lot may be under fort Matello*

Two years later, construction began on a fort that encompassed part of the cemetery site, and the graves were forgotten.

In 2001, after Malcom's research revealed the cemetery was located in the Higgs Beach area, a historic plaque was installed on the beach by the state to tell the refugees story.

Earlier this summer, **Lawrence Conyers**, a geophysical researcher at the University of Denver, used ground-penetrating radar to pinpoint the cemetery's exact location, discovering at least nine and possibly as many as 15 graves.

"These people have an important story to tell, and they deserve respect," Malcom said. "We can't have them forgotten under the sand of a public beach."

A recently established Key West African Memorial Committee is raising funds for a permanent memorial, and the Mel Fisher Society plans a December exhibition about the deceased Africans and the final days of the slave trade.

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www.melfisher.org/lastslave ships

3 rows orig 1860 intact graves

2 rows - 2 yrs apart

The Slaves on Higgs Beach, Key West

Gail Swanson

277 Peachtree St., Marathon, 33050, e-mail: GailSw2000@cs.com, phone 743-5448

*Prepared for the Florida Keys Maritime History Conference
Key West - May, 2000*

Source Material on the 1860 Slave Ships and the Africans' Stay at Key West

Source Material on the African Burial Ground at Higgs Beach, Key West

Source Material on the Surviving Africans Returned to Africa

Source Material on the 1860 Slave Ships and the Africans' Stay at Key West:

Books & Articles (These are the only histories written of the Africans at Key West)

1. Jefferson B. Browne, "Key West the Old and the New" (1912) Browne wrote less than a page on the Africans, and erred in writing that only two slaves ships were brought in. Three were. It is interesting that he writes of "children". He also wrote that "the percentage of sick among them was enormous. Nearly all were suffering with ophthalmia, while many were totally blind." He describes the first burial, of an infant, and the African ceremony of it, "...their native ceremony. Weird chants were sung, mingled with loud wails of grief and mournful moanings from a hundred throats, until the coffin was lowered into the grave, when at once the chanting stopped and perfect silence reigned, and the Africans marched back to the barracoon without a sound." He wrote that the citizens of Key West "visited them daily, carrying clothing, food and other things for their comfort and pleasure." Attending to the sick, he wrote, were Drs. Whitehurst, Skrine and Weedon.

2. A. W. Diddle, "Medical Events in the History of Key West, II. The African Depot", article in "The Journal of the Florida Medical Association, Nov., 1944. This is a good article but Diddle used only a few sources (one of them, the papers of the Bruce family, later described in this paper) and wrongly stated that the Africans were being shipped into the United States as slaves. They were being shipped to Cuba. He concludes the cause of illness amongst the Africans was typhoid fever and dysentery. (Article provided to me by Dr. William M. Straight)

Ships Logs

1. Log of U.S.S. Mohawk, Capt. T. Augustus Craven, April 25 - May 15, 1860
Relating the capture of the slave ship Wildfire, stopping at Indian Key for a pilot, and "commenced landing the slaves from the barque" at Key West on May 4th.

2. Log of U.S.S. Wyandott, Lt. Fabius Stanley, May 5 - 27, 1860
Relating the capture of the slave ship William On May 9th, "Boarded a bark showing American colors. She proved to be a slaver with some 540 slaves on board" and bringing the ship to Key West.

3. Log of U.S.S. Crusader, Lt. John N. Maffit, May 21 - June 11, 1860
Relating the capture of the slave ship Bogota (530 slaves aboard) on May 23 and arrival at Key West on the 26th. On May 28th, "Sent two boats to prize to land the women & children. The Capt. & crew of slaver were acquitted" by the court at Key West.

Note: I find vast differences in the number of slaves on board the ships when captured and the number delivered to the marshal at Key West. I contribute the difference to deaths before even reaching Key West.

Newspaper Articles

1. The Boston Post, May 15, 1860. Article paraphrases letters from Key West that gave an account (apparently by crewmembers of U.S.S. Mohawk) of the capture of the Wildfire. The Mohawk sighted a vessel heading for the land, and made chase...the chase "was requested to show her colors, in response to which the American flag was hoisted. As the Mohawk ranged alongside, men were observed at work in the rigging, others about the decks...while the captain and his officers coolly leaned upon the rail observing the steamer's movements. She did not look the slaver, but from force of habit, with a spice of curiosity, Capt. Craven ordered Lieut. Carpenter to board. As the boat approached the vessel, it was observed no rope was thrown out, and it was evident the visit was not agreeable. The lieutenant, unassisted, boarded the vessel, and was no sooner on her bulwarks than he waved his sword, and the men in the boat raised a shout, a signal that she was a slaver and a prize. The moment that the slaves, who had just been driven below, caught sight of the officer's uniform, (the hatches were covered

with gratings only,) they sang and clapped their hands with joy. They instinctively knew that their deliverers were at hand." On the voyage to Africa, "The Wildfire, a handsome clipper, built in Philadelphia in 1855...sailed from New York on the 16th December, 1859, with an American crew...she made a good run to St. Thomas [Caribbean], where she remained eight days, and then sailed for the Congo river. She took on board 608 slaves the night of March 21...when they left the [African] coast the American captain and crew were superseded by a Spanish captain and crew, the former then acting as passengers. This cargo consists of children and young men and women, the majority being from twelve to sixteen years of age." Note: When captured she had 520 slaves aboard, therefore 88 had died on the voyage.

The Boston Post article continues, "The [Spanish] Captain was at first particularly cool. He laughed at the capture...but when he saw preparations on the steamer for their confinement he became somewhat alarmed, and offered one of the officers \$ 100,000 if he would cause him to be safely ashore...he went to Capt Craven and begged that he might be landed on one of the Keys...his frenzy knew no bounds, and he declared he would jump overboard...the prisoners were placed in irons...Every man and officers were armed with pistol and cutlass..The Spanish captain, finding he could no longer deceive himself that he was in danger of punishment, tried every means to avert it; he offered one of the officers \$ 200,000 to be allowed to go free with his cargo."

2. New York Times, July 12, 1860. List of vessels captured on the coast of Africa and slavers captured on the coast of Cuba, including the Wildfire, William, and Bogota, "sent to Key West".

3. Key of the Gulf (Key West), May 23, 1860 (as quoted in "The Life and Services of John Newland Maffitt", Emma Martin Maffitt [His Widow], New York, 1906). Describes the buildings erected for the slaves, their bathing in the ocean, and meals.

4. New Orleans *Daily Times Picayune*, May 23, 1860 (as quoted in the above Maffitt book). Includes the information, "The courtesy and commiseration manifested by Capt. Maffitt and the officers of the Crusader toward the captured Africans [of the *Bogota*] were the theme of particular commendation at Key West and Havana." Article includes an account of the capture written by a crewmember, "Engineers (at Key West) suggested that the Crusader go home at once for repairs, but Capt. Maffitt was determined that if anything could be done for even temporary duty the Crusader should not leave her station." Upon capturing the slaver there was this conversation recorded: "Lieutenant Duncan boarded him, asked for his papers and under what flag he sailed. 'I have no papers, no flag, no name.' 'Then, sir, I am ordered to capture you.' 'I expect it, sir; the risk was run for money and here it ends - in failure.' At this moment the negroes rushed on deck in hundreds; the boarding crew cheered, and from the anxious decks of the Crusader, the cheer was answered back most heartily....The negroes manifested the most frenzied delight, cheered, yelled, and clapped their hands.." Astonishingly, this article gives where the slaves were loaded in Africa, "The negroes...were purchased from the King of Dahomey at 'Wydah'."

5. New York Times, August 8, 1860. From Key West: "The last of the African slaves were sent on board the ship *Star of the Union*" on July 19th, "for Sinoe, Africa". On the Cubans who were to have owned the slaves, "Some half a dozen persons from Cuba and elsewhere [arrived at Key West] who looked and talked gravely upon 'the law' ... Most of the legal luminaries being absent. I have not been able to learn how far their views have been supported by local opiniins; but, as to a coup de main, we have no doubt that the polished steel bayonets of the guard awoke some wholesome regards for their personal safety, and these scions of chivalry thought it prudent to return unscathed, than carry their wounds in the rear." The author continues, "The solitude of the trackless ocean, or untrodden prints of our broad domain, are not more complete than the late residence of these negroes. The buildings stand, but the loud and dimming sound of voices - the chanting and singing and dancing, and even the fierce expressions of anger are all gone - the weary sentinel - the challenge, relief guards - the smoke - giving note of busy preparations of food - the corn mill, and even the stocks are all deserted, and silence reigns throughout."

Official Documents

1. Message of the President of the United States, relative to the capture of the slaver Wildfire, on the Coast

of Cuba, by Lieutenant Craven, of the United States Steamer Mohawk. May 19, 1860, Executive Document No. 44. On the expense of the care at Key West of the slaves and requests Congress to guide an agreement with the Colonization Society for their care and return to Africa. "It is truly lamentable that Great Britain and the United States should be obliged to expend such a vast amount of blood and treasure for the suppression of the African slave trade, and this when the only portions of the civilized world where it is tolerated and encourage are the Spanish islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. (Signed) James Buchanan" Includes letter from U. S. Marshal Fernando J. Moreno dated May 10, 1860 at Key West. (Provided to me by Jim Clupper of Islamorada) This message was also printed in The Congressional Globe, May 22, 1860, and is followed by a brief message by Florida Senator from Key West Stephen R. Mallory, who declared that all expedition was needed to return the Africans because of the expense of maintaining them. Later joining the Confederacy as a high-ranking officer, Mallory said in his 1860 speech, "Of course, humanity would dictate that they should be retained there [in Florida], and treated as other servants there are." Mallory obviously wanted the Africans to be slaves in America, the people that were almost slaves in Cuba but for the diligence of anti-slavery forces.

2. In the same Congressional Globe under the same date as above a second, urgent message from the President was printed, with the information that a letter from the Secretary of the Interior had been received the day before, forwarding one of Marshal Fernando J. Moreno's letter, that a second slave ship, the William, had arrived in Key West on the 12th. "[It] will make the number in his custody about 1,000. More may be daily expected at Key West, which, both on account of a deficiency of water and provisions, and its exposure to the yellow fever, is one of the worst spots for an African negro depot which could be found on the coast of the United States. [Signed] James Buchanan." Moreno's letter is probably printed in the official Executive Document No. 83, 1st session 36th Congress, House of Representatives, 1860, entitled, "Capture of the Slaver William." A copy of that has not yet been obtained.

3. "Report of Secretary of the Interior. Executive Document of U. S. Senate, 1861." is a reference in A. W. Diddle's 1944 article. A copy has not yet been obtained.

4. Message from the President to the Two Houses of Congress; Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1860. Lists slavers captured off Africa and Cuba including Wildfire, William, and Bogota, "sent into Key West". "The whole number of vessels captured during the past year is 12; the whole number of Africans rescued in 3,119." All headed for Cuba, apparently, "the only mart in the world open to this trade." (Provided to me by Ray Blazevic of Key West)

5. Court Cases on microfilm at Key West (summary provided to me by John Viele of Cudjoe Key; ~~have not yet reviewed them~~) of: —

Bark Wild Fire & Cargo, May 5, 1860, Seizure for engaging in slave trade. Judged to be owned by a U. S. citizen and to be condemned & sold., p 496

Bark William & Cargo, May 17, 1860, Seizure for engaging in slave trade. Judged to be property of U. S. Citizen and to be condemned & sold, p. 502

Bark Name Unknown (the Bogota), May 28, 1860, Seizure for carrying slaves, to be condemned & sold, p. 508

6. *Requested East Point to find trials at Key West of the slave ship captives; can't find, only the arrest of the ships - June, 2000? Need to request R6 56.7 from Washington, letters*
Letters
1. Capt. John Newland Maffitt to his daughter Florie, May 9, 1860 at Key West (quoted in the Maffitt book). "I am in very great haste, having considerable trouble with our engine, which broke down some days ago. It is doubtful if we [can] repair it. Capt. Craven has caught a slaver with 514 negroes on board. I would have had one but broke down..."
rec'd from Mary Ogt Bogota & wildfire. Was crew names bounty to be paid

2. Lt. T. Augustus Craven [Capt. of U.S.S. Mohawk to Toucey, June 8, 1860, House Executive Document 7, 36-2, p. 619. This letter was written just weeks after he had captured the Wildfire, and surely refers to it. A

portion of the letter is printed in Warren S. Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law 1837 - 1862* (1963),

"The negroes are packed below in as dense a mass as it is possible for human beings to be crowded; the space allotted them being in general about four feet high between decks, there, of course, can be but little ventilation given. These unfortunate creatures are obliged to attend to the calls of nature in this place - tubs being provided for the purpose - and here they pass their days, their nights, amidst the most horribly offensive odors of which the mind can conceive, and this under the scorching heat of the tropical sun, without room enough for sleep; with scarcely space to die in; with daily allowance of food and water barely sufficient to keep them alive. The passage [to the West Indies] varies from forty to sixty days, and when it has much exceeded the shorter time disease has appeared in its most appalling forms, the provisions and water are nearly exhausted, and their sufferings are incredible."

Requested a copy of the full letter from Washington - June, 2000

Bruce Family Papers

Decendants of U. S. Marshal at Key West Fernando J. Moreno, Key West's Bruce family, have, among other papers relating to the slaves' stay at Key West, the following, provided to me via Corey Malcom by Benjamin "Dink" Bruce of Key West :

1. Extract from the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior to the President, 1860
2. Receipt for payment by F. J. Moreno for "professional attendance on recaptured Africans...April 30th to July 18th. 1860" signed by Dr. T. C. Skrine at Key West
3. Receipt of payment by Moreno to George D. Allen, Druggist, including a partial but lengthy list of drugs supplied for care of the Africans.
4. Receipt for payment to carpenters and laborers (to construct the buildings for the Africans), including 24 slave laborers, some of them owned by Dr. Whitehurst and F. J. Moreno!
5. Abstract of contingent expenses incurred, including a baker and "hire of a horse" in caring for the Africans signed by Moreno.
6. Typewritten copy of 1877 petition of Fernando J. Moreno to Congress for proper payment of his services to the Africans in 1860, including affidavits by others; William Watson of Key West, "employed...[as] watchman, over the Africans, to prevent any interference with or wrong to them, and I was therefore daily brought more or less in contact with them, and his [Fernando J. Moreno's] custody and care of them was in all respects efficient, just and humane." In the petition, "Your petitioner erected suitable barracks and quarters, established proper police and sanitary regulations, and provided in all respects for their welfare and safety, giving them his daily attention for the period of eighty days, and finally, unders orders of the Government, sent them to Africa, where they safely arrived. For this service your petitioner has received no compensation whatever..." and, "the officers and men [of the Navy ships] received a bounty of twenty-five dollars per capita [for capturing the slave ships]."
7. Letter by Moreno dated at Pensacola [where he eventually moved to for his health] December 23, 1895, addressed to Honorable Stephen Sparkman in Washington, on his claim for payment and the history of it.
8. Letter to Moreno from a member of the Committee on Claims, T. Pasco (?), U.S. Senate.

Source Material on the African Burial Ground at Higgs Beach, Key West

1. Copy of receipt dated at Key West September 11th, 1860, "For making coffins and burying 294 deceased African Negroes from the cargoes of the Barks Wildfire, William & Name Unknown by order of F. J. Moreno, U. S. Marshal at \$ 5.50 each...\$ 1,617.00 (signed) Daniel Davis" From files donated by Love Dean to the Islamorada library.

