

# PERSONNEL OF THE SAUTA CAVE CONFEDERATE SALTPETER WORKS, 1862-1863

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From May, 1861, until about October, 1862, three sets of partners (John D. Borin, John F. Anderson, and George W. Rice; Joseph W. Dunkerley and Thomas L. Fossick; and Hugh Carlisle and George L. Henderson) leased Sauta Cave and mined it as private contractors. Then, for \$34,600, the Confederate Nitre Bureau obtained the lease and improvements and began mining the cave on government account. This was the case November, 1862, to July, 1863, and for a limited number of workers, until August, 1863.

The names of the laborers for the private contractors of Sauta Cave are generally unknown. But many of the Bureau payrolls for the cave's white and black workers have survived. The November, February, March, April, May, July, and August rolls for the white employees seem to be complete, while those for December, January, April, and June have one or more pages missing. At one time or another at least 180 different whites were employed there or hired wagons and teams or just teams to the operation. The peak of employment was February-May, 1863, when the monthly white workers or team suppliers tallied 90, 110, 97, and 93. During those same months slave or free black laborers numbered 76, 80, 84, and 70, boosting the monthly totals to 166, 190, 181, and 163 persons employed. This included all phases of the mining operation, whether extracting dirt from the cave, leaching, boiling, hauling, cooking, or employment at the nearby Gunter's Mountain Potash Works. There is no doubt that for a time Sauta Cave was the largest of all Confederate saltpeter cave operations.

Many of the Sauta workers, as to be expected, were Jackson County residents. Quite a number who lived near the cave were employed there. Over fifty individuals from the county have been identified, and undoubtedly there were more. Other Alabama laborers came from Marshall, Morgan, and Madison Counties, who at a minimum respectively numbered twenty, twenty, and nine. At least ten employees were Georgians, who had been assigned to various Bureau saltpeter

caves or potash works before being transferred to Sauta.


It has not been possible to identify all of the known 180 white persons associated with Sauta Cave. Some people were only employed a few days or weeks while others had a long tenure at Sauta or with saltpeter mining in general. Some biographical data for nearly two-thirds of the workers has been located, especially their other assignments by the Nitric Bureau. Either before or after service at Sauta Cave individuals were employed at the following sites: GEORGIA, Parton Cave (now "lost") near Rome; Cave Spring Cave, Floyd County; Ringgold Cave (now perhaps Chapman Cave on Chickamauga Creek), Catoosa County; Ravenel Cave (now Jolly Cave on the Etowah River), Bartow County; and Bartow (now Kingston Saltpeter) Cave, Bartow County; TENNESSEE, Nickajack Cave, Marion County; ALABAMA, Fort Payne (now Manitou) Cave, DeKalb County; Big Spring (now Guntersville Caverns) and Long Hollow (now Cave Mountain) Caves in Marshall County, the latter below the Guntersville Dam; Eureka (now possibly Wolf Cave in Newson Sinks) and Trinity Caves, Morgan County; Blue Mountain (now Lady-Weaver) Cave, Calhoun County; Little River (now Daniel) Cave, Cherokee County; Nixon's (now French's Saltpeter), Little Warrior (Crump-Horseshoe), and Cedar Mountain (now Horse-Adcock) Caves, Blount County; plus Town Creek Potash Works on Sand Mountain near the Marshall-DeKalb line and South Sauta Epsom Salts Works, also on Sand Mountain somewhere near where Jackson, DeKalb, and Marshall Counties meet. The Sauta workers were:

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Isaiah Abanathy, laborer, Jan.-Mar. Confederate Payrolls, RG109, National Archives.

John C. Anderson was a laborer at Fort Payne Cave, Sept., Nov. 1862 - Jan. 1863 & Nov. 1863 - Jan. 1864; Santa Feb.-Mar., May-July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863; Cedar Mountain Cave, Feb.-May, 1864; Long Hollow Cave, May, 1864; & Blue Mountain Cave, May-June, 1864. He also provided a wagon & team at Santa, Feb.-Mar., 1863. Ibid.; ~~John Riley Hopkins Papers~~, John Riley Hopkins Papers, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

J. W. Anyan, wagon & team, Nov.-Dec., Feb.-Mar. CS Payrolls

James C. Barclay (b. c. 1826), a Jackson County farmer, was a laborer at Santa, Jan.-Apr., June-July, 1863, and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863. Another Jackson farmer, J. P. Barclay (b. c. 1831), was listed as a Santa stonemason, Dec. 1862. If both men were employed at Santa then it is possible the Jan.-Mar., 1863, names are intertwined. Ibid. ; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 53, 55.

Joseph Barnes (c. 1836/38 - fl. 1870), a Jackson railroad laborer, was a laborer at Santa, Nov. 1862. The next month he joined Captain J. H. Young's 11th Mass Cavalry Company. He was a miner at Blue Mountain, Dec. 1863 - Jan. 1864, and Little Warrior, July, 1864, Jan. 1865; stonemason at Big Spring Cave, Nov. 1864 or loaned part of the time to Nixon's Cave; laborer at Cedar Mountain Cave, Sept. Dec. 1864 - Jan. 1865. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist. (1170), T5R5E, Lantinsville P.O., 2; Paint Rock P.O., 3; Compiled Service Records, Youngs Nitre Guards, RG109 (M311, Roll 1504) National Archives. Joseph Barnes File; CS Payrolls; J. R. Hopkins Papers.