2. Paragraph in Jefferson B. Browne's book, "Key West The Old and The New" (1912), "The disinterment of human bones on the southeast side of the island, where excavations were being made for public improvements [Martello Tower - G.S.] a few years ago, gave rise to the impression that a public burying ground had once been located in that vicinity. [Commodore Porter's burial ground, washed away by the 1846 hurricane - G.S.] These remains, however, were those of the Africans who were brought to Key West in two captured slavers in 1860; a number of these died here, and were buried some distance from the barracoon, at the place where the bones were found."

3. Map found by John Viele of Cudjoe Key in Washington, entitled "Topographical Map of the Island of Key West, Compiled and drawn under the direction of Capt. E. B. Hunt, Corps of Engineers, by James C. Clapp Draughtsman, Ft. Taylor, September, 1861." notes, at where Higgs Beach is now, "African Cemetery".

*source
Islamorada
library*
4. Tom Hambright, Key West Librarian, stated ^{9/22/98} in the *Miami Herald* article that while laying the foundations for West Martello workers unearthed in 1861 the remains of the slaves & the slave laborers halted work & refused to return. The foundation of the building had to be relocated to avoid the graves, he said. When I asked for his documentation he couldn't find it & thought it was something he read years ago when he worked at East Martello.

Source Material on the Surviving Africans Returned to Africa

The Africans were not returned to their homes, as those places were the vicinity of Whyda (Bight of Benin) and the Congo River. They were returned to Africa, though, to the nation of Liberia, a country founded for ex-slaves. Liberia was a long way away from their homes; the Liberians spoke English and had a very foreign "American" culture.

1. William C. Burke letter to the Rev. Ralph R. Gurley, dated at Clay Ashland [Liberia], August 31st, 1860 (excerpt),

"The ship *Lake shore* has just arrived from the United States with recaptives. She had not anchored before I left [for Monrovia], therefor I could not learn any thing particular in regard to her."

2. Henry B. Stewart letter to Rev. Ralph R. Gurley, dated Greenville, Sinoe Co. [Liberia], March 16, 1861 (excerpt). The writer, Stewart, was once a Georgia slave and became a preacher in Liberia.

"I Desired to inform you of what Disposition were made of the Recaptive africans that were Keep So Long on hand in this County, which has been the Cause of So much unesiness, and I may say of Strife and Contention. On [March] 11 or 12 the Commissioners...Commence apprenticing these people out. A few of the older ones will be Sent to the falls the present week, how many I am not prepared to Say. The whole number turned over to the General Superintendent by your Society agent [was] 296. It is thought that there are not that number now, as Some have been Shot and others got Drowned in makein[g] their Escape. Whatever may be Said of these People of being Lawless or Rebellious I have not Seen it. I have visited them from the Day of their Landing to the present. Many of them have been Regular attendance on Divine worship to my Church and Sabbath School Ever Since and are as yet a more orderly Set of people in time of Service I have never witnessed, which has been the occasion of frequent Remarks, that Such Raw heathens Could Remain for an hour and [a] half So becoming in the house of God. The uneasiness, Sir, I alluded to, are to be attributed to the Disagreement of the Citizens, and not the Recaptives. They are heathen. They were told Shortly after Landing that they were to be taken in a body to the falls. Their was no Dissatisfaction with them in that arrangement. When this Change was made and they were informed that they were to be sepperated, they immediately question the Sincerity of our motive in Doing them Good. All who were attall acquainted with the manners and Customs of the natives Knows that they will Strenously hold you to your word, whilst they think it is nothing for them to Cheat, Steal, or tell a Lie."

Both letters are printed in *Slaves No More, Letters from Liberia*. The first is a very educated guess that it is referring to the Key West people, as they were the only "recaptive Africans" off the U.S. coast that year. Also, August 31st fits with the removal of all the people from Key West by July 18th.

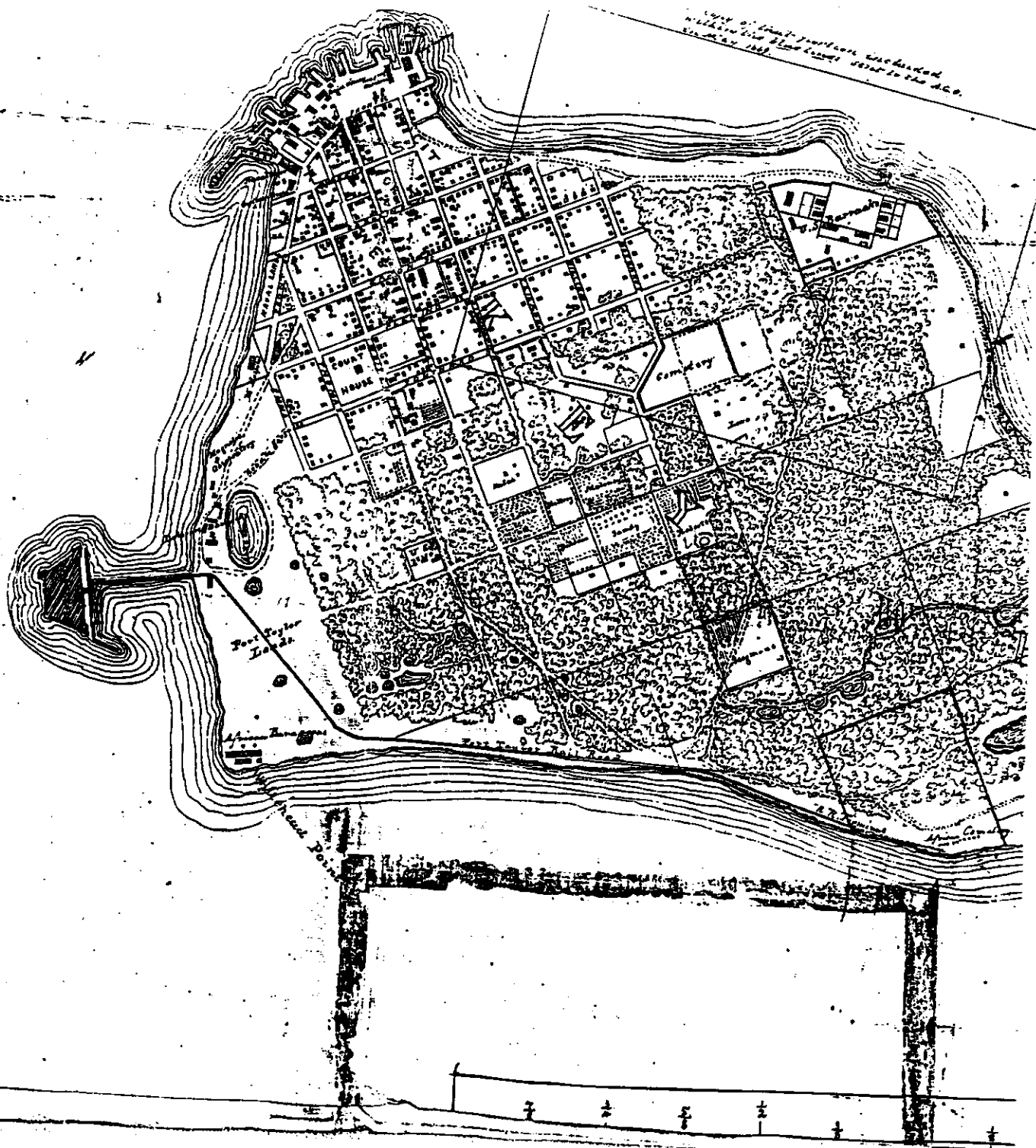
The second letter has an endnote by the book's author, as follows:

"The 44th annual report of the American Colonization Society contained a section on "Recaptured Africans" showing that 343 of these people had been landed in 1860 at Sinoe [County, Liberia] from the *Star of the Union* (*African Repository* 37 [1861]: 75)....Boston University Papers on Africa (New York: Frederick R. Praeger, 1969), 4: 159, states that while the recaptured Africans were permitted to become citizens of Liberia, "they found themselves in a distinctly inferior social position." [W.W. Schmokel in "Notes on Settlers and Tribes: The Origins of the Liberian Delemma," *Western African History*] also states that the system of apprenticeship amount to "something very much like temporary slavery."

The last *New York Times* article states the last of the slaves were removed from Key West by the above ship *Star of the Union*, bound for "Sinoe"



African Cemetery.



Copy of Fort Mifflin was handed
to the U.S. Army in 1863.

Fort Mifflin

Fort Mifflin Island

Camp

Scale bar with markings for distance.



FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Kurt S. Browning

Secretary of State

DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

January 12, 2012

The Honorable David Rice
Mayor, Monroe County Board of County Commissioners
1100 Simonton Street
Key West, Florida 33040

Re: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Dear Mayor Rice:

A Florida National Register Nomination Proposal for the above referenced property has been received by the State Historic Preservation Officer. We solicit your review and recommendation concerning eligibility in accordance with the procedures established by the National Historic Preservation Act [Title I, Section 101 (16 U.S.C. 470a) (c)(2)] which created the basis for the participation of Certified Local Governments in the Florida National Register of Historic Places nomination process.

According to the Act, before a property within the jurisdiction of the certified local government may be considered by the State to be nominated for inclusion on the National Register, the State Historic Preservation Officer shall notify the owner, the applicable chief local elected official, and the local historic preservation commission. The commission, after reasonable opportunity for public comment, shall prepare a report as to whether or not such property meets the eligibility criteria. Within sixty days of the notice from the State Historic Preservation Officer, the chief local elected official shall transmit the report of the commission and his recommendation to the State Historic Preservation Officer. If no such report and recommendation are received within sixty days, the State shall proceed with the nomination process.

If either the preservation agency or the chief local elected official supports the nomination of the property, the proposal will be scheduled for consideration by the Florida National Register Review Board. If both the commission and the chief local elected official recommend that a property not be nominated to the National Register, the

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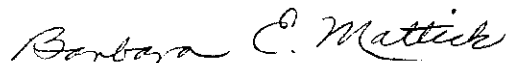
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Rice
January 12, 2012
Page Two

State Historic Preservation Officer shall take no further action, unless within thirty days of the receipt of such recommendation by the State Historic Preservation Officer an appeal is filed with the State. Any party may file an appeal with the State Historic Preservation Officer. If the State Historic Preservation Officer, after hearing the appeal, determines that the property is eligible, he shall proceed with the nomination process. The State Historic Preservation Officer shall include any reports and recommendations from any party along with the nomination submitted to the Keeper of the Register.

We look forward to your recommendation and comments regarding this property. If we can be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Barbara E. Mattick".

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

BEM/ajw



FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Kurt S. Browning
Secretary of State
DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

January 12, 2012

Ms. Diane Silvia
Executive Director
Historic Florida Keys Foundation
Old City Hall
510 Greene Street
Key West, Florida 33040

Re: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Dear Ms. Silvia:

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Silvia
January 12, 2012
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We look forward to your recommendation and comments regarding this property. If we can be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Barbara E. Mattick".

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

BEM/ajw

Pc: Ms. Enid Torregrosa

Enclosure



**BOARD OF COUNTY
COMMISSIONERS**

Mayor David Rice, District 4
Mayor Pro Tem Kim Wigington, District
1
George Neugent, District 2
Heather Carruthers, District 3
Sylvia J. Murphy, District 5



Mayor David Rice
Commissioner District 4
Marathon Airport Terminal Bldg.
9400 Overseas Highway, Suite 210
Marathon, FL 33050
Ph: 305 289-6000
Fx: 305 289-4610
Em: boccds4@monroecounty-fl.gov
rice-david@monroecounty-fl.gov

February 3, 2012

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
For Survey and Registration
Division of Historical Resources
500 S. Bronough Street
Tallahassee, FL 32399-0250

Dear Dr. Mattick,

With pleasure I am providing my support the nomination to the Florida National Registry proposal for the African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Monroe County, Florida. The cemetery is a site of major historical significance to Monroe County and the State of Florida. Receiving the FNR designation will enhance efforts to preserve this site.

In 1860, the U.S. Navy, during efforts to eradicate the slave trade, captured three American slave ships carrying 1,432 Africans bound for slavery in the Caribbean. The Africans were rescued and brought to Key West to await return to their homeland. During this nearly three month waiting period, 295 of the Africans died as a result of the conditions they endured while at sea on the slave ships. They were buried on what was then a remote sandy beach ridge approximately a mile from where the Africans were housed and cared for. This site is located within Higgs Beach, a Monroe County park. Monroe County has taken steps to commemorate and preserve the area for future generations to educate the public on the significance of what occurred at the site.

I am fully in support of the African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Monroe County, Florida, being added to the Florida National Registry. Please contact my office if there is anything I can do to assist you in bringing this effort to fruition.

Sincerely,

David P. Rice, Ph.D.

Mayor

Monroe County Board of Commissioners

cc: County Commission
Roman Gastesi, County Administrator
Kevin Wilson, Director Public Works/Engineering Dept.



FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Kurt S. Browning

Secretary of State

DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

January 12, 2012

The Honorable David Rice
Mayor, Monroe County Board of County Commissioners
1100 Simonton Street
Key West, Florida 33040

Re: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Dear Mayor Rice:

A Florida National Register Nomination Proposal for the above referenced property has been received by the State Historic Preservation Officer. We solicit your review and recommendation concerning eligibility in accordance with the procedures established by the National Historic Preservation Act [Title I, Section 101 (16 U.S.C. 470a) (c)(2)] which created the basis for the participation of Certified Local Governments in the Florida National Register of Historic Places nomination process.

According to the Act, before a property within the jurisdiction of the certified local government may be considered by the State to be nominated for inclusion on the National Register, the State Historic Preservation Officer shall notify the owner, the applicable chief local elected official, and the local historic preservation commission. The commission, after reasonable opportunity for public comment, shall prepare a report as to whether or not such property meets the eligibility criteria. Within sixty days of the notice from the State Historic Preservation Officer, the chief local elected official shall transmit the report of the commission and his recommendation to the State Historic Preservation Officer. If no such report and recommendation are received within sixty days, the State shall proceed with the nomination process.

If either the preservation agency or the chief local elected official supports the nomination of the property, the proposal will be scheduled for consideration by the Florida National Register Review Board. If both the commission and the chief local elected official recommend that a property not be nominated to the National Register, the

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Rice
January 12, 2012
Page Two

State Historic Preservation Officer shall take no further action, unless within thirty days of the receipt of such recommendation by the State Historic Preservation Officer an appeal is filed with the State. Any party may file an appeal with the State Historic Preservation Officer. If the State Historic Preservation Officer, after hearing the appeal, determines that the property is eligible, he shall proceed with the nomination process. The State Historic Preservation Officer shall include any reports and recommendations from any party along with the nomination submitted to the Keeper of the Register.

We look forward to your recommendation and comments regarding this property. If we can be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Barbara E. Mattick". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "B" and "M".

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

BEM/ajw



FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Kurt S. Browning

Secretary of State

DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

February 13, 2012

The Honorable David Rice
Mayor, Monroe County Board of County Commissioners
1100 Simonton Street
Key West, Florida 33040

Re: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Dear Mayor Rice:

We are pleased to advise you that the above referenced property has been proposed for nomination for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

The nomination proposal will be reviewed by the Florida National Register Review Board in a public meeting on March 21, 2012, starting at 1 pm in Room 307, R.A. Gray Building, Tallahassee, Florida. A copy of the meeting agenda is enclosed. If the Review Board finds that this property meets the criteria for listing established by the National Register, a formal nomination will be submitted to the Keeper of the National Register in Washington, D.C., who will make the final decision.

The enclosed fact sheets explain the criteria for listing and the results of listing in the National Register, with references to the major laws and Federal regulations relating to listed properties. A copy of the nomination and additional information on protection provisions, financial incentives, or other aspects of the National Register Program may be obtained by calling our Survey and Registration Section at 850.245.6333.

If you wish to comment on whether or not this property should be nominated for listing in the National Register, please send me your comments by March 21, 2012.