John Bate may be the man (1826-1905) who is buried in Liberty Hill Cemetery near Acworth, Georgia. His known Nitre Bureau jobs were as a "miner exploring for Lead" July 7-Aug. 6, 1862; assistant superintendent of the 9th District, Sept. - Nov., 1862, Sept., 1863, June, 1864; superintendent at Santa, Dec. 1862-July, 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug., 1863. Sarah B. G. Temple, The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County, in Georgia (Atlanta, 1935), 770; Confederate Papers Relating to Citizen or Business Firms, RG 109 (M 346, Roll 48), National Archives, John Bate File; CS Payrolls.

(b. c. 1818), an Irish-born Marshall County day laborer, was a George Bennett, miner, Nov., Jan.-Mar., May-July. Also, July 1-20, 1863, he boarded Superintendent Frederick Wright because Wright "was in the Enemy's lines where subsistence from the Commissary Department could not be furnished him." <sup>1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, E. Div., Guntersville, P.O., 10;</sup> Ibid.; Citizens Papers (M 346, Roll 59), George Bennett File.

James M. Bennett was a laborer at Partens Cave, May-June, 1862; Ravenel Cave, June, 1862; Cave Spring Cave, June, 1862; and Santa, Jan.-Feb., 1863; boiler at Santa, Mar., May-July, 1863; and Blue Mountain, Nov.-Dec., 1863 & Mar.-Apr. 1864. CS Payrolls.

Elisha F. Betts (c. 1826-fl. 1880), a well-to-do Madison County farmer, supplied a wagon and four mules, Mar. 1860 Census, Ala., Madison SW Div., Madison Station P.O., 5; (1880), Beat 7, T4R2W, 7; CS Payrolls.



James Henry Bibb (March 12, 1826 - April 2, 1870), a Madison County Farmer, supplied a wagon and four mules, Mar., and was overseer of slaves, Mar., May-June. On March 23, 1863, he sold 122½ pounds ovenware and six axes for use by Santa laborers. The Heritage of Madison County, Alabama (Clanton, Ala., 1998), 96; Dorothy S. Johnson, Cemeteries of Madison County, Alabama (2 vols., Huntsville, 1971-78), 1:234; 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, NW Div., Madison Station P.O., 3; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 63), James H. Bibb File.

Sampson Bishop (b. c. 1828), a Marshall County Farmer, supplied a wagon and team, Dec. & Feb.; and was a laborer, Jan.-Mar., May-July. 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, T85 R3E, Kennamer P.O., 53; CS Payrolls.

Edward Box (c. 1827/33 - fl. 1870) was possibly originally from St. Clair County, Alabama. He may be the day laborer who lived near Scottsboro before the war. He was a laborer at Santa, Nov. 1862, Jan.-Mar., May-July, 1863; Big Spring, July-Nov. 1863, Jan.-May, 1864; boiler at Big Spring, Dec. 1863; and at Nixon's, July, 1864; and had unspecified duties at Cedar Mountain, Jan.-Mar. 1865. In Dec. 1863, he was described as aged thirty-six, five feet, eight and a half inches tall, 156 pounds, light hair and beard, gray eyes, and dark complexion. After the war he returned to Jackson County and farmed. (1870), T3 R3, Scottsboro P.O., 10; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson; T4 R6E, Scottsboro P.O., 41; J.R. Hopkins Papers; CS Payrolls.

John Brandon, laborer, Nov. Ibid.



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James Broadway, laborer, Nov. CS Payrolls.

N. Broadway, laborer, Nov. Ibid.

James J. Burns was a carpenter at Fort Payne Sept., 1862 & Nov. 1863-Feb. 2, 1864; laborer at Sauta, July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug., 1863; and Camp near Kingston, Georgia, Oct., 1863. He was captured at Fort Payne Cave and Feb. 13, 1864, entered Rock Island, Illinois, prison. Ibid; J.R. Hopkins Papers; Compiled Service Records ... Nitro & Mining Bureau, RG109 (M258, Roll 111), National Archives, J.J. Burns File.

Adam Cagle (b. c. 1842), a Morgan County farm laborer, worked at Eureka Cave, Jan., 1863; and Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., May, July, 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 38; CS Payrolls.

Thomas W. Campbell (c. 1827 - fl. 1870) was a native Tennessee Jackson County farmer. In Nov., 1862, he sold fifty-one and a half bushels ash to Sauta, and Aug. 1-12, 1863, he with a one yoke team hauled furnace wood at Sauta. He was later a laborer at Town Creek Potash Works, Sept. - Oct., 1863; Big Spring, Nov., 1863, Jan. 1864; & Nixon's Mar.-June, 1864. He was also a boiler at Nixon's, July, 1864. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, T4R5E, Scottsboro P.O., 54; (1870), 3rd Subdiv., Scottsboro P.O., 30; CS Payrolls.

James Carver (b. c 1832), a Kentucky-born Jackson County Farmer, labored at Santa, Nov. 1862, Jan.-Mar., May-July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug., Oct., 1863; & Big Spring, Nov., 1863. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 41.

Peter Cobb (b. c 1822) was probably the native North Carolina pre-war Roswell, Georgia, wagoner. He was a private in Company H, 7th Georgia Infantry, CSA, May 31, 1861 - May 14, 1862, and was wounded at First Bull Run. Afterwards, he was a Nitre Bureau laborer at Parton Cave, May-June, 1862; Ravenel, & Cave Spring, both also in June, 1862; Fort Payne, as foreman of kettles, Sept. 1862, and as laborer, Nov. 1862 - Jan. 1863; & boiler at Santa, Mar.-Apr. (7 days), 1863. He was shown on the Bartow Cave, Georgia, rolls as a laborer, July & Sept., 1863. However, vouchers show he was paid \$2.25 per day "making nitre in Middle Georgia - from April 4<sup>th</sup> to May 25" and exploring in East Tennessee "for nitrous deposits in Gues & Domestic sources from May 26 to July 31." 1860 Census, Ga., Cobb, 1st Dist., 170; Lillian Henderson, comp., The Confederate Soldiers of Georgia 1861-1865 (6 vols., Hapeville, Ga., 1958-64), 1: 892; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 177), Peter Cobb File.

J. R. Coburn, laborer, Nov. CS Payrolls.

John W. Coburn (b. c 1844), a Marshall County Farm laborer, was a Santa laborer, Nov., Jan.-Mar., May-July, 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, TSG R4E, Zachary P.O., 40; CS Payrolls.



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A. J. Coffey, laborer, Nov. Ibid.

Jacob Coffey (b. c. 1846), the son of Absolon & Jane Coffey, was probably the Santa laborer of Nov. 1862. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 60.

Monroe Compton (May 15, 1823 - August 22, 1910), born in either Orange or Persons County, North Carolina, lived near Greenville, South Carolina before moving to Alabama in 1852. He briefly resided in Marshall County before settling in Morgan County and working at a distillery. Immediately before the war he was listed as a farmer. He was a laborer at Eureka Cave, Jan., 1863; Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar. - May, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Oct., 1863, and Big Spring, Nov., 1863. He was also overseer at Big Spring, Dec. 1863 - Jan., 1864. The Heritage of Morgan County, Alabama (Clanton, Ala., 1998), 204-5; J. R. Hopkins Papers; CS Payrolls.

Benjamin F. Cowley (b. c. 1836), a Jackson County farmer, was a son of Henry and Elizabeth Cowley. He was overseer at Santa, Jan. - Mar., May - Aug., 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. - Oct., 1863; & Big Spring, Nov. - Dec., 1863. Later, he was foreman at Big Spring, Jan., 1864; superintendent at Little River, Jan. - May, 1864; & foreman at Blue Mountain, June - July, 1864. July 1-14, 1863, he hired three wagons with two ox teams each to Santa, for "moving tools &c across Tenn. River to a place of safety from the enemy." 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 49; Ann B. Chambless to Marion O. Smith, Apr. 5, 1866; J. R. Hopkins Papers; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, R. 11202), B. F. Cowley Fr.

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David M. Cowley (September 20, 1833 - May 23, 1899), also a Jackson County farmer, was a brother of B. F. Cowley and brother-in-law of James P. McLemore. It is likely that either he or his brother was one of the saltpeter contractors, Cowley & McLemore who delivered 457½ pounds at Larkinsville, Nov. 21, 1862. David served at Sauta as foreman of hoppers, Jan. - Mar., May - June, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works as same, Aug. 1863; laborer, Sept., 1863, and commissary, Oct. 1863; Big Spring, Nov. 1863, Jan. 1864, as commissary & Dec. 1863, as cave foreman. At his death he was one of Jackson County's commissioners. Gross Cemetery; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 48; (1870), T5R5E, Dodsonville P.O., 6; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 202), Cowley & McLemore File; J. R. Hoptine Papers; CS Payrolls; Nashville American, May 25, 1899.

James H. Cowley (November 30, 1843 - March 18, 1879), a Lincoln County, Tennessee, native, was a son of Mary Cowley of Jackson County. During the war he labored at Sauta, Jan. - Mar., May - July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. - Oct., 1863; Big Spring, Nov. - Dec., 1863; & Nixon's, Mar. - May, 1864. Gross Cemetery; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 49; J. R. Hoptine Papers; CS Payrolls.

W. H. COX of Morgan County was a laborer at Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., May, July, 1863. On April 20, 1864, he "arrived" in Nashville as a prisoner from an undisclosed Alabama niter works. Ibid.; Nashville Daily Times and True Union, Apr. 21, 1864.

Reuben W. Crutcher (April 12, 1812 - January 10, 1867), a Primitive Baptist minister in Madison County, supplied a wagon and four mules at Santa, Mar. 1863. Johnson, Cemeteries of Madison County, 1:232; 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, NW Div., Madison Station P.O., 5; CS Payrolls.

David Culver, a Santa laborer, Nov. 1862, was perhaps the same as D. M. Culver (b. c. 1832), a Jackson farm laborer. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 37.

James W. Daniel, Jr. (b. c. 1842), a Jackson farm laborer, was a Santa laborer, Nov. 1862, Jan. - Feb. 1863. On Dec. 16, 1862, he sold thirty-six and a half bushels ashes to Santa @ forty cents per bushel. Ibid., 45; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 223), James W. Daniel, Jr., File

James W. Daniel, Sr. (b. c. 1820), a Jackson farmer, was foreman of laborers, Nov. - Dec. 1862. The latter month these laborers were "ax hands". Ibid., J. W. Daniel, Sr., File; 1860 Census, Ala., 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 45; CS Payrolls.

Matthew Darah, miner, Nov., Jan. - July. Ibid.

J. L. W. Davis, foreman Kettles, Nov., boiler, Jan. - Mar., May - July. Ibid.

William D. Dempsey (b. c. 1801), a Marshall County day laborer, was stable boss at Santa, Mar., May-July, 1863. Perhaps the same man, William Dempsey, at fifty cents a day, boarded Superintendent John Bate, Nov. 1-12, and Assistant Superintendent Joseph Douglas, Nov. 1-24, 1862. Also, during that month, 20-21, William Dempsey was sent as a "messenger to purchase Tallow for Santa Nitro Works." 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, E. Div., Guntersville P.O., 15; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 239), William Dempsey File; CS Payrolls.

John Dickerson, a Santa laborer, Apr. 1863, was probably either John D. Dickerson (b. c. 1826), a Bellefonte area farmer, or his son John (b. c. 1845), a farm laborer. However, another John Dickerson (also b. c. 1826) lived in Marshall County. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, T3R6E, Bellefonte P.O., 19; Marshall, W. Div., Guntersville P.O., 945

Daniel Donohue, foreman miners, Nov.; Jan.-Mar., May-June; supplied a mule, Dec.; & miner, July. CS Payrolls.