Sincerely,

Barbara E. Mattick

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

BEM/ajw

Enclosures

*Thank you for your
letter of support,
received today.*

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FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Kurt S. Browning

Secretary of State

DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

February 13, 2012

Ms. Diane Silvia
Executive Director
Historic Florida Keys Foundation
Old City Hall
510 Greene Street
Key West, Florida 33040

Re: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Dear Ms. Silvia:

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Before a property within the jurisdiction of the Certified Local Government may be considered by the state to be nominated to the Secretary of the Interior for inclusion in the National Register, the State Historic Preservation Officer shall notify the owner, the applicable chief local elected official, and the local historic preservation commission. The commission, after reasonable opportunity for public comment, shall prepare a report as to whether or not such meets the eligibility criteria. Within sixty days of the notice from the State Historic Preservation Officer, the chief local elected official shall transmit the report of the commission and his recommendation to the State Historic Preservation Officer. If no such report and recommendation are received within sixty days, the State shall proceed with the nomination process. If either the preservation agency or the appropriate local officials support the nomination of the property, the proposal will be scheduled for consideration by the Florida National Register Review Board. If both the commission and the chief local elected official recommend that a property not be nominated to the National Register, the State Historic

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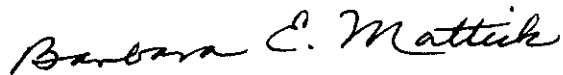
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Silvia
February 13, 2012
Page Two

Preservation Officer shall take no further action, unless within thirty days of the receipt of such recommendation by the State Historic Preservation Officer an appeal is filed with the State. Any party may file an appeal with the State Historic Preservation Officer. If the State Historic Preservation Officer, after hearing the appeal, determines that the property is eligible, he shall proceed with the nomination process. The State Historic Preservation Officer shall include any reports and recommendations from any party along with the nomination submitted to the Keeper of the National Register.

We look forward to your recommendation and comments regarding this property. If we can be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Barbara E. Mattick".

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

BEM/ajw

Enclosure

Pc: Ms. Enid Torregrosa

HISTORIC FLORIDA KEYS FOUNDATION, INC.

A Florida not-for-profit corporation

Old City Hall, 510 Greene Street, Key West, FL 33040

Tel.: (305) 292-6718

Suncom: 464-6718

Fax: (305) 293-6348

Diane E. Silvia, Ph.D., Executive Director

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
500 S. Bronough Street
Tallahassee, FL 32399

February 28, 2012

Dear Dr. Mattick:

The African Cemetery is on Monroe County's property but within the city limits of Key West. I serve as the preservationist for Monroe County, a Certified Local Government. Members of the County's Historic Preservation Commission were sent copies of the nomination proposal for the African Cemetery. The Commission unanimously supports the nomination of the African Cemetery to the National Register.

Sincerely,

Diane Silvia,
Historic Preservationist for Monroe County



FLORIDA DEPARTMENT of STATE

RICK SCOTT
Governor

KEN DETZNER
Secretary of State

March 22, 2012

The Honorable David Rice
Mayor, Monroe County Board of County Commissioners
1100 Simonton Street
Key West, Florida 33040

Re: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Dear Mayor Rice:

It is a pleasure to advise you that the Florida National Register Review Board has recommended that the above referenced property be formally nominated for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The Board took this action at its regular meeting on March 21, 2012. We are now in the process of preparing a formal nomination for submission to the Keeper of the National Register in accordance with 36 CFR Part 60.6.

When the formal nomination has been submitted to and received by the Keeper of the National Register, that office will have forty-five days in which to approve or disapprove the nomination. If the nomination is approved, the property will be listed as of the date of approval. The forty-five day review period may be extended, however, if the National Register staff finds technical deficiencies in the nomination requiring correction in our office.

If the nomination is disapproved, the National Register staff will notify us and explain the reasons for disapproval. We will in turn notify you of any action that may be taken to pursue the matter further.

Any person or organization interested in a nomination may petition the Keeper of the National Register during the nomination process either to accept or to reject the nomination. Comments regarding the nomination should be addressed to:

DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

R. A. Gray Building • 500 South Bronough Street • Tallahassee, Florida 32399-0250
Telephone: 850.245.6300 • Facsimile: 850.245.6436 • www.flheritage.com
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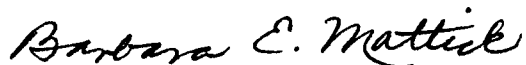


Rice
March 22, 2012
Page Two

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Cultural Resources
National Register of Historic Places
Mail Stop 2280
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20240

On behalf of Secretary of State Ken Detzner and the Historic Preservation staff, we appreciate your interest in Florida's historic heritage. Please let us know if you have any questions regarding the nomination process, or if we can be of any other assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Barbara E. Mattick".

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

BEM/ajw

Florida Department of State
Division of Historical Resources
Bureau of Historic Preservation

FLORIDA NOMINATION PROPOSAL

Adapted from NPS 10-900
to propose the nomination of
Properties in Florida for listing in
the National Register of Historic
Places

Grayed Areas for Use by Staff

1. Name of Property

historic name African Cemetery at Higgs Beach

other names _____

FMSF Number 8MO3445

2. Location

street & number 1001 Atlantic Blvd.

☐ not for publication

city or town Key West

☐ vicinity

state FLORIDA code FL county Monroe code _____ zip code 33040

3. Owner Awareness Statement

As the owner, or official representative of the owner, of the property identified above, I am aware of this proposal for its nomination for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. I have been advised of the procedures for review of the proposal by the State Historic Preservation Office and the Florida National Register Review Board, and for the formal nomination of the property at the discretion of the State Historic Preservation Officer. I understand that I will be notified of the date and place of the public meeting at which the proposal will be considered by the Florida National Register Review Board, and that I will be given an opportunity to submit written comments and to appear in person in support of or opposition to the nomination of the property.

At this time I ☒ support _____ oppose _____ reserve opinion on this proposal.

[Signature]
Signature of property owner or representative

6/10/11
Date

4. Legal Description of Property (according to county property appraiser's office)

Please also provide:

Name of USGS Quadrangle: Key West Quadrangle, 1971

Township, Section and Range: T 68S S 5 R 25E

Tax Parcel #: 000587-90-000100 KWPTTR27 RR-342/343 W-458/459
OR561949 OR603-558/564 OR619-949/956

Attach continuation sheet if necessary

NATIONAL REGISTER REVIEW AND PROCESSING

CLG ☒ (Monroe Co.)Name of Property: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West,Assigned to: Mattick

	Received/Due	Completed
Date PSIQ received	<u>Discussed</u>	<u>but need GPR, erectal marker</u>
Response to PSIQ (due 2 wks)	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Sent to CLG (if applicable)	<u>1/20/2012</u>	<u>1/12/2012</u>
Date FNP received	<u>1/11/2012</u>	
Detailed response to FNP (due 2 wks)	<u>over many months</u>	
Other contact	<u> </u>	
	<u> </u>	
	<u> </u>	
Received complete and adequate FNP		<u>1/6/2012</u>
Review Board date		<u>3/21/2012</u>
Notification (30-75 days before Review Board)		
Owner(s)	<u>2/13/12</u>	<u> </u>
Official (City)	<u>2/13/12</u>	<u> </u>
Official (County)	<u>2/13/12</u>	<u> </u>
Official (CLG)	<u>2/13/12</u>	<u> </u>
Official (Federal)	<u>N/A</u>	<u> </u>
Recommendation of Review Board		<u> </u>
Notification of Board Action (same as above)	<u>3/22/12</u>	
Submit to NR/NPS (90 days after NRRB)	<u>5/4/12</u>	<u> </u>
Notification of NPS Action		
SOS letters	<u>7/12/12</u>	<u> </u>
SHPO letters	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Press Release		<u> </u>
Certificate letter		<u> </u>





World War II era



C019532

Aerial view, with west Martello Tower Civil War fort in the foreground - Key
West, Florida

1954

Cory Malcom On The African Slave Memorial Burial Site

Photo and article by Cory Malcom

"One of the motivations for the research into the history of these events, locating the cemetery, and developing the monument was not only to see that these long-forgotten people were known, but that they were acknowledged and celebrated. It is so nice to see that happening. There is no place like the Key West African Cemetery anywhere else in the world. It is yet another example of why our island is such a unique, interesting, and important place. As more people learn the story of the Africans of 1860, interest in events like this only grow."

This past November, Monroe County hired Dr. Larry Conyers, a ground-penetrating radar expert from the University of Denver, to come help with a survey of more areas in the Higgs Beach Park. (Conyers worked with us in 2002 to

find the original graves.) Dr. Conyers, myself, staff from Monroe County Public Works, and a number of volunteers, searched through the park to see what was underground there. Using historical data, we found approximately 100 unmarked graves in areas across the street from the African Cemetery memorial, mostly in the Dog Park. According to the historical information, these new discoveries are likely to be some of the 250+ graves that were uncovered and relocated when the West Martello was built in 1862. As I said earlier, I do not know what the exact final plans are, but the general thinking is to leave the spot as green space that comes together with the existing monument. This is all part of the redevelopment plan for the Higgs Beach Park that was approved earlier this year. Certainly, it is a cemetery and will be treated as such.



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our house made desserts.

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FLORIDA DEPARTMENT of STATE

RICK SCOTT
Governor

KEN DETZNER
Secretary of State

March 22, 2012

Ms. Diane Silvia
Executive Director
Historic Florida Keys Foundation
Old City Hall
510 Greene Street
Key West, Florida 33040

Re: African Cemetery at Higgs Beach, Key West, Monroe County, Florida

Dear Ms. Silvia:

It is a pleasure to advise you that the Florida National Register Review Board has recommended that the above referenced property be formally nominated for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The Board took this action at its regular meeting on March 21, 2012. We are now in the process of preparing a formal nomination for submission to the Keeper of the National Register in accordance with 36 CFR Part 60.6.

When the formal nomination has been submitted to and received by the Keeper of the National Register, that office will have forty-five days in which to approve or disapprove the nomination. If the nomination is approved, the property will be listed as of the date of approval. The forty-five day review period may be extended, however, if the National Register staff finds technical deficiencies in the nomination requiring correction in our office.

If the nomination is disapproved, the National Register staff will notify us and explain the reasons for disapproval. We will in turn notify you of any action that may be taken to pursue the matter further.

Any person or organization interested in a nomination may petition the Keeper of the National Register during the nomination process either to accept or to reject the nomination. Comments regarding the nomination should be addressed to:

DIVISION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

R. A. Gray Building • 500 South Bronough Street • Tallahassee, Florida 32399-0250

Telephone: 850.245.6300 • Facsimile: 850.245.6436 • www.flheritage.com

Commemorating 500 years of Florida history www.fla500.com



Silvia
March 22, 2012
Page Two

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Cultural Resources
National Register of Historic Places
Mail Stop 2280
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20240

On behalf of Secretary of State Ken Detzner and the Historic Preservation staff, we appreciate your interest in Florida's historic heritage. Please let us know if you have any questions regarding the nomination process, or if we can be of any other assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Barbara E. Mattick".

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
for Survey & Registration

BEM/ajw

Pc: Ms. Enid Torregrosa

FLORIDA NATIONAL REGISTER REVIEW BOARD COMMENT/VOTE SHEET

Name of Property AFRICAN CEMETERY @ HIGGS BEACH, KEY WEST, FL.

PART I. Initial Review Comments:

Identification and descriptive information

☒ adequately defines and describes the property
☐ needs

Significance information

☒ adequately identifies and explains areas of significance
☐ needs

Boundary description and Justification

☒ adequately delineates the resource(s) to be nominated
☐ needs

Documentation

☒ includes adequate photos, maps, bibliography and other supporting documents
☐ needs

PART II. Final Recommendations and Comments:

After formal consideration of the nomination proposal, it is my recommendation that:

☒ the property be nominated under NR Criteria
___ A (Historic), ___ B (Person), ___ C (Architecture/Design), ☒ D (Potential to yield information) at the
☒ Local, ___ State, ___ National level(s) of significance.

☐ although the property appears to be eligible, the nomination proposal
should be revised and resubmitted for review by the Board.

☐ does not meet the eligibility criteria due to
___ lack of documented historically significant associations
___ loss of historic integrity

COMMENTS (use back if necessary):

PICK GONZALEZ, AIA

Printed name of Board Member



Signature of Board Member

3-21-12

Date

FLORIDA NATIONAL REGISTER REVIEW BOARD COMMENT/VOTE SHEET

Name of Property African Cemetery at Higgs Beach

PART I. Initial Review Comments:

Identification and descriptive information

☐ adequately defines and describes the property
☐ needs

Significance information

☐ adequately identifies and explains areas of significance
☐ needs

Boundary description and Justification

☐ adequately delineates the resource(s) to be nominated
☐ needs

Documentation

☐ includes adequate photos, maps, bibliography and other supporting documents
☐ needs

PART II. Final Recommendations and Comments:

After formal consideration of the nomination proposal, it is my recommendation that:

☒ the property **be nominated** under NR Criteria
☐ A (Historic), ☐ B (Person), ☐ C (Architecture/Design), ☒ D (Potential to yield information) at the
☐ Local, ☐ State, ☒ National level(s) of significance.

☐ although the property appears to be eligible, the nomination proposal
should be revised and resubmitted for review by the Board.

☐ **does not meet the eligibility criteria** due to
☐ lack of documented historically significant associations
☐ loss of historic integrity

COMMENTS (use back if necessary):

Adam Hirsch
Printed name of Board Member

[Signature]
Signature of Board Member

3/21/12
Date

FLORIDA NATIONAL REGISTER REVIEW BOARD COMMENT/VOTE SHEET

Name of Property

African Cemetery at High Beach

PART I. Initial Review Comments:

Identification and descriptive information

☒ adequately defines and describes the property
☐ needs

Significance information

☒ adequately identifies and explains areas of significance
☐ needs

Boundary description and Justification

☒ adequately delineates the resource(s) to be nominated
☐ needs

Documentation

☒ includes adequate photos, maps, bibliography and other supporting documents
☐ needs

PART II. Final Recommendations and Comments:

After formal consideration of the nomination proposal, it is my recommendation that:

☒ the property **be nominated** under NR Criteria

☒ A (Historic), ☒ B (Person), ☐ C (Architecture/Design), ☒ D (Potential to yield information) at the
☒ Local, ☐ State, ☒ National level(s) of significance.

☐ although the property appears to be eligible, the nomination proposal
should be revised and resubmitted for review by the Board.

☐ **does not meet the eligibility criteria** due to

☐ lack of documented historically significant associations
☐ loss of historic integrity

COMMENTS (use back if necessary):

May J. Uccione
Printed name of Board Member

[Signature]
Signature of Board Member

Date

FLORIDA NATIONAL REGISTER REVIEW BOARD COMMENT/VOTE SHEET

Name of Property AFRICAN CEMETERY KEY WEST

PART I. Initial Review Comments:

Identification and descriptive information

☒ adequately defines and describes the property
☐ needs

Significance information

☒ adequately identifies and explains areas of significance
☐ needs

Boundary description and Justification

☒ adequately delineates the resource(s) to be nominated
☐ needs

Documentation

☒ includes adequate photos, maps, bibliography and other supporting documents
☐ needs

PART II. Final Recommendations and Comments:

After formal consideration of the nomination proposal, it is my recommendation that:

☒ the property **be nominated** under NR Criteria
___ A (Historic), ___ B (Person), ___ C (Architecture/Design), ☒ D (Potential to yield information) at the
☒ Local, ☒ State, ☒ National level(s) of significance.

___ although the property appears to be eligible, the nomination proposal
should be revised and resubmitted for review by the Board.

___ **does not meet the eligibility criteria** due to
___ lack of documented historically significant associations
___ loss of historic integrity

COMMENTS (use back if necessary):

EXCELLENT NOMINATION !!

William B. Lees, PhD, RPA
Printed name of Board Member


Signature of Board Member

3/21/2012
Date

FLORIDA NATIONAL REGISTER REVIEW BOARD COMMENT/VOTE SHEET

Name of Property African Cemetery - Ings Beach

PART I. Initial Review Comments:

Identification and descriptive information

☒ adequately defines and describes the property
☐ needs

Significance information

☒ adequately identifies and explains areas of significance
☐ needs

Boundary description and Justification

☒ adequately delineates the resource(s) to be nominated
☐ needs

Documentation

☒ includes adequate photos, maps, bibliography and other supporting documents
☐ needs

PART II. Final Recommendations and Comments:

After formal consideration of the nomination proposal, it is my recommendation that:

☐ the property be **nominated** under NR Criteria
☐ A (Historic), ☐ B (Person), ☐ C (Architecture/Design), ☒ D (Potential to yield information) at the
☒ Local, ☒ State, ☒ National level(s) of significance.

☐ although the property appears to be eligible, the nomination proposal
should be revised and resubmitted for review by the Board.

☐ **does not meet the eligibility criteria** due to
☐ lack of documented historically significant associations
☐ loss of historic integrity

COMMENTS (use back if necessary):

Almy
Printed name of Board Member

M. J. Almy
Signature of Board Member

3/21/12
Date

Mattick, Barbara

*Re ineligibility for NHL
at this point*

From: Mattick, Barbara
Sent: Tuesday, July 10, 2012 11:06 AM
To: 'Alexandra_Lord@nps.gov'
Subject: RE: African Cemetery, Higgs Beach (Key West, Florida)

Thanks for your comments, Lexi. I discussed this with Erika and was not surprised by the present evaluation, but felt I needed to ask. We certainly are thrilled with the NR listing at the national level, and will hold out to see if circumstances change as to allow more research to be done. It is so frustrating that no one can get access to the baracoon area, but perhaps that will change.

Sincerely,

Barbara E. Mattick, Ph.D.
Historic Preservationist Supervisor & Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer for Survey & Registration | Bureau of Historic Preservation | Division of Historical Resources | Florida Department of State | 500 South Bronough Street | Tallahassee, Florida 32399 | 850.245.6364 | 1.800.847.7278 | Fax: 850.245.6431 | www.flheritage.com | bmattick@dos.state.fl.us

: <http://www.preservationnation.org/take-action/this-place-matters/sign.html>

-----Original Message-----

From: Alexandra_Lord@nps.gov [mailto:Alexandra_Lord@nps.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, July 10, 2012 8:58 AM
To: Mattick, Barbara
Cc: Erika_Seibert@nps.gov
Subject: African Cemetery, Higgs Beach (Key West, Florida)

Dear Dr. Mattick:

Thank you for the excellent National Register nomination for the African Cemetery at Higgs Beach in Key West, Florida, and for your request in that cover document transmitting the nomination to us for our comments about the possibility of pursuing National Historic Landmark designation of the site.

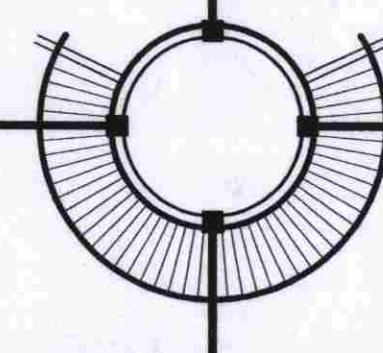
Listed in the National Register on June 26, 2012 at the national level of significance, the property is the site of the final resting place of 295 Africans that died in 1860 after being brought to Key West by the United States Navy during efforts to eradicate the slave trade. The cemetery contains the remains of some of the last victims of the African slave trade. In many ways the property is unique. The people buried here were Africans. They were not enslaved Africans in America, nor enslaved or free African Americans. The property has the ability to answer questions about the physical site itself (where graves are located, what is the extent), African burial practices, U.S. policy with regard to the treatment of those alive and the dead, and osteological data that can provide significant information about the health of the victims. Nevertheless, we do not feel the site would meet National Historic Landmark Criterion 6 at this time. The burials at the cemetery have been relocated at least three times. The construction of the West Martello Tower, the Atlantic Boulevard, and

military barracks during World War II all had detrimental effects on the human remains. Additionally, the barracoons have not been physically located. The graves that have been located and appear to be intact have not been ground truthed. As such, we do not know enough about the remaining graves' integrity or the barracoons to suggest the pursuit of an NHL at this time. If, in the future, more archeological work is done to determine the location of the barracoons, to verify the integrity of the graves that have not been disturbed, and to discuss more fully the extent of the disturbance to other human remains, we would reconsider the possibility of pursuing an NHL nomination.

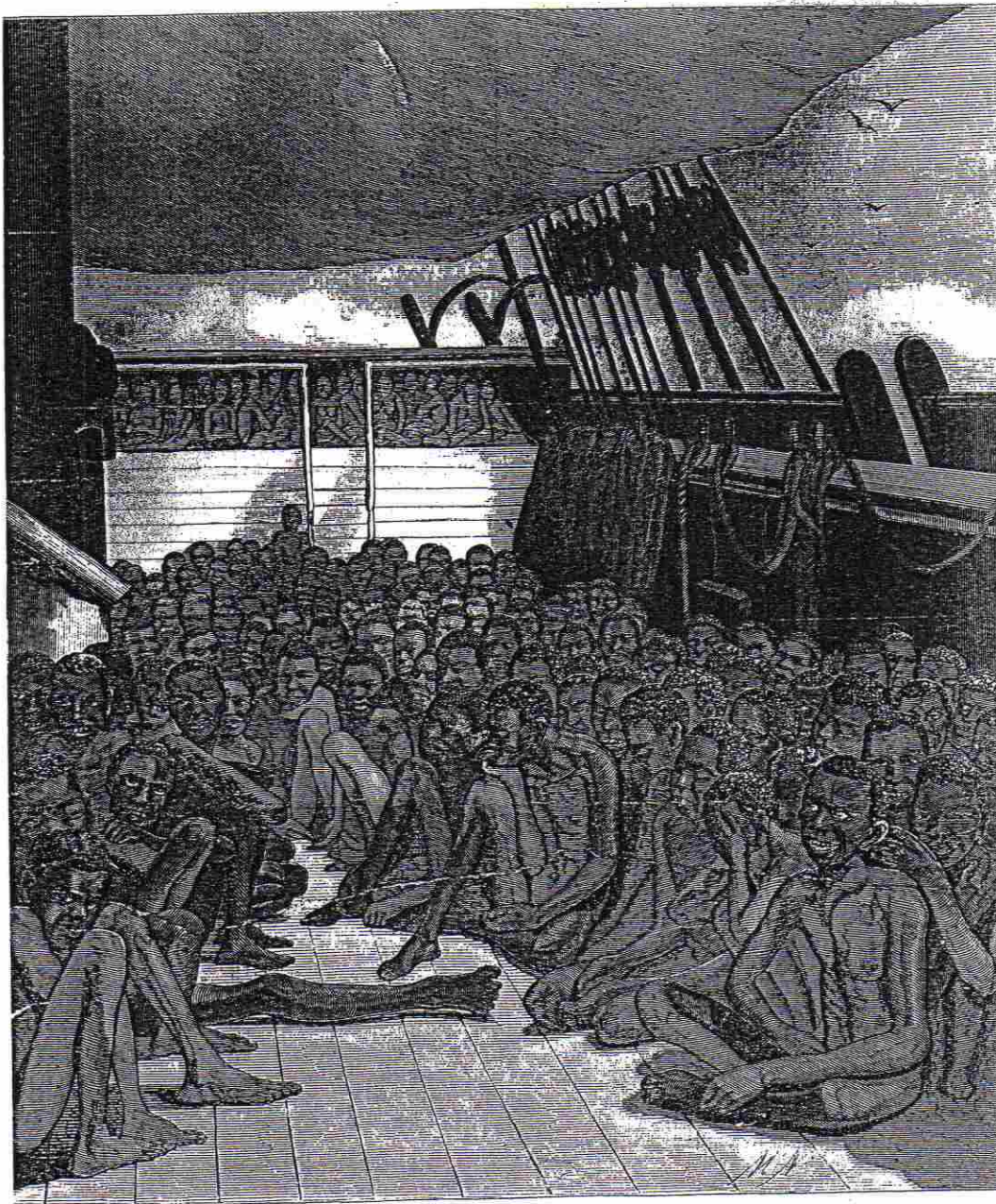
If you have further questions, please feel free to contact Erika Martin Seibert of the NHL staff at (202) 354-2217 or at erika_seibert@nps.gov

Sincerely,

Alexandra M. Lord, PhD
Branch Chief
National Historic Landmarks Program
National Park Service
1201 Eye Street NW
Washington DC 20240
Phone: 202-354-6906
Email: alexandra_lord@nps.gov



Selected Documents and Research Relating to 294 Africans Buried at Key West, Florida 1860



THE SLAVE DECK OF THE BARK "WILDFIRE," BROUGHT INTO KEY WEST ON APRIL 30, 1860.—[FROM A DAGUERRETYPE.]

During the summer of 1860, the small island community of Key West played host to over 1,400 Africans. These people had been brought to the island by the United States Navy during efforts to eradicate the still-active trade in slaves. During this period, profit-minded ships' captains of various nationalities were willing to risk everything to supply Spanish and Portuguese colonies with captive Africans. These people were sold and then forced to work in the thriving sugar and tobacco industries. Because of its close proximity to Cuba, Key West served as a refuge and depot for many rescued victims of this trade.

The people of Key West were quite moved by the plight of their guests, and provided shelter, clothes, food and medicine to make their stay easier. Despite such gestures, many of the Africans had suffered too greatly during their terrible voyage. During the two months they were here, 294 of the Africans succumbed to illness or depression. They were buried in unmarked graves on the south side of the island, in an area soon to be the site of what is today known as the "West Martello."

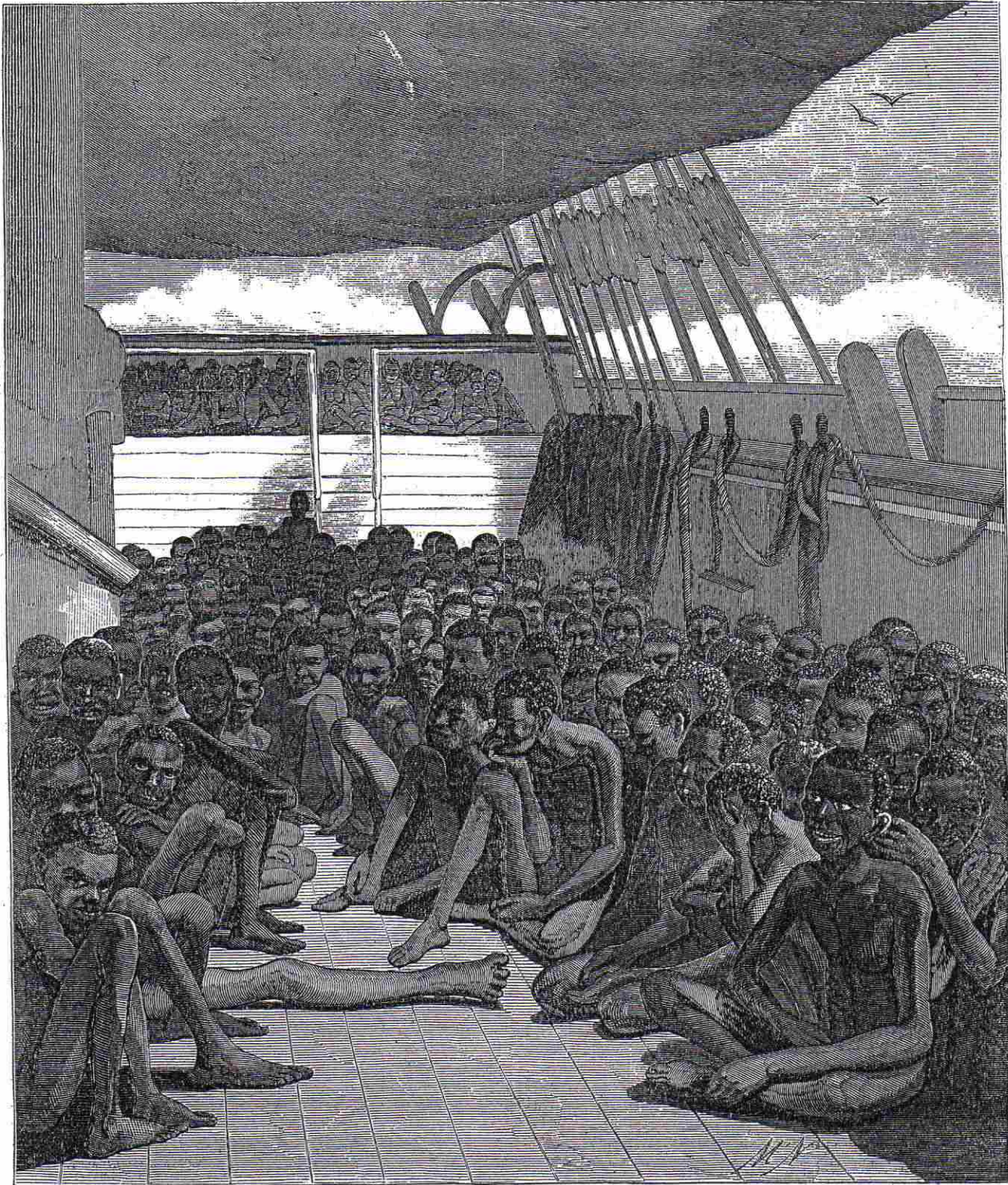
For 140 years these graves have silently lain forgotten and unnoticed. It is time to change this situation. It is simply not appropriate that so many people, who suffered the indignity of being stolen from their homelands, should remain lost to memory. In 1860, the people of the United States thought it was only right to do everything possible to rescue these people from a life of slavery. Those of us today can remember the victims of this trade by acknowledging those who found their final rest within the welcoming arms of Key West.

Research clearly shows the graves are located on Monroe County's Higgs beach, most likely within the confines of the Martello tower and immediately to its east. This beach, and its facilities, is scheduled to be renovated between now and 2002. A well-designed memorial to the Africans should be a part of these improvements.

To help with the placement of this memorial, please contact:

Africans' Memorial Committee
c/o Mel Fisher Maritime Museum
200 Greene St.
Key West, FL 33040
(305) 294-2633 ext. 22
ShipLine@aol.com

THE AFRICANS OF THE SLAVE BARK "WILDFIRE."—[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]



THE SLAVE DECK OF THE BARK "WILDFIRE," BROUGHT INTO KEY WEST ON APRIL 30, 1860.—[FROM A DAGUERROTYPÉ.]

KEY WEST, FLORIDA, May 20, 1860. On the morning of the 30th of April last, the United States steamer *Mohawk*, Lieutenant Craven commanding, came to anchor in the harbor of this place, having in tow a bark of the burden of about three hundred and thirty tons, supposed to be the bark *Wildfire*, lately owned in the city of New York. The bark had on board five hundred and ten native Africans, taken on board in the River Congo, on the west side of the continent of Africa. She had been captured a few days previously by Lieutenant Craven within sight of the northern coast of Cuba, as an American vessel employed in violating our laws against the slave-trade. She had left the Congo River thirty-six days before her capture.