Eliza Donovan was a cook at Santa Nov. 12-30, Dec. ("for Irishmen"), 1862, Feb.-Mar. (1-21 "for miners"), 1863. During Nov. 1862, for seven and a half to twelve days each she boarded James Kelly, Nathan <sup>Matthew?</sup> Darsh, Thomas Cosgrove, Jerry McCarty, Martin Gavin, John Lowery/Loney, Ned Duffie/Duffey, Joseph Hancey/Haney, William Swafford, R. P. Brandon, James Carver, and C. W. McCutchen. Nov. 12-30, 1862 & Mar. 1-21 1863, she rented beds for twenty-one & nine men; Dec. 1862 & Feb. 1863, she lodged nine men, plus one more for three weeks in Dec. Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 253), Eliza Donovan File.



Martin Donovan, miner, Nov., Jan.-Mar., CS Payrolls.

Joseph Douglas (b. c. 1830), a Pennsylvania or Tennessee-born Gunterville lawyer, Nov. 1862-July 1863, was assistant superintendent of Santa Cave (he left his name on the wall of the cave); and Aug. 1863, the same at Town Creek Potash Works. For a few days he was superintendent of Fort Payne Cave before he was captured in early September, 1863. After the war he seems to have been a farmer in Lauderdale County, Alabama. 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, E. Div., 1; (1870), Lauderdale, T3R8, Rogersville P.O., 76; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 255), Joseph Douglas File; The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (128 books in 70 vols., Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Ser. 1, Vol. 30, Pt. 3:354.

Ned Duffie/Duffey, miner, Nov., Jan.-Mar., May-June. CS Payrolls.

John W. Dulaney (March 18, 1844 - Fl. 1927), a nearby resident was a Santa laborer, Nov. 1862. He claimed service as a private, Company G, 4th Alabama Cavalry, with a wound at Chickamauga, before being discharged at Gadsden, January 9, 1865. Ibid.; Alabama CS Pension Appls., J. W. Dulaney, John W. McLemore Files; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 44; Scottsboro Progressive Age, Nov. 3, 1927.

Daniel R. Dunham (b. c. 1831/33), a Tennessee-born Jackson County farmer, was a boiler at Santa, Nov. 1862, Jan.-Mar., May-Aug. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov.-Dec. (2 days), 1863, before deserting. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 45; J. R. Hopkins Papers; CS Payrolls.

John Dunham (b. c. 1818/25), also a Tennessee-born Jackson County farmer, was at Santa as foreman laborers, Nov. 1862, overseer, Mar. (2 1/2 days) - May, Aug., 1863, & laborer, Feb. - Mar. (6 days), 1863; and Big Spring Nov. - Dec. (2 days), 1863, before also deserting. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 45; J. R. Hopkins Papers; CS Payrolls.

William O. Dunham (b. c. 1836/38), a son of Richard and Sarah Dunham of Marshall County, was a laborer at Santa, Nov. 1862, Jan.-May, May-Aug. 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Oct. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. - Dec. (2 days), 1863, before deserting. 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, TSG R4E, Zachary P.O., 42; CS Payrolls.

Michael Dunlap, miner, Nov., Jan.-Feb., May-July, Ibid.

William Dunn was perhaps either William (b. c. 1835), a farmer, or William L. (b. c. 1828), a farm hand, both from Marshall County. He was a laborer at Santa, Nov. 1862, Jan.-Aug., 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Oct., 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. - Dec. (2 days), 1863, and then deserted. 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, TSG R4E, Zachary P.O., 44; W. Div., Guntersville P.O., 4; CS Payrolls.

Jesse Durham (b. s. 1838), a Jackson Farmer, was foreman of laborers at Santa, Nov. 1862. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 30; CS Payrolls.

Mariah Dwyer Apr. - May, 1863, was paid for "Lodging 9 Irish Laborers" and for "Services as Cook at Santa Cave." Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 268), Mariah Dwyer File.

Patrick Dwyer/s, miner, Jan. (10 days), 1863, and foreman of miners, Jan. (11 days) - Mar., May - June. CS Payrolls.

John Edmondson (F1910) held these Nitre Bureau jobs: laborer, Parton Cave, May - June, 1862; Cave Spring, June, 1862, Big Spring, Oct. - Nov. 1862; carpenter at Ravenel Cave, June, 1862; Big Spring, Sept., 1862; Santa, Nov. 1862 - Mar., May - June, 1863; Camp near Kingston, Sept. 1863; Blue Mountain, Jan., Mar. - Apr., June, 1864; Long Hollow, Apr. - May, 1864; & at Nixon's July, 1864; assistant superintendent at Blue Mountain, Nov. - Dec., 1863. In 1910 he lived in Forsyth County, Georgia, and stated he surrendered at LaGrange, Georgia. Ibid.; Georgia Confederate Pension Applications, J. J. Garrett File.

David Eudy (b. s. 1845), son of Ishmul and Nancy Eudy of Morgan County, was a laborer at Eureka Cave, Nov. 1862; Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, May, July, 1863; and Trinity Cave, Aug. - Sept. 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 39; CS Payrolls.

J. Eudy, who was either Jacob (b. 1822), a merchant, or James M. (b. 1847), a son of Moses and Sarah Eudy, both of Morgan County, was a laborer at Eureka Cave, Jan. 1863; and Gunters Mountain Potash Works, May, 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermasa P.O. 39, 48; CS Payrolls.