Soon after the bark was anchored we repaired on board, and on passing over the side saw, on the deck of the vessel, about four hundred and fifty native Africans, in a state of entire nudity, in a sitting or squatting posture, the most of them having their knees elevated so as to form a resting-

place for their heads and arms. They sat very close together, mostly on either side of the vessel, forward and aft, leaving a narrow open space along the line of the centre for the crew of the vessel to pass to and fro. About fifty of them were full-grown young men, and about four hundred were boys aged from ten to sixteen years. It is said by persons acquainted with the slave-trade and who saw them, that they were generally in a very good condition of health and flesh, as compared with other similar cargoes, owing to the fact that they had not been so much crowded together on board as is common in slave voyages, and had been better fed than usual. It is said that the bark is capable of carrying, and was prepared to carry, one thousand, but not being able without inconvenient delay to procure so many, she sailed with six hundred. Ninety and upward had died on the voyage. But this is considered as comparatively a small loss, showing that they had been better cared for than usual. Ten more have died since their arrival, and there are about forty more sick in the hospital. We saw

on board about six or seven boys and men greatly emaciated, and diseased past recovery, and about a hundred that showed decided evidences of suffering from inanition, exhaustion, and disease. Dysentery was the principal disease. But notwithstanding their sufferings, we could not be otherwise than interested and amused at their strange looks, motions, and actions. The wall ones looked happy and contented, and were ready at any moment to join in a song or a dance whenever they were directed to do so by "Jack"—a little fellow as black as ebony, about twelve years old, having a handsome and expressive face, an intelligent look, and a sparkling eye. The sailors on the voyage had dressed "Jack" in sailor costume, and had made him a great pet. When we were on board "Jack" carried about in his hand a short cord, not only as the emblem but also as the instrument of his brief delegated authority. He would make the men and boys stand up, sit down, sing, or dance just as he directed. When they sang "Jack" moved around among them as light as a cat, and beat the time by

slapping his hands together, and if any refused to sing, or sang out of time, Jack's cord descended on their backs. Their singing was monotonous. The words we did not understand. We have rarely seen a more happy and merry-looking fellow than "Jack."

From the deck we descended into the cabin, where we saw sixty or seventy women and young girls, in Nature's dress, some sitting on the floor and others on the lockers, and some sick ones lying in the berths. Four or five of them were a good deal tattooed on the back and arms, and we noticed that three had an arm branded with the figure "7," which, we suppose, is the merchant's mark.

On the day of their arrival the sickest, about forty in all, were landed and carried to a building on the public grounds belonging to Fort Taylor, and Doctors Whitehurst and Skrine employed as medical attendants. We visited them in the afternoon. The United States Marshal had procured for all of them shirts, and pants for the men, and some benevolent ladies of the city had sent the



THE PRINCESS MADIA.—[FROM A DAGUERRETYPE.]

girls and women gowns. Six or eight were very sick; the others did not appear to be in any immediate danger of dying. We were very much amused by a young lad about fifteen years old, not much sick, who had got on, probably for the first time in his life, a whole shirt, and who seemed to be delighted with every body and every thing he saw. He evidently thought the speech of the white man was very funny. When a few words were spoken to him he immediately repeated them with great glee. Pointing to Dr. Skrine, we said "Doctor." He said "Doctor." And then pointing to Dr. Whitehurst, we said "Doctor too." He said "Doctor too." The doctors had selected from the bark a woman about twenty-four years of age to assist the nurse in taking care of the sick. She had been dressed in a clean calico frock, and looked very respectably. About sundown they all lay down for the night upon a camp-bed, and were covered over with blankets. And now a scene took place which interested us very much, but which we did not understand and can not explain. The woman standing up slapped her hands together once or twice, and as soon as all were silent she commenced a sort of recitation, song, or prayer, in tone and manner much like a chanting of the Litany in Catholic churches, and every few moments the voices of ten or fifteen others were heard in the same tone, as if responding. This exercise continued about a minute. Now what could this be? It looked and sounded to us very much like Christians chanting together an evening prayer on retiring to rest. And yet we feel quite assured that none of these persons had ever heard of Christ, or had learned Christian practices, or possessed much, if any, knowledge of God as a Creator or Preserver of the world. We suspect that it was not understood by them as a religious exercise at all, but as something which they had been trained to go through at the barracoons in Africa or on board the ship.

In two days after the arrival of the bark the Marshal had completed a large, airy building at Whitehead's Point, a little out of the town, for the reception and accommodation of these people; and after getting them clad as well as he could in so short a time, they were all landed on the fort wharf, and carried in carts to their quarters. On arriving there they all arranged themselves along the sides of the building, as they had been accustomed to do on the decks of the vessel, and squatted down in the same manner. It took the Marshal and his as-

stants some little time, and no small efforts, to give the Africans to understand that they were free to move about, to go out and come in at will. They learned this in the course of a few hours, however, and general merriment and hilarity prevailed. We visited them in the afternoon, and have done so several times since; and we confess that we have been struck, as many others have been, with the expression of intelligence displayed in their faces, the beauty of their physical conformation, and the beauty of their teeth. We have been accustomed to think that the civilized negroes of our own country were superior, in point of intelligence and physical development, to the native Africans; but judging only by the eye, we think it would be difficult to find, any where in our own country, four hundred finer and handsomer-looking boys and girls than these are. To be sure you often saw the elongated occiput, the protruded jaw, and the receding forehead, but you also often saw a head as round, with features as regular as any European's, except the universal flat noses. Little "Jack" has a head as round as an apple.

A number of these negroes—perhaps twelve or fifteen in all—have been more or less at and about Loando, a Portuguese town on the coast, and have learned to speak a little Portuguese. Through an interpreter we learned from them that some four or five—perhaps more, but probably not many—had been baptized at the Roman Catholic missionary station at Loando. Francisco, a young man, says he was baptized by a Franciscan friar in Loando; that he was a slave in Africa, and does not wish to return there. He says he had rather be a slave to the white man in this country. Salvador, a bright-looking, smart lad, has been baptized. Constantia says she was baptized in Loando. She does not remember her father; she was stolen away when she was young, and was sold by her brother. An-



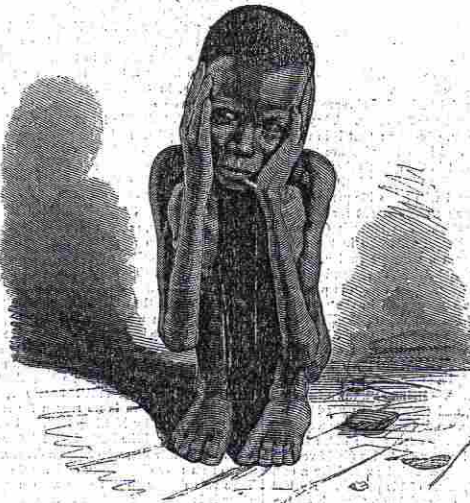
THE ONLY BABY AMONG THE AFRICANS.—[DAGUERRETYPE.]

tonia and Amalia are both fine-looking young women, aged about twenty, and were both baptized at Loando. Madia, a pagan, unbaptized, aged about twenty, has obtained among the white people here who have visited the quarters the name of "The Princess," on account of her fine personal appearance and the deference that seemed to be paid to her by some of her companions. The persons we have here mentioned, including some eight or ten others, evidently do not belong to the same tribe that the rest do. Indeed the whole number is evidently taken from different tribes living in the interior of Africa, but the greater number are "Congos." The women we have named have cut or shaved the hair off the back part of their head, from a point on the crown to the back part of either ear. It is the fashion of their tribe. None of the other women are thus shorn. Many of the men, women, boys, and girls have filed their front teeth—some by sharpening them to a point, and others by cutting down the two upper front teeth. The persons above named have their teeth in a natural state. Perhaps fifty in all are tattooed more or less.

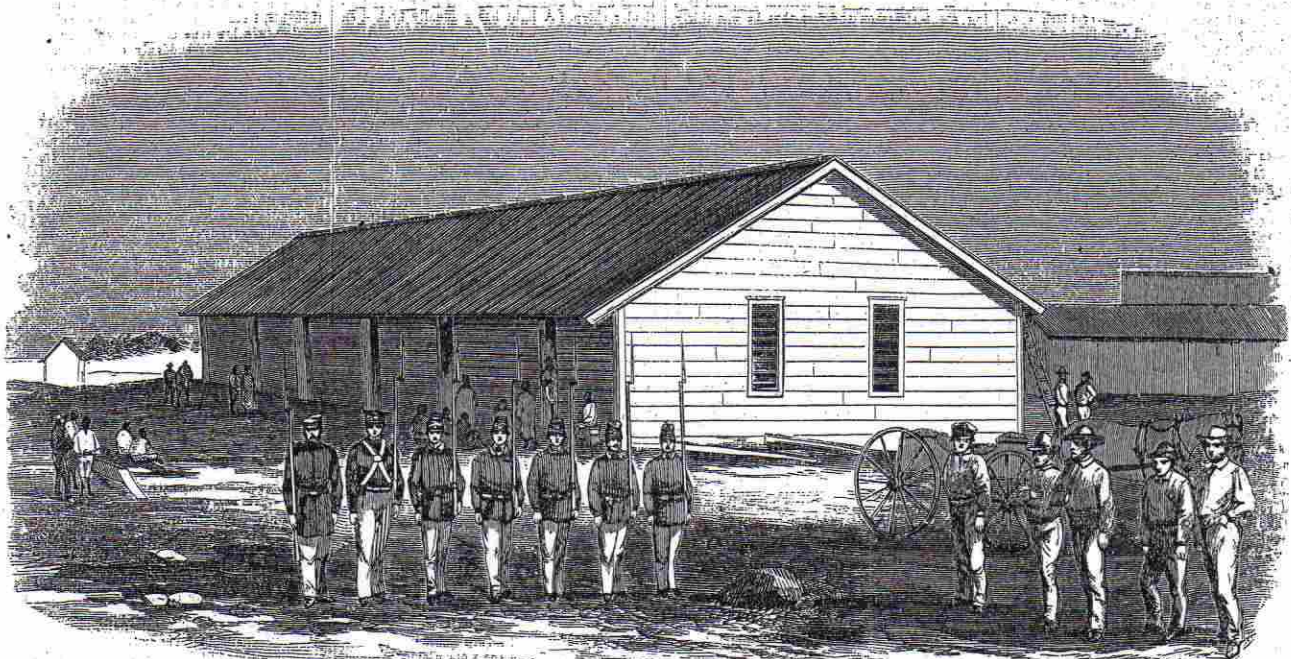
Travelers describe the natives of Congo as being small of stature, cheerful, good-humored, unreflexing, and possessed of little energy either of mind or body. Negro indolence is carried with them to the utmost excess. The little cultivation that exists, entirely carried on by the females, is nearly limited to the manioc root, which they are not very skillful in preparing. Their houses are put together of mats made from the fibre of the palm-tree, and their clothes and bedding consist merely of matted grass.

The President, on receiving news of the capture of the *Wildfire*, sent a special message to Congress on the subject, from which we give an extract below. The subsequent capture of another slave-ship with more Africans will probably lead to some enactment on the subject. The President says:

"The expenditure for the Africans captured on board the *Wildfire* will not be less than one hundred thousand dollars, and may considerably exceed that sum. But it will not be sufficient for Congress to limit the amount appropriated to the case of the *Wildfire*. It is probable, judging from the increased activity of the slave-trade and the vigilance of our cruisers, that several similar captures may be made before the end of the year. An appropriation ought, therefore, to be



AN AFRICAN.—[FROM A DAGUERRETYPE.]



THE BARRACON AT KEY WEST, WHERE THE AFRICANS ARE CONFINED.—[FROM A DAGUERRETYPE.]

granted large enough to cover such contingencies. The period has arrived when it is indispensable to provide some specific legislation for the guidance of the Executive on this subject. With this view, I would suggest that Congress might authorize the President to enter into a general agreement with the Colonization Society, binding them to receive, on the coast of Africa from our agent there, all the captured Africans which may be delivered to him, and to maintain them for a limited period, upon such terms and conditions as may combine humanity toward these unfortunates with a just economy. This would obviate the necessity of making a new bargain with every new capture, and would prevent delay and avoid expense in the disposition of the negroes. The law might then provide that, in all cases where this may be practicable, the captor should carry the negroes directly to Africa, and deliver them to the American agent there, afterward bringing the captured vessel to the United States for adjudication.

"The capturing officer, in case he should bring his prize directly to the United States, ought to be required to land the negroes in some one or more ports to be designated by Congress, where the prevailing health throughout the year is good. At these ports cheap but permanent accommodations might be provided for the negroes until they could be sent away, without incurring the expense of erecting such accommodations at every port where the capturing officer may think proper to enter. On the present occasion these negroes have been brought to Key West; and, according to the estimate presented by the Marshal of the Southern District of Florida to the Secretary of the Interior, the cost of providing temporary quarters for them will be \$2500, and the aggregate expenses for the single month of May will amount to \$12,000. But this is far from being the worst evil. Within a few weeks the yellow fever will most probably prevail at Key West; and hence the Marshal urges their removal from their present quarters at an early day, which must be done in any event as soon as practicable. For these reasons I earnestly commend this subject to the immediate attention of Congress."

THE Uncommercial Traveler.

NO. IX.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

ONE of the pleasantest things I have lately met with, in a vagabond course of shy metropolitan neighborhoods and small shops, is the fancy of an humble artist, as exemplified in two portraits representing Mr. Thomas Sayers, of Great Britain, and Mr. John Heenan, of the United States of America. These illustrious men are highly colored, in fighting trim, and fighting attitude. To suggest the pastoral and mediative nature of their peaceful calling, Mr. Heenan is represented on emerald award, with primroses and other modest flowers springing up under the heels of his half-boots; while Mr. Sayers is impelled to the administration of his favorite blow, the Auctioneer, by the silent eloquence of a village church. The humble homes of England, with their domestic virtues and honeysuckle porches, urge both heroes to go in and win; and the lark and other singing-birds are observable in the upper air, ecstatically carolling their thanks to Heaven for a fight. On the whole, the associations entwined with the pugilistic art by this artist are much in the manner of Isaac Walton.

But it is with the lower animals of back streets and by-ways that my present purpose rests. For human notes we may return to such neighborhoods when leisure and inclination serve.

Nothing in such neighborhoods perplexes my mind more than the bad company birds keep. Foreign birds often get into good society, but British birds are inseparable from low associates. There is a whole street of them in St. Giles's; and I always find them in poor and immoral neighborhoods, convenient to the public-house and the pawnbroker's. They seem to lead people into drinking, and even the man who makes their cages usually gets into a chronic state of black eye. Why is this? Also they do things for people in short-skirted velvet coats with bone buttons, or in sleeved waistcoats and fur caps, which they can not be persuaded by the respectable orders of society to undertake. In a dirty court in Spitalfields, once, I found a goldfinch drawing his own water, and drawing as much of it as he were in a consuming fever. That goldfinch lived at a bird-shop, and offered in writing to barter himself against old clothes, empty bottles, or even kitchen-stuff. Surely a low thing and depraved taste in any flock! I bought that goldfinch for money. He was sent home and hung upon a nail over against my table. He lived outside a counterfeit dwelling-house, supposed (as I argued) to be a dyer's; otherwise it would have been impossible to account for his perch sticking out of the garret window. From the time of his appearance in my room, either he left off being thirsty—which was not in the bond—or he could not make up his mind to hear his little bucket drop back into his well when he let it go: a shock which in the best of times had made him tremble. He drew no water but by stealth and under the cloak of night. After an interval of futile and at length hopeless expectation, the merchant who had educated him was appealed to. The merchant was a bow-legged character, with a flat and cushiony nose, like the last new strawberry. He wore a fur cap and shorts, and was of the velvet race, yet, woe betide, he sent word that he would "look round." He looked round, appeared in the door-way of the room, and slightly cocked up his evil eye at the goldfinch. Instantly a racing thrill beset that bird; when it was appressed, he still drew several unnecessary buckets of water; and finally leaped about his perch and sharpened his bill as if he had been to the nearest wine-vaults and got drunk.

Donkeys again. I know shy neighborhoods where the Donkey goes in at the street door, and appears to live up stairs, for I have examined the back yard from over the palings, and have been unable to make him out. Gentility, nobility, royalty, would appeal to that donkey in vain to do what he does for a costermonger. Feed him with oats at the highest price, put an infant prince and princess in a pair of nonpareils on his back, adjust

his delicate trappings to a nicety, take him to the softest slopes at Windsor, and try what pace you can get out of him. Then starve him, harness him anyhow to a truck with a flat tray on it, and see him bowled from Whitechapel to Bayswater. There appears to be no particular private understanding between birds and donkeys in a state of nature, but in the shy neighborhood state you shall see them always in the same hands, and always developing their very best energies for the very worst company. I have known a donkey—by sight; we were not on speaking terms—who lived over on the Surrey side of London Bridge, among the fastnesses of Jacob's Island and Dockhead. It was the habit of that animal, when his services were not in immediate requisition, to go out alone, idling. I have met him, a mile from his place of residence, loitering about the streets; and the expression of his countenance at such times was most degraded. He was attached to the establishment of an elderly lady who sold periwinkles, and he used to stand on Saturday nights with a cartful of those delicacies outside a gin-shop, pricking up his ears when a customer came to the cart, and too evidently deriving satisfaction from the knowledge that they got bad measure. His mistress was sometimes overtaken by inebriety. The last time I ever saw him (about five years ago) he was in circumstances of difficulty, caused by this falling. Having been left along with the cart of periwinkles, and forgotten, he went out idling. He prowled among his usual low haunts for some time, gratifying his depraved taste, until, not taking the cart into his calculations, he endeavored to turn up a narrow alley, and became greatly involved. He was taken into custody by the police, and the Green Yard of the district being near at hand, was backed into that place of duration. At that crisis I encountered him; the stubborn sense he evinced of being—not to compromise the expression—a blackguard, I never saw exceeded in the human subject. A flaring candle in a paper shade, stuck in among his periwinkles, showed him, with his ragged harness broken and his cart extensively shattered, twitching his mouth and shaking his hanging head, a picture of disgrace and obduracy. I have seen boys being taken to station-houses who were as like him as his own brother.

The dogs of shy neighborhoods I observe to avoid play, and to be conscious of poverty. They avoid work too, if they can, of course; that is in the nature of all animals. I have the pleasure to know a dog in a back street in the neighborhood of Wallington who has greatly distinguished himself in the minor drama, and who takes his portrait with him when he makes an engagement for the illustration of the play-bill. His portrait (which is not at all like him) represents him in the act of dragging to the earth a recalcitrant Indian, who is supposed to have tomahawked, or essayed to tomahawk, a British officer. The design is pure poetry, for there is no such Indian in the piece and no such incident. He is a dog of the Newfoundland breed, for whose honesty I would be bail to any amount, but whose intellectual qualities in association with the dramatic fiction I can not rate high. Indeed, he is too honest for the profession he has entered. Being at a town in Yorkshire last summer, and seeing him posted in the bill of the night, I attended the performance. His first scene was eminently successful; but, as it occupied a second in its representation (and five lines in the bill), it scarcely afforded ground for a cool and deliberate judgment of his powers. He had merely to bark, run on, and jump through an inn window after a comic fugitive. The next scene of importance to the fable was a little marred in its interest by his overanxiety; forasmuch as while his master (a belated soldier in a den of robbers on a tempestuous night) was feelingly lamenting the absence of his faithful dog, and laying great stress on the fact that he was thirty leagues away, the faithful dog was barking furiously in the prompter's box, and clearly chucking himself against his collar. But it was in his greatest scene of all that his honesty got the better of him. He had to enter a dense and trackless forest on the trail of the murderer, and there to fly at the murderer when he found him resting at the foot of a tree, with his victim bound ready for slaughter. It was a hot night, and he came into the forest from an altogether unexpected direction, in the sweetest temper, at a very deliberate trot, not in the least excited; trotted to the foot-lights with his tongue out; and there sat down, panting, and amiably surveying the audience, with his tail beat on the boards, like a Dutch clock. Meanwhile the murderer, impatient to receive his doom, was audibly calling to him, "Oo-o-om! here!" while the victim, struggling with his bonds, assailed him with the most injurious expressions. It happened through these means that when he was, in course of time, persuaded to trot up and rend the murderer limb from limb, he made it (for dramatic purposes) a little too obvious that he worked out that awful retribution by licking butter off his blood-stained hands.

In a shy street behind Long-acre two honest dogs live who perform in Punch's shows. I may venture to say that I am on terms of intimacy with both, and that I never saw either guilty of the falsehood of falling to look down at the man inside the show during the whole performance. The difficulty other dogs have in satisfying their minds about these dogs, appears to be never overcome by time. The same dogs must encounter them over and over again, as they trudge along in their off minutes behind the legs of the show and beside the drum; but all dogs seem to suspect their fills and jackets, and to sniff at them as if they thought those articles of personal adornment an eruption—a something in the nature of mange, perhaps. From this Covent Garden window of mine I noticed a country dog, like the other day, who had come up to Covent Garden Market under a cart, and had broken his cord, and end of which he still trailed along with him. He loitered about the corners of the four streets commanded by my window, and had London dogs come up, and told him

lies that he didn't believe; and worse London dogs came up, and made proposals to him to go and steal in the market, which his principles rejected; and the ways of the town confused him, and he crept aside and lay down in a door-way. He had scarcely got a wink of sleep when up comes Punch with Toby. He was darting to Toby for consolation and advice, when he saw the frill, and stopped in the middle of the street, appalled. The show was pitched, Toby retired behind the drapery, the audience formed, the drum and pipes struck up. My country dog remained immovable, intently staring at these strange appearances, until Toby opened the drama by appearing on his ledge, and to him entered Punch, who put a tobacco-pipe into Toby's mouth. At this spectacle the country dog threw up his head, gave one terrible howl, and fled due west.

We talk of men keeping dogs, but we might often talk more expressively of dogs keeping men. I know a bull-dog in a shy corner of Hammersmith who keeps a man. He keeps him up a yard, and makes him go to public-houses and lay wagers on him, and obliges him to lean against posts and look at him, and forces him to neglect work for him, and keeps him under rigid coercion. I once knew a fancy terrier that kept a gentleman—a gentleman who had been brought up at Oxford, too. The dog kept the gentleman entirely for his glorification, and the gentleman never talked about anything but the terrier. This, however, was not in a shy neighborhood, and is a digression, consequently.

There are a great many dogs in shy neighborhoods who keep boys. I have my eye on a mongrel in Somers Town who keeps three boys. He feels that he can bring down sparrows, and unburrow rats (he can do neither), and he takes the boys out on sporting pretenses into all sorts of suburban fields. He has likewise made them believe that he possesses some mysterious knowledge of the art of fishing, and they consider themselves incompletely equipped for the Hampstead Ponds, with a pickle-jar and a wide-mouthed bottle, unless he is with them and barking tremendously. There is a dog residing in the Borough of Southwark who keeps a blind man. He may be seen, most days, in Oxford Street, hauling the blind man away on expeditions wholly un contemplated by, and unintelligible to, the man: wholly of the dog's conception and execution. Contrariwise, when the man has projects, the dog will sit down in a crowded thoroughfare and meditate. I saw him yesterday, wearing the money-tray like an easy collar instead of offering it to the public, taking the man against his will, on the invitation of a disreputable cut, apparently to visit a dog at Harrow—was so intent on that direction. The north wall of Burlington House Gardens, between the Arcade and the Albany, offers a shy spot for appointments among blind men at about two or three o'clock in the afternoon. They sit (very uncomfortable) on a sloping board there, and compare notes. Their dogs may always be observed, at the same time, openly disparaging the men they keep, to one another, and settling where they shall respectively take their men when they begin to move again. At a small butcher's, in a shy neighborhood (there is no reason for suppressing the name; it is by Notting Hill, and gives upon the district called the Potteries), I know a shaggy black and white dog who keeps a drover. He is a dog of an easy disposition; and too frequently allows this drover to get drunk. On these occasions it is the dog's custom to sit outside the public-house, keeping his eye on a few sheep, and thinking. I have seen him with six sheep, plainly casting-up in his mind how many he began with when he left the market, and at what places he has left the rest. I have seen him perplexed by not being able to account to himself for certain particular sheep. A light has gradually broken on him, he has remembered at what butcher's he left them, and in a burst of grave satisfaction, has caught a fly off his nose, and shown himself much relieved. If I could at any time have doubted the fact that it was he who kept the drover, and not the drover who kept him, it would have been abundantly proved by his way of taking undivided charge of the six sheep when the drover came out beamed with red ochre and beer, and gave him wrong directions, which he calmly disregarded. He has taken the sheep entirely into his own hands, has merely remarked, with respectful firmness, "That instruction would place your attention to yourself—you will want it all!" and has driven his charge away with an intelligence of ears and tail, and a knowledge of business, that has left his lout of a man very, very far behind.

As the dogs of shy neighborhoods usually betray a sinking consciousness of being in poor circumstances—for the most part manifested in an aspect of anxiety, an awkwardness in their play, and a misgiving that somebody is going to harness them to something, to pick up a living—so the cats of shy neighborhoods exhibit a strong tendency to relapse into barbarism. Not only are they made selfishly ferocious by ruminating on the surplus population around them, and on the densely crowded state of all the avenues to cat's meat; not only is there a moral and politico-economical haggardness in them, traceable to these reflections, but they evince a physical deterioration. Their linen is not clean, and is wretchedly got up; their black fur is rusty, like old mourning; they wear very indifferent fur and take to the shabbiest cotton velvet, instead of silk velvet. I am on terms of recognition with several small streets of cats, about the Obelisk in St. George's Fields, and also in the vicinity of Clerkenwell Green, and also in the back settlements of Drury Lane. In appearance they are very like the women among whom they live. They seem to turn out of their unwholesome beds into the street without any preparation. They leave their young families to stagger about the gutters, unassisted, while they frouz-

corners. In particular, I remark that when they are about to increase their families (an event of frequent occurrence) the resemblance is strongly expressed in a certain dusty downiness, down-at-heel self-neglect, and general giving up of things. I can not honestly report that I have ever seen a feline matron of this class washing her face when in an interesting condition.

Not to prolong these notes of uncommercial travel among the lower animals of shy neighborhoods, by dwelling at length upon the exasperated moodiness of the tom-cats, and their resemblance in many respects to a man and a brother, I will come to a close with a word on the fowls of the same localities.

That any thing born of an egg and invested with wings, should have got to the pass that it hops contentedly down a ladder into a cellar, and calls (that going home, is a circumstance so amazing as to leave one nothing more in this connection to wonder at. Otherwise I might wonder at the completeness with which these fowls have become separated from all the birds of the air—have taken to groveling in bricks and mortar and mud—have forgotten all about live trees, and make roosting-places of chop-boards, barrows, oyster-tubs, bulk-heads, and door-scraps. I wonder at nothing concerning them, and take them as they are. I accept as products of Nature and things of course, a reduced Bantam family of my acquaintance in the Hackney Road, who are incessantly at the pawnbroker's. I can not say that they enjoy themselves, for they are of a melancholy temperament; but what enjoyment they are capable of they derive from crowding together in the pawnbroker's side-entry. Here they are always to be found in a feeble flutter, as if they were newly come down in the world, and were afraid of being identified. I know a low fellow, originally of a good family from Dorking, who takes his share of establishment of wives, in single file, in the door of the Jug Department of a disorderly tavern near the Haymarket, manoeuvres them among the company's legs, emerges with them at the Bottle Entrance, and so passes his life: seldom, in the season, going to bed before two in the morning. Over Waterloo Bridge there is a shabby old speckled couple (they belong to the wooden French-bedstead, washing-stand, and towel-horse-making trade), who are always trying to get in at the door of a chapel. Whether the old lady, under a delusion reminding one of Mrs. Southcott, has an idea of intrusting an egg to that particular denomination, or merely understands that she has no business in the building, and is consequently frantic to enter it, I can not determine; but she is constantly endeavoring to undermine the principal door: while her partner, who is infirm upon his legs, walks up and down encouraging her and defying the Universe. But the family I have been best acquainted with, since the removal from this trying sphere of a Chinese cleric at Brentford, reside in the densest part of Bethnal Green. Their abstraction from the objects among which they live, or rather their conviction that those objects have all come into existence in express subservience to fowls, has so enchanted me that I have made them the subject of many journeys at divers hours.

ON BOARD A SLAVER.

BY ONE OF THE TRADE.

ON a wet and cloudy morning in the month of April, 1858, I was sitting before the fire of a boarding-house in New York, ruminating on what should be my future mode of life. I had returned some time from my last voyage, which had been to the East Indies, and my funds were rapidly decreasing, and compelled me to look out for another ship. While my mind was following this train of thoughts, I became suddenly aware of voices conversing in a low tone outside my door, which on approaching nearer suddenly drew away, and I heard a knock. On my saying "Come in," I entered the landlord of the house, accompanied by a stranger, to whom he introduced me as Captain Manwell, saying that the gentleman, as I was agreeable, had something to communicate; he then withdrew, leaving the stranger with me.

I begged him to be seated, and to commence what he had to say. He was a man rather below the middle height, with dark flashing eyes, and hair of the same hue, regular features, and a pale foreign-looking complexion; he altogether bore the appearance of any thing but a sailor. Having taken a chair, and drawn closer to the fire, he told me that he was in command of a ship about to proceed to the west coast of Africa on a trading voyage for palm-oil, and that he wanted some trustworthy men to man her, and that on referring to my landlord for aid, he had strongly recommended me; he had therefore paid me this visit to offer me a vacancy. Now these proceedings seemed so strange and mysterious that I could plainly see there was something at the bottom of them; so looking him steadfastly in the face, I asked him if he meant by the trading voyage "the game." He replied yes, that I was right; and having heard from my host that I spoke both Spanish and Portuguese fluently, he offered me a berth of trust, knowing that my knowledge as a linguist would be of great use to him. After some consideration I consented to go, for my desire to make money and my love of adventure urged me to do it. We then made some arrangements, and I, on my part, promising inviolable secrecy, he left, having given me directions to go down on the following morning to the docks, where I should find him on board the bark *Flora*, where we should make and settle all the arrangements.

I accordingly went down the following morning, and finding he had not yet arrived on board, I employed my time in taking a survey of the ship. I found her to be a long, low, black craft, of 460 tons burden, bark-rigged, with raking masts and sharp bows. She had a raised quarter-deck, with saloon and cabins underneath, for the captain and mates;

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No. 289—VOL. X.]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1860.