Jonathan Evans (c. 1832 - July 1, 1912), a Jackson farmer, was a laborer at Santa, Nov. 1862, Jan.-Mar., May-June, Aug. 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863. Aug. 10-12 Evans sold fifteen bushels corn, 169 pounds fodder, 13½ pounds bacon, and 25 pounds flour, for subsistence of men and animals at Santa, plus Aug. 13, 1863, sixteen bushels coal for use of the blacksmith shop at Santa. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 48; Alabama CS Pension Appls., Jonathan Evans File; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 289), Jonathan Evans File; CS Payrolls.

Adolph Filcrofey, stonemason, May. Ibid.

Alexander Finney (March 18, 1835 - June 8, 1891), a Jackson farmer was a laborer at Santa, Nov. 1862, July (2 days), 1863. In addition, he hired to Santa a wagon & team on three occasions in Nov. 1862, two wagons & teams, Feb. 1863, and three wagons & teams plus two yoke of oxen, Mar. 1863. June 13 - July 30, 1863, he was paid \$1.50 a day as an agent to collect subsistence for Santa. Pauline J. Gandrud, Alabama Records (245 vols., Easley, S.C., 1981), 144: 93; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 67; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 304), Alexander Finney File; CS Payrolls.



John Finney was either J. F. (b. c. 1834), a farmer, or John (b. c. 1846), a son of William C. Finney, both of Jackson County. He was a laborer at Sauta, Nov. 1862, Feb.-Mar., May-June, 1863.

1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 65, 67; CS Payrolls.

Andrew J. Floyd (December 27, 1823/33 - August 4, 1898), a Spartanburg, South Carolina, native, was a Gordon County, Georgia, blacksmith who married Angelina Pearson Feb. 19, 1858. He was a laborer at Parton Cave, June (8 days), 1862; Cave Spring, June, Oct., 1862; Big Spring, Oct.-Nov., 1862; Blue Mountain, Feb. 1864; boiler, Sauta, Nov.-Dec. 1862; Fort Payne, Oct. 1863-Jan. 1864; Cedar Mountain, Feb.-Apr. 1864; and foreman of kettles, Sauta, Jan.-Mar., May-June, 1864. During Fall, 1864, he enlisted in Company D, Johnson's Regiment Georgia Cavalry, and surrendered at Kingston, Georgia, May 12, 1865. He returned home and farmed, eventually moving to Lyerly, Chattooga County, Georgia. Georgia CS Pension Appls., A. J. Floyd File; 1860 Census, Ga., Gordon, Spring Town, 1; (1870), Calhoun P.O., 219; CS Payrolls

Matthew Floyd (c. 1843 - fl. 1881), also a Gordon County, Georgia, resident, was a brother of Andrew J. and Miles L. He was a laborer at Parton, June, 1862; Cave Spring, June, Oct., 1862; Big Spring, Oct.-Nov. 1862; and Sauta, Jan. 1863. Also at Sauta he was a boiler, Dec. 1862, Feb.-Mar., May-June, 1863. 1850 Census, Ga., Gordon, 12th Div., 45; CS Payrolls; Elizabeth E. Kilbourne, Gordon County, Georgia Newspaper Clippings (4 vols., Savannah, Ga., 1977-98), 2: 261.

Miles L. Floyd (c1838-Fl1910) was born in South Carolina and came with his parents to Gordon County, Georgia, about 1843. He was a laborer at Parton, June, 1862; Cave Spring, June, 1862; Big Spring, Nov. 1862; Santa, Jan. 1863; Fort Payne, Nov. 1863-Jan. 1864; Cedar Mountain, Feb. - Mar. 1864; boiler, Santa, Nov. 1862, Feb. - Mar., May - June, 1863; Fort Payne, Oct. 1863 and Blue Mountain, Feb. 1864. In October, 1864, he enlisted at Sonoma, Georgia, in Company A, Batten's Regiment, and surrendered at Kingston, Georgia, May 12, 1865. He returned home and farmed near Plainsville. 1850 Census, Ga., Gordon, 12th Div., 45; (1870), Calhoun P.O., 204; (1880), Plainville 1055 Mil. Dist., 30; J. R. Hopkins Papers; Georgia CS Pension Appls., M. L. Floyd File; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 312), M. L. Floyd File.

James W. Fowler was a laborer at Parton, May - June, 1862; Cave Spring, June, Oct. 1862; and Santa, Nov. 1862; Blue Mountain, Nov. 1863; boiler, Blue Mountain, Dec. 1863 - Jan., Mar. - July, 1864; foreman of kettles, Santa, Jan. - Mar., June - July, 1863, and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863. During Dec. 1862, he explored caves, 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup>, and loaded saltpeter and stores at the Ninth District office, 20<sup>th</sup>-22<sup>nd</sup>. On Dec. 9, 1863, he went from Blue Mountain "to Little River Nitro Works... as Special Messenger" and Dec. 17-18 and 28 made "two trips to Gadsden Ala for Blue Mountain Nitro Works." CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 319), J. W. Fowler File.

John Frazier, who may have been a Jackson County farmer (b. c1839), was a Santa laborer, May, 1863, and miner, June, 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 4th Div., Paint Rock P.O., 10; CS Payrolls.

Jeremiah L. French (b. c. 1828), a farmer, and his brother Henry T., were the owners of Sauta Cave, for which they received \$200 a month rent. Jeremiah sold ashes, plank for niter boxes, and fourteen loads torch pine to Sauta, and Nov. - Dec. 1862 and Feb. - Mar. 1863, hired a wagon and team to the operation. He worked at Sauta as foreman of laborers, Nov. 1862, and foreman of hoppers, Jan. - Mar., May, July - Aug. 1863. Part of July, 1863, he was overseer at Big Spring. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 44; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 325), J. L. French & Brother File; CS Payrolls.