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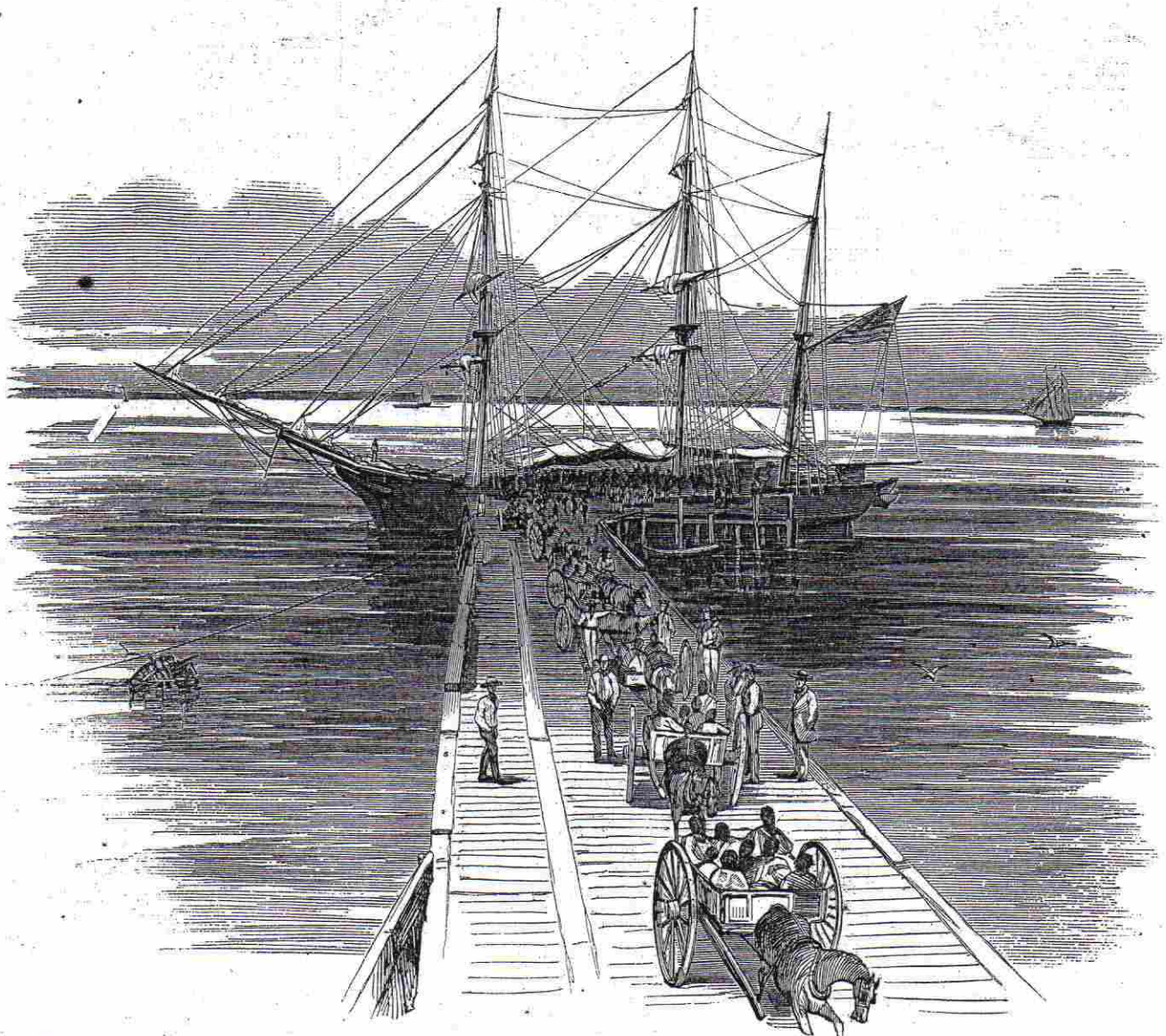
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CAPTURE OF THE SLAVE VESSELS AND THEIR CARGOES.

Our cruisers have been very successful of late in the search after the slavers which infest the Cuban coast, and have already captured three vessels with over one thousand five hundred negroes. The prizes were all taken to Key West and their cargoes landed. Such an accession to the population of that place caused the authorities no little trouble to provide suitable accommodations for them. But by activity and energy, and by calling forth every available resource, in a few days all were comfortably though roughly housed. We present this week an illustration of the

landing of the negroes captured by the United States steamer Wyandotte on the American bark Williams.

On the morning of the 9th of May, while the Wyandotte was on her course for the south side of Cuba, a bark was discovered standing in shore with all sail set to a light breeze. Chase was immediately commenced and continued for four hours, when the wind dying away and the steamer gaining rapidly on the bark, the latter, mistaking the Wyandotte for a Spanish coasting steamer, tacked and boldly stood out from the land. About eleven A. M., the Wyandotte being within speaking distance of the bark, Captain Stanley hailed her in Spanish, asking what vessel it was, and received in reply, "American," spoken in



LANDING OF THE CARGO OF SLAVES CAPTURED ON BOARD THE AMERICAN BARK WILLIAMS BY THE U. S. STEAMER WYANDOTTE—DISSEMBARKATION AT KEY WEST.—PHOTOGRAPHED BY DAVID LAWRENCE.

good English. He then ordered her to show her colors, which she did, by hoisting the American flag. An officer was then sent on board, and she was found to be the American bark Williams, Captain Simms, apparently engaged in lawful trade, as there were no visible signs of negroes being on board. But on lifting the tarpaulins with which the hatches were covered, the woolly heads of a number of negroes were immediately thrust up in bold relief to the light, causing the boarding party, in the excitement of the moment, to give three cheers, which was answered by those on board the Wyandotte. Lieutenants Read and Eggleston and a prize crew of nineteen sailors and marines were then placed on board, and the officers, crew and passengers of the bark taken on board the Wyandotte, and the prize towed to Key West.

The poor Africans were conveyed from the bark in carts and taken at once to their temporary quarters, where every care was taken to provide for their cleanliness and comfort.

The number of Africans originally taken on board the Williams at the Congo River is variously stated. The American captain says there were only six hundred and sixty-four received; while other and perhaps more correct accounts state the number to have been seven hundred and fifty. If this be true, the mortality among them has been very great; for there were but five hundred and forty-six Africans on board when captured, thus leaving two hundred and four to be accounted for. To this latter number must be added the six found dead on board (said to have been killed by the crew in preserving silence and preventing detection before being boarded by captors), and the thirty-three who died on the passage to Key West—making a total of two hundred and forty-three deaths!

The treatment they received on board this vessel bears no comparison with that given to those who were on board the Wildfire. The vessel was found to be in a filthy condition, and the living freight uncaired for.

The prisoners have been confined in jail, and are undergoing an examination before Commissioner Bethel.

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NEW YORK, JUNE 23, 1866.

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TERMS FOR THIS PAPER.

One Copy	1 week \$ 1
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Foreign News.

Br the Niagara the news is important. The chief interest turns upon Garibaldi, who, after landing on the 11th at Marsala, marched upon Palermo, routing the royal troops on the way. These fled in such confusion that they entered Palermo without their arms and very bare of clothing. Garibaldi then took possession of Monreale, the heights which surround and command Palermo. After several attempts of General Lanza to dislodge them, Garibaldi made an attack upon Palermo on the 27th of May, and, after a desperate conflict of six hours, established his headquarters in the very centre of the city. At the time the Niagara left, the royal fleet was bombarding the place. The success of Garibaldi had exercised such a paralyzing effect on the Neapolitan Ministry that it had resigned, and the wretched tyrant, Bomba, jun., when too late, was offering a liberal Cabinet to stop public discontent. All offers of amnesty to the Sicilians have been scouted by the indignant population. The commander of the British fleet at Palermo had offered protection to American residents.

From England, we hear that on the evening of the 30th, Heenan and Sayers received a grand ovation in the Alhambra, Leicester square. Bowling, editor of *Bell's Life*, presented Heenan with a duplicate belt, and George Wilkes, editor of the *Spirit of the Times*, presented one precisely similar to Tom Sayers. England is thus graced and defended by Dromed champion. Heenan is, however, the fighting, Sayers the sleeping partner in this new firm.

France has increased her army one hundred thousand men, and everything evinces a very uneasy feeling on the part of the European Governments. There is evidently a secret understanding with Russia on the Turkish question, which may probably bring about a collision between England, Austria and Prussia on the other hand. However, the ascendancy of Russia at the Danubius may endanger British supremacy in the Mediterranean; the extinction of that barbarous anomaly in Europe is a necessity which must come sooner or later. If the agreement between Russia and France contemplates the handing over of Egypt to the latter Power, a war between France and England is inevitable, and there is no doubt the Napoleon dynasty would disappear in the struggle.

The Chinese have positively declined the French and English propositions, and the war has now commenced. The Allies have resolved to occupy Chusan. The London *Times* attacks the Neapolitan Government with great severity for its cruelties, and cites many revolting instances, in which young women have been tortured to death. Should the young villain, Bomba, have to fly, he had better take shelter in England, as he would get the same treatment the brewer gave the infamous Bayna.

The *Monitor* has published an article professing the Emperor's pacific intentions, which had been mercilessly lashed by the London *Times*. The "amicable hostility" between the two great Western Powers is evidently growing.

Postmaster Holt upon the Post Office Defalcations.

The triangular duel—A la Midshipman Easy—which Postmaster General Holt, his Third Assistant, Zevely, and Mr. Sixth Auditor Tate have had in consequence of the Fowler defalcation, has resulted in a very loud report from Mr. Holt, in reply to a resolution of the House of Representatives calling for the facts and circumstances pertaining to Mr. Fowler's deficiency. It is a strange and most interesting document. The Postmaster-General excuses or explains the inability of Marshal Rynders to capture the genial defaulter, on account of the extensive sympathy

for the claims of public justice, would naturally prompt to efforts for the concealment of the culprit. He intimates, however, that if they ever catch J. V. Fowler, the full penalties of the statute will be inflicted. Mr. Holt exonerates Mr. Zevely, and lays the blame of the growth of the defalcation on the official desk of the Sixth Auditor.

The defalcation, up to March 31, 1860, amounted to \$155,554 31, but the late cashier of Mr. Fowler alleges the actual deficit to be about \$170,000. This may be true, as the accounts for the current quarter have not been audited, "and the amount abstracted," to use Mr. Holt's phrase, has not yet been ascertained. The department first became cognizant of the affair on the 10th of May, the First Auditor showing Mr. Holt two confidential letters—confessing the defalcation—from Fowler, written in reply to an official communication asking him to "hurry up." The report of the Auditor gives an account of the progress of the defalcation. From it we perceive that the origin of the embezzlement is dated as far back as December 31, 1856, at which Mr. Fowler owed a balance of \$8,985 70. This deficit was increased by \$17,687 98 the following quarter, and with the exception of three quarters—the last of 1856 and the first two of 1857—the increase continued until the final exposure. On the 30th June, 1857, it had reached the sum of \$23,020 88. This was adjusted by a special deposit of \$20,000 on the 8th of August, 1858, which, with the credits for clerk hire, &c., which were allowed, balanced the account and left \$1,999 19 to the credit of Mr. Fowler. This settlement, however, was deceptive, and the Postmaster-General shows how it was, thus: In consequence of this special deposit having been made, the weekly one of the current revenues due on the date at which the deposit was made (August 8th), was omitted, so that, in fact, a deficit equal to nearly a week's receipts remained. The defalcation now progressed with considerable rapidity. \$40,074 96 were added to it the following quarter. On the 30th of September, 1858, the deficit was \$76,899 96. In November the books were again balanced, but the adjustment, like that in August, was altogether delusive. It was accomplished by applying the deposits of the revenues already received of the quarter ending December 31, 1858, to extinguish the pre-existing liability. "There was not a dollar paid, but simply a transfer of the indebtedness from one quarter to another." When Mr. Holt took charge of the Post Office Department in March, 1859, the deficit was not short of \$80,000. At the close of that month it was \$93,938 98, and it continued, says the report, "to augment, until at the close of the first quarter of the present year it had reached a magnitude which would probably have rendered its concealment impracticable for more than a few months longer. Had the settlement, however, not been insisted on early in May, but have been postponed until the end of the quarter, then, by perverting its entire revenues to meet the liabilities due March 31, 1860, the books might, under this device, have been again balanced, and the denouement of this drama of financial guilt been delayed for three months more."

The question then arises, how could this embezzlement have existed longer? Mr. Holt answers: "The true explanation of the ignorance of the Department of the existence and progress of this fraud must be sought for in the failure of the Sixth Auditor to report the constantly recurring delinquencies of Mr. Fowler to the Postmaster-General." He further states that the office of the Auditor in its relations to the Department is rather anomalous. To his hands are intrusted the administration of its highest interests, and yet he belongs to another department of the Government, and is absolutely under the control of the Secretary of the Treasury. The Auditor (Dr. Tate), in defining his position, takes ground: First, that a knowledge of the delinquencies of deposit officers—to which class that of New York belongs—is not chargeable upon his office; and second, that a regulation of the Department so modified his duty under the general law as to absolve him from the obligation of reporting such delinquencies to the Postmaster-General.

While the present Third Assistant Postmaster, who came into office, March, 1859, is exonerated, the late incumbent "after a careful examination" is found culpable of negligence in his supervision of the weekly deposits. The record shows that between January 1, 1857, and January 1, 1858, there were eleven weeks in which no deposits from the New York Post Office were made. During the period referred to the deposits repeatedly fell as low as six, five, and on two occasions, four thousand dollars per week—an amount so far below the average that it should have at once aroused suspicion. Mr. Holt cannot find any indication that these defaults were made known to his predecessor. Such is the pith and point of the eighty-two pages of official printing fresh from the press on the subject.

The Great Eastern in our Waters.

AFTER many months of anxious expectation, the mighty monster of the ocean is at this moment ploughing her way to this shore. Perhaps before these words reach the eyes of our readers she may be safely anchored opposite the Battery, the observed of a hundred thousand observers. Although a year has now elapsed since her first voyage was projected, although she has been described over and over again, and illustrated in every possible shape and way, the public interest in her has not in the least diminished. She is intended to illustrate a principle which, if successful, will assuredly entirely revolutionize the present system of naval architecture. It is this fact which gives to her appearance so deep and lasting an interest. Her vast dimensions, her proportions in every respect so gigantic, will fully satisfy the most preposterous wondermongers amongst us, and she will be a "sight" to tens of thousands for weeks to come.

If the Great Eastern is a mechanical success she will certainly prove commercially successful. It behoves us, then, to study her out thoroughly, that we may be prepared for the tremendous competition which must ensue. A few such marauding monsters in the hands of our great rivals would absorb the carrying trade of the world. We cannot rest idle and careless while threatened with so great a danger. We should be up and ground, and strive to tread closely in her footsteps, even though she has got the start of us. There will be no want of money to commence the great work should the

to thoroughly investigate the subject, and report to that body at the earliest possible moment. If that report endorses the success of the Great Eastern, it will clearly indicate a profitable way for the investment of our millions of surplus capital.

The News from Japan.

THE overland mail from San Francisco brings us the intelligence that on the 16th of March, as Prince Gotarō was travelling from his country seat to the Tycoon's palace in Yeddo, he was attacked by a party of his political enemies, who were disguised as travellers, and assassinated, six of his guards or attendants sharing his fate.

The same arrival brings also the news that on the first of April several of those complicated in this plot suffered the penalty of their crime, some of them being allowed the privilege of har-kari, or happy dispatch. In other words, they were permitted to commit suicide. This absolved them from the loss of their estates, and relieved their families from the odium of an execution.

We know so little of the politics of this singular people, that it is idle to draw any inference from this event. It seems, however, pretty certain, that the murdered Prime Minister was in favor of a liberal policy, since, had he opposed the embassy to this country, he would not have remained in power. It is also equally probable that the party to which he belonged retains the ascendancy still, since, had the lovers of the obsolete ideas been successful, the assassins would not have been punished, as they evidently have been. The rumor is, that some of the high princes were concerned in the attempted revolution.

What effect this catastrophe may have upon the Embassy now in New York, is, of course, impossible to predict. It is not impossible they may be kept in ignorance of the whole affair for some time to come.

City Railroad Impositions.

IT is a peculiarity of the spirit of reform and improvement in all American cities, and particularly in New York, that it advances not in a steady and efficient course, but by convulsions. A great abuse is frequently pointed out to the public; the press batters and storms away; every body predicts a marvellous amendment and astounding results; there is a nine days' riot and we are on the high road to improvement. But the old staggers wink and say, "Wait till the nine days are over!" Perhaps the storm really becomes so serious as to compel those interested to take efficient measures. This has taken place more than once. But it is melancholy to reflect that, in a Christian country and in the nineteenth century, it should be necessary to employ such powerful and convulsive means of reform, to simply effect what the law of the land should quietly carry out. In most cases, however, the storm of excitement does no good, and when the nine days are over, the whole matter sleeps neglected. It is, perhaps, almost needless to say to the reflecting reader, that of all methods of effecting anything, the convulsive is perhaps the most inefficient.

We were treated a few months ago to one of these convulsive efforts to reform one of the grossest abuses and impositions on the patience and pockets of our citizens, in the form of an attack on the miserable and dishonest management of the city passenger railroads. The managers and owners of these roads were told plainly enough and truly enough by more than one cotemporary, that if the streets were relinquished to them, and if they were to have the privilege of running vehicles and of carrying people, common decency required that they should give something like an equivalent and that their rates of carriage should not be so impudently exorbitant—as they so long have been. They were told what everybody knows, that they have no business to admit standing passengers; that their straps and rods for "upright riders" were a disgrace to them, and that if they had such a run of custom as to render these contrivances useful, they can afford to put on extra cars. The experience of Philadelphia in this matter has abundantly tested the fact, that there is not the slightest use in crowding cars, while as regards prices, it has been amply demonstrated, that three cents per passenger is quite enough for any one to pay for a ride of the average length. We refer with pleasure, as regards investigation of this latter point, to the valuable information collected and published by the New York *Times*.

Not only should every passenger in a car have a seat, but that seat should be separated by arms or otherwise marked off and defined. There is at present altogether too much irregularity, too much dependence on the mutual courtesies of passengers, and too much treatment of passengers in general as if they were mere freight. With the exception of the very small minority of courteous and well-bred ladies, women in New York cars turn gentlemen out of their seats without ceremony and generally without thanks. No lady will enter a car which she can see is full, knowing, as she must, that after a due amount of sham ceremony and sham declining she will end by turning somebody out of a paid-for seat. But, as we have already intimated, these points of courtesy and refinement are but little looked to. The best way would be to abolish the standing-up system altogether. It is an imposition and a nuisance deserving the strongest reprehension. Those who have seen burly strap-holding vagabonds in a crowded car, squeezing themselves against ladies sitting down, will, perhaps, comprehend one very decided objection against the stuffing and cramming system of packing city passenger cars.

Finally, we would like to ask if there can be any reasonable objection urged against more efficient means being taken to preserve order and decency in the city passenger cars? Cases very frequently occur in which police interference is necessary, and when it cannot be obtained. If the conductors of cars were clothed with the authority and power of special constables, these evils of disorder would be very promptly remedied. If the proposition be open to objection, we shall only be too happy to see it fully and fairly debated. Meanwhile, we would suggest to our readers in the many towns and cities of the interior where city passenger railroads are now being rapidly established, that they should take warning by older example, and rigidly bind and limit the companies who get possession of their streets, so that the comfort of the public be consulted as well as the pocket of

THE KEYS

INSIDE OVER THE FENCE: Qzzie Osborne profiles Key West newcomer the Rev. Carolyn Fagan, 5B. HAPPENINGS, 5B. KEYS HOME DELIVERY

The Herald

Little-known tragedy lurks in Keys' past

KEY WEST — This fabled resort — so rich with history that some locals erect mocking plaques that say "On this site in 1897 nothing happened" — doesn't share the grim secret of Higgs Beach.

Tourists are beguiled by tales of pirates and wreckers. They visit the Oldest House, the Southernmost House, the house where Hemingway lived, the house where Audubon visited. There are museums about the salvage trade, President Harry S. Truman and lighthouses.

But nowhere along the sands of Higgs Beach is a marker or remembrance of its sad and forgotten chapter: It is a burial ground, an unmarked cemetery, for 294 African



MARIKA LYNCH

FLORIDA JOURNAL

slaves who died on the rocky shoreline awaiting freedom.

The Florida Keys played a role, albeit accidental, in the nearly 200 years of American slavery.

Slave ships bound for New Orleans, Jamaica and Havana fell prey to the unforgiving reefs that skirt the archipelago — their human cargo often drowning with them.

A part of this painful chapter was remembered last year when an exhibit on the Henrietta Marie, a slave ship that wrecked off the Keys in the 1700s, toured the United States and brought the realities of slavery tangibly close. The exhibit included the actual shackles that once held Africans on their voyage into New World bondage.

To date, the Henrietta Marie is the only slave ship salvaged that sunk while engaged in the slave trade. The locations of other slave ships are lost to modern day divers, like the Spanish ship Guerrero which crashed off Key Largo after a duel with a British cruiser in 1827.

According to ship logs obtained by Keys historian Gail Swanson, three towboats were employed to salvage both the Guerrero and the HMS Nimble. The surviving African slaves were loaded aboard three ships, but the Spanish crew wasn't willing to relinquish their valuable "property" so easily.

The Spanish hijacked two of the boats and delivered 398 of the slaves to their original destination: Santa Cruz, Cuba. The rest were taken by authorities to Key West, removed to St. Augustine for fear the Spanish would return for them, and ultimately transported back to Africa.

The United States banned the importation of slaves in 1808, although few slavers were ever convicted.

But as tensions over slavery heated up toward mid-century, the federal government sent more ships to patrol for slavers. When such ships were captured, the Africans were sent to Key West and other way stations to be returned to their native lands.

At the time, cosmopolitan Key West was the second largest — and by far the wealthiest — city in Florida, enjoying a boom from turtling, sponging, salvaging and salt manufacturing.

Those jobs drew white and free black Bahamian settlers, suffering their own economic setbacks after slavery was abolished there in 1838. Though most of the populace of Key West had Confederate leanings, and many of the wealthy had their own slave servants, the city was considered one of the more "open" communities for blacks in the antebellum South.

In the spring of 1860 came a slave incident so dramatic that it became the focus of island life.

Three illegal slave ships were captured in the Caribbean. In all, 1,432 Africans were brought to the port of Key West, boosting the city's population by 50 percent. The city's fresh-water supply was sorely taxed by the sudden influx.

First to come to town was the slave ship Wildfire. It carried 510 slaves from the Congo.

The U.S. marshal in Key West commissioned all 24 carpenters in town — plus just as many slaves — to build barracks on Higgs Beach and two other sites. The slave ships William and the Bogota would soon follow.

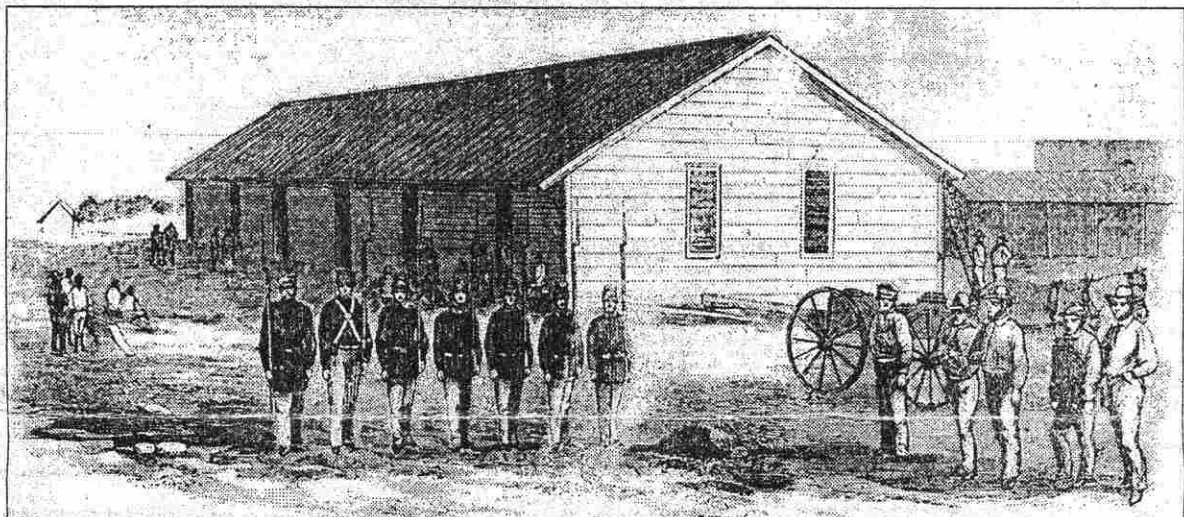
A hospital, staffed by seven nurses and a doctor, also was built for the slaves. Women's groups brought clothes and blankets, while the Africans in groups of 10 ate meat and rice out of large bowls. They bathed daily in the

BENEATH THE BEACH, BONES OF SLAVES



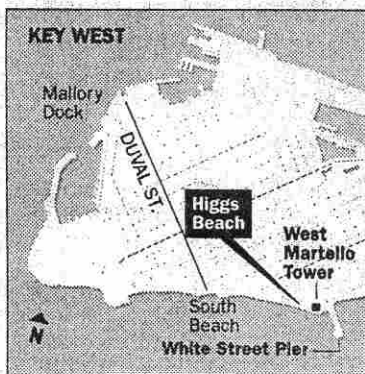
Herald file

THE SITE TODAY, RESORT SCENE: On the south side of Key West, Higgs Beach is often filled with sun lovers and tourists. Little known is the fact that the beach is also the burial ground of scores of slaves seized from a slave ship in 1860.



Harper's Weekly

IN THE 1860s, A FOREBODING DESTINATION: Slave barracks constructed in Key West after the seizure of the slave ship Wildfire were next to where the remains of West Martello Tower stand today on the island. When fort builders were erecting West Martello in 1861, the foundation had to be relocated to avoid building on the corpses of the slaves.



ocean. A priest from the local Catholic church, St. Mary Star of the Sea, baptized many. Yet the mosquitoes, the heat, the latrines created a nest of pestilence.

Within six days, 15 slaves had died. Typhoid fever affected 27 others. The hospital at one point had 180 patients.

A few slaves became despondent. A report in the Journal of the Florida Medical Association in 1944 noted: "Several rammed their heads against the crossbeams of the barracoon, sustaining injuries of the skull from which a few died."

"The worst spot for an African Negro depot on the coast of the United States," claimed President James Buchanan.

By late July, the American Colonization Society had carried the majority of the Africans back to Liberia.

But disease had thinned the ranks — 294 of them had died of illness or from suicide.

Trenches were opened and the remains were placed there by a contractor who charged the government \$5.50 per body.

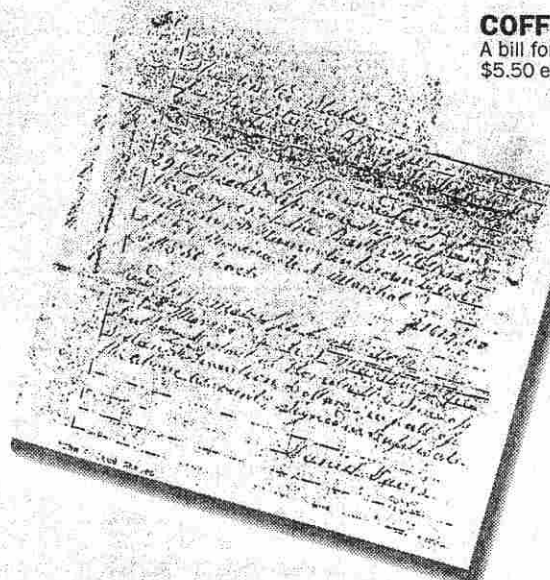
The total bill for the 80-day stay: \$225,000 — paid by the U.S. marshal. The ship captains, illegally profiting from the inhumane trade, were never convicted.

A year later, in 1861, while laying the foundations for fort West Martello, workers unearthed the remains of the slaves by accident. It was a gruesome sight.

The slave laborers on the project

COFFINS AND BURIAL:

A bill for burying 294 slaves at \$5.50 each dated Sept. 11, 1860.



This receipt says: "The United States For recaptured Africans To D. Davis, For making coffins and burying 294 deceased African Negroes from the cargoes of the Barks Wildfire, William and Name Unknown by order of F.J. Moreno, U.S. Marshal. @ \$5.50 each, \$1617 Rec'd. Key West September 11th 1860 of F.J. Moreno Esq. U.S. Marshal of the Southern District of Florida the sum of sixteen hundred and seventeen dollars-in full of the above account — signed in duplicate. David Davis"

"Whenever the topic arises it brings out a myriad of feelings in people, and none of them are positive."

CARMEN TURNER,
Key West city commissioner

halted work and refused to return. And the foundation of the building had to be relocated to avoid the graves, said Tom Hambright, Monroe County Library historian.

Today in the shadow of West Martello tower, people picnic on Cuban sandwiches at Juanito's, a taste of old Cuba, swing on the playground, and swat volleyballs.

Slavery was a footnote in the East Martello museum's exhibit on Black History, which focused on the rich history of Key West's black settler families.

For black history month, Key West's

black churches celebrated by singing spiritual hymns, the city named a park for a prominent local black citizen, and groups held a celebration with local dance and music groups, said City Commissioner Carmen Turner.

"I hope at one point the schools will start teaching the history of blacks in Key West. I hope this history, which is very rich, will become part of the Key West historical repertoire. It has largely been ignored," said Turner, who studied it while preparing for her family reunion last year.

She said she had heard about the slave graveyard on Higgs Beach, but hadn't done any research on it. She understands why it isn't often brought up.

"It's a difficult thing to talk about. Whenever the topic arises it brings out a myriad of feelings in people, and none of them are positive: anger, hatred, shame. Very often, it's not an easy thing to discuss," Turner said.

Historian Gail Swanson, who has studied Keys slave history by searching U.S. and British archives, wants the site designated so others will not forget.

"All I'd like to see is a marker, so that they'll be remembered."



SPEED
LIMIT
15

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AFRICAN CEMETERY AT HIGGS BEACH

Near this site lie the remains of 294 African men, women and children who died in Key West in 1860. In the summer of that year the U.S. Navy rescued 1,432 Africans from three American-owned ships engaged in the illegal slave trade. Ships bound for Cuba were intercepted by the U.S. Navy, who brought the freed Africans to Key West where they were provided with clothing, shelter and medical treatment. They had spent weeks in unsanitary and inhumane conditions aboard the slave ships. The U.S. steamships *Mohawk*, *Wyandott* and *Crusader* rescued these individuals from the *Wildfire*, where 507 were rescued; the *William*, where 513 were rescued; and the *Bogota*, where 417 survived. In all, 294 Africans succumbed at Key West to various diseases caused by conditions of their confinement. They were buried in unmarked graves on the present day Higgs Beach where West Martello Tower now stands. By August, more than 1,000 survivors left for Liberia, West Africa, a country founded for former American slaves, where the U.S. government supported them for a time. Hundreds died on the ships before reaching Liberia. Thus, the survivors were returned to their native land, Africa, but not to their original homes on that continent.

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2001



WILDFIRE
WILLIAM

BOGOTA






WILDFIRE
USS Mohawk

WILLIAM
USS Wyandotte

BOGOTÁ
USS Crus


**AFRICAN CEMETERY AT
HIGGS BEACH**

Many have said that the cemetery of the African men, women and children who died in the early days of the settlement of the island of Barbados is the most interesting and important of the island's historical sites. It is the only place where the remains of the African people who were brought to Barbados as slaves are buried. The cemetery is located in the heart of the island, in the area known as Higgs Beach. It is a small, rectangular plot of land, surrounded by a low wall and a fence. The ground is covered with sand and there are many small, simple graves. The graves are made of stones and some have inscriptions. The cemetery is a place of great historical significance and it is a reminder of the suffering and the struggle of the African people in Barbados.

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KEY WEST