J. Fridell, a Sauta laborer, Nov. 1862, may have been one of the Jackson County residents John (b. c. 1847) or James Fridell (b. c. 1833). Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 1st Div., Stevenson P.O., 29.

Martin Gavin, probably the Marshall County day laborer (b. c. 1840), was at Sauta, Nov. 5-10, 1862, as foreman of miners, and Nov. 10-18, 1862, was a "special messenger to hire hands for Sauta Cave." 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, E. Div., Guntersville P.O., 15; CS Payrolls; Citizen Papers (M346, Roll 341), Martin Gavin File.

James A. Gayle (March 2, 1827 - May 1, 1903), a Jackson farmer, was a member of Young's Nitre Guards. Between Feb and Sept, 1863, he earned \$2.50 extra duty as a laborer at Sauta ten days. July - Aug. 1863, he hauled forty-nine and a fourth days "moving government property from Sauta Cave to Guntersville." He was captured on Sand Mountain mid-July, 1864, and sent to Camp Douglas, Illinois, where he was held until June 17, 1865. Gandrud, Alabama Records, 144: 97; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 63; CSR, Young's Nitre Guards (M311, Roll 504), James A. Gayle File; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 341), James A. Gayle File.

Jefferson Gentle (b. c. 1833), a Jackson County blacksmith, plied his trade at Sauta, Dec. 1862 - Mar., May - July, 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. - Sept. 1863. During his tenure at Sauta he sold coal for the blacksmith shop, cotton for caulking, a grindstone, horseshoe iron, copperas for making ink to mark niter boxes, 930 pounds fodder, six loads pine for lighting, seven shunt collars, and a gallon of tar. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 40; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 343), Jefferson Gentle File.

John Gideon (May 8, 1828 - August 18, 1899), a Jackson farmer, was a Sauta boiler, Nov. 1862. Smith's Chapel at Aspel Cemetery Inscription; 1870 Census, Ala., Jackson, 4th Subdiv., Larkinsville P.O., 17; CS Payrolls.

James Bayliss Goddard (c. 1837 - fl. 1870) was from DeKalb County, Georgia. He labored at Ringgold Cave, May, 1862; Ravenel Cave and Chattanooga Potash Works, June, 1862; Cave Spring, Oct. 1862; Sauta, Nov. - Dec. 1862; Big Spring, Dec. 1862 - Nov. 1863; and Little Warrior, July, 1864. He was a boiler at Big Spring, Dec. 1863 - June, 1864, and also at Blue Mountain, Feb. 1864. J. R. Hopkins Papers; 1870 Census; Ga., DeKalb, Diamonds Dist., Lithuania P.O., 103. CS Payrolls.

Robert Goddard (May 8, 1844 - April 21, 1911), was a brother of James Bayliss and son of William and Frances Goddard of DeKalb County, Georgia. He labored at Ringgold, May, 1862; Ravenel, Chattanooga Potash Works, and Cave Spring, June, 1862; Cave Spring, October, 1862; Sauta, Nov. - Dec. 1862; Big Spring, Dec. 1862 - Nov. 1863; & Little Warrior, July, 1864. He was a boiler at Big Spring, Dec. 1863 - June, 1864. He claims to have enlisted in Company H, 2nd Georgia Cavalry, CSA, and about Nov.



1864 transferred to Company A, Major Garrett's Battalion, surrendering at Kingston, Georgia. He returned home, became a farmer, and married Josephine J. Tweedell January 16, 1868. Georgia CS Pension Appls., Robert Goddard File; J. R. Hepkins Papers; 1870 Census, Ga., DeKalb, Diamonds Dist., Lithonia P.O., 103; CS Payrolls.

James B. Grantland (b. c. 1832), a Morgan County farmer, who with John L. McIntosh, hired a number of slaves to Santa, was a laborer there, Jan. 1863, and overseer, Mar. 1863. Ibid.; CS Slave Payrolls; 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 4.

William Green, laborer, Nov. CS Payrolls.

J. W. Griggs, was a laborer at Ft. Payne, Nov. 1862 - Jan. 1863; Santa, Feb. - Mar. 1863. Ibid.

Cyrus Gross (b. c. 1838), a Jackson County farmer, was a Santa laborer, Nov. - Dec. 1862. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 50.

Charles W (U?L?), Guffey (c. 1838/41 - f. 1870) was a Jackson farmer, laboring at Santa May, July, 1863, and Big Spring; July - Aug. 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist.; Paint Rock P.O., 46; (1870), 4th Subdiv., Larkinsville P.O., 17; CS Payrolls.

Ephriam Barry Guffey (b. c. 1841) of Jackson labored at Santa, Dec. 1862 - Mar., May, July, 1863; Big Spring, July, 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863. After the war he owned a farm near Section. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 45; CS Payrolls; The Heritage of Jackson County, Alabama (Clanton, Ala., 1998), 187.

John F. Guffey (August 20, 1840 - September 20, 1933), like his brothers Levi and Morgan, was a Marshall County resident. He was a Santa laborer, Nov. - Dec. 1862, and reputedly joined Company I, 6th Tennessee Infantry, CSA. Ala. CS Pension Appls., Mollie Guffey; CS Payrolls; 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, TGR 4E, Zachary P.O., 42.

John L. Guffey (c. 1840/43 - fl. 1870), a Jackson County farmer, was a Santa laborer, Dec. 1862 - Mar., May, July, 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 45; (1870), 4th Subdiv., Larkinsville P.O. 16; CS Payrolls.

Levi Guffey (b. c. 1838) was a Santa laborer, Nov. - Dec. 1862. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, TGR 4E, Zachary P.O., 42.

Morgan Guffey (c. 1830 - fl. 1914) appears only on the Nov. 1862, Santa roll as a laborer. During the early 1900s he claimed he worked at the cave two years and "tended to the furnace and kettles." While thus occupied at the cave "the Yankees captured me and took me to Camp Morton Indianapolis Indiana." Ibid.; Ala. CS Pension Appls., Mollie Guffey, Morgan Guffey Files; Morgan Guffey to Thomas McA. Owen, May 11, 1909.

Joseph Haney/Hainey/Haynie, miner, Nov. 1862 - Apr. 1863.  
CS Payrolls.

Lewis Harris, laborer, Apr. 1863, Ibid.

Charles W. Hazlewood (b. c. 1836), ca, native of P. Virginia, labored at Santa, May - Aug. 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. - Oct. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. 1863 - Jan. 1864. Later, he was a carpenter, Mar. - June, 1864, and mechanic, July, 1864, at Nixon's Cave. J. R. Hopkins Papers; CS Payrolls.

Elijah Hill, laborer, Nov. - Dec. Ibid.

L. Hill, laborer, Nov. Ibid.

Thomas Hill (b. c. 1837), possibly the laborer from northern Jackson County, was a Santa laborer, Dec. 1862 - July, 1863. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 1st Div., Rock Springs P.O., 15.

Thomas Hodge was a carpenter at Santa, Nov. 1862 - July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. - Oct., 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. 1863. On Jan. 29 & 31, 1863, he sold a total of 203 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> bushels of ashes "For making nitre at Santa Cave" at thirty-five to forty-three cents, for an aggregate of \$80.14. CS Payrolls; Citizen Papers (M346, Roll 452), Thomas Hodge File.

P. W. Hodges was a Sauta laborer, Dec. 1862 - May, 1863; shoemaker at the same place, June, 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. - Sept., 1863. He perhaps was Pleasant Hodges (c. 1833 - fl. 1870), a Marshall farmer. CS Payrolls; 1870 Census, Ala., Marshall, Subdiv. 44, T5K4, Krennemer P.O., 3.

William C. Holcombe (b. c. 1828), a Marshall farmer, was a Sauta laborer, Nov. 1862 - Mar., May - July, 1863. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, T57R3E, Henryville P.O., 30.

Silas H. Hunt (c. 1834 - fl. 1870), a native South Carolina Jackson County farmer, worked at Sauta, Nov. 1862 - Jan., May - Aug. 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Sept. - Oct., 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 52; (1870), T5R5E, Larkinsville P.O., 2. Clifford D. Black, 1880 Jackson County, Alabama Census Index (Signal Mountain, Tenn., 1992), 104 CS Payrolls.

John O. James (c. 1830 - fl. 1870) of Forsyth County, Georgia, married Elizabeth A. Sims Oct. 7, 1852. His Nitre Bureau assignments were: laborer, May, 1862, & carpenter & wagon maker, June (2 days), 1862, at Partch; carpenter & wagon maker, Cave Spring, June, 1862; carpenter at Ravenel, June (19 days), 1862; Big Spring, Sept. - Nov. 1862, Dec. 1863, May, 1864; Sauta, Nov. 1862 - July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863; Long Hollow, May, 1864; & Blue Mountain, Jan., Mar. - Apr., June - July, 1864. After the war he was a wheelwright and appointed a justice of the peace May 1, 1869. Ibid.; 1870 Census, Ga., Forsyth, Cumming, 2; Ted O. Brooks, Forsyth County, Georgia Marriage Records 1833-1933 (Cumming, Ga., 1999), 90; Garland C. Bagley, History of Forsyth County, Georgia 1832-1932 (Easley, S.C., 1985), 580; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 499), J.O. James File.



Newton G. Johnson/Johnston (b. c. 1832), a native South Carolina Morgan County farm laborer, worked at Eureka Cave, Nov. 1862, Jan. 1863; Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., May, July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Oct. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov.-Dec. (3½ days), 1863, before deserting. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., 46; CS Payrolls.

David L. Jones was a laborer at Sauta, Nov. 1862-Mar., May-Aug. 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Oct. 1863. Ibid.

Thomas B. Jordan (b. c. 1835), a Madison County farmer, Oct. 1-Dec. 31, 1862, was "Foreman Constructing Furnaces" at Sauta. During Feb. 1863, he hired four wagons and teams to Sauta. The previous month he was paid \$75 to inspect and report "on Contractor works in District No. 9." 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, Huntsville, 9; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 529), Thomas B. Jordan File; CS Payrolls.

Hiram H. Keeler, carpenter, May-June. Ibid.

B. F. Kelly, a Sauta laborer, Nov. 1862-June, 1863, was perhaps the Jackson County, South Carolina farmer Benjamin F. (c. 1827-fl. 1870). Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 47; (1870), T5R5E, Larkinsville P.O., 3.

John Kelly, miner, Nov. 1862, Jan.-July. CS Payrolls.

David Kennamer hired a wagon and team to Sauta, Dec. 1862, Feb.-Mar. 1863. Ibid.

Jacob L. Kennamer (fl 1889) of Marshall County was either a brother (b. c. 1843) of Presley and S. D. Kennamer or Seaborn F. Kennamer (b. c. 1837). He hired a team to Santa Dec. 1862, and was a laborer there, Jan. - Feb. 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, T55R4E, Kennamer P.O., 50; (1870), Subdiv. 44, T5R3, Kennamer P.O., 1; Montgomery Advertiser, Jan. 12, 1941; Margene H. Black and Betty Jean Taylor, comp. 1789-1895 Reconstructed Census of Marshall County, Alabama (Guntersville, Ala., n.d.), 8; CS Payrolls.

Presley Kennamer (b. c. 1845) was a Santa laborer NOV. 1862 - Mar. 1863. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, T55R4E, Kennamer P.O., 50.

R. S. Kennamer, laborer, Nov. 1862 - Mar., July (3 days), CS Payrolls.

Seaborn F. Kennamer (April 2, 1830 - June 16, 1915) of Marshall County, although a strong Unionist, hired various wagons and teams to Santa, Nov. 1862, to haul <sup>or</sup> furnace wood-rock for a new furnace, corn, fodder, and winter supplies. He was a laborer at Santa three and three fourths days, Nov. 20-24, and during Dec. 1862. He at some point joined a company of Union scouts and guides organized by his brother, John B. Kennamer. After the war he headed the local Union League, was elected to the state constitutional convention of 1867, and served in the legislature, 1868-69. John Robert Kennamer, The Kennamer Family (Moses, 1924), 289; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 541), S. F. Kennamer File; CS Payrolls.

Stephen D. Kennamer (c1836-f1870), a Marshall Farmer, hired a wagon and team to Sauta, Dec. 1862, and worked there, Jan.-Feb. 1863, 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, T5R4E, Kennamer P.O., 50; (1870), Subdiv. 44, T5R4, Kennamer P.O., 1; CS Payrolls.

William A. Lamons (March 4/22, 1822 - November 20, 1907), a son of Mordecai and Mary Lamons, was a Morgan County carpenter who first married Mary Rains and later Margaret A. Prince, a daughter of David and Anna Prince. He was a laborer at Eureka Cave, Jan. 1863; and Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., June, 1863; stable boss at Gunter'sville July 2 - Aug. 5, 1863; then wagon maker, Nov. - Dec. 1863, and stonemason, Mar. 1864, at Big Spring. He claimed he was captured April 13, 1864, and held prisoner until Feb. 1, 1865. <sup>During later years he apparently married a third time.</sup> Marilyn S. S. Marine and Juydens S. Walls, Morgan County, Alabama Cemeteries (2 vols., Hartselle, Ala., 1982-84), 2:184; The Heritage of Morgan County, Alabama (Clanton, Ala., 1998), 447, 625; 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 40; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 565), William A. Lamons File; CS Payrolls; Ala. CS Pension Appls., Eliza A. Lamons File

Gabriel Lenden/Linder, stonemason, Apr. - May. CS Payrolls.

James Lipscomb (c1839 - July 1, 1904), a Morgan Farm laborer, worked at Eureka Cave, Nov. 1862, Jan. 1863; and Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 42; Marine and Walls Morgan Cemeteries, 1:250; CS Payrolls.

John Loney/Lowery, miner, Nov. 1862, Jan.-July, 1863.  
Ibid.

Archibald Loyd (b. c. 1820), a Jackson farmer, was a Santa laborer, Nov.-Dec. 1862. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 54; CS Payrolls.

Jerry McCarty/McCarty, miner, Nov. 1862, Jan.-July, 1863.  
Ibid.

J. McClure was a laborer at Eureka Cave, Nov. 1862, Jan. 1863; Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., May, 1863; and Trinity Cave, July-Aug. 1863. He was probably either John McClure of Morgan County (b. c. 1835), who married Lucinda Garrison, Sept. 2, 1858, and died in the battle of Chickamauga, or John McClure (b. c. 1837), a day laborer from Marshall County. Ibid.; Heritage of Morgan County, 515; 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, W. Div., Gunter'sville P.O., 48.

Calvin W. McCutchen (c. 1831-December 7, 1863), a Jackson farmer, worked at Santa, Nov.-Dec. 1862, before joining Young's Nitro Guards. He died at Coffeetown, Alabama. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 56; CSR, Young's Nitro Guards (M311, Roll 504), Calvin W. McCutchen File; CS Payrolls.



Joseph W. McCutchen (b. March 8, 1827), a Jackson farmer who married Margaret Durham Oct. 21, 1852, worked at Santa, May, 1863. Between Jan. 31 and Mar. 31, 1863, he sold an incredible 852½ bushels of ashes to Santa Cave, tiny amounts of cast steel and iron, plus nineteen pounds picked cotton "For caulking Bear Tent at Santa Cave." 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O. 45; Heritage of Jackson County, 241; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 623), Joseph W. McCutchen File; CS Payrolls.

M. McCutchen hired a wagon and team to Santa, Nov. 1862. He was possibly one of Joseph W. McCutchen's brothers, Marlin Morris (Sept. 5, 1821 - Mar., 1871) or Madison Morgan McCutchen (Mar. 12, 1823 - Nov. 13, 1900). Ibid.; Heritage of Jackson County, 241.

Adam McDaniel, laborer, Aug. 1863. CS Payrolls.

John L. McIntosh (c. 1834 - August 28, 1868), a will-to-do Madison farmer from Triana, was overseer of blacks at Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Jan. - Mar. 1863; the district agent to exchange powder and shot for lead, June, 1863; supt., Ft. Payne, Oct. 24, 1863 - Jan. 1864; and the district assistant disbursing agent, Feb. - Sept. 1864, or later. 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, SW Div., Madison Station P.O., 9; Pauline J. Gaudrud, comp., Marriage, Death and Legal Notices From Early Alabama Newspapers, 1819-1893 (Easley, S.C., 1981), 227, 539; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 632), John L. McIntosh File.

John C. McTinney (c. 1827/29 - fl. 1870), a Tennessee-born Jackson farmer, was a laborer at Santa, Nov. 1862 - Mar., May - Aug. 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Oct. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. (4 days) 1863, before deserting. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 47; (1870), T5R5E, Larkinsville P.O., 2; CS Payrolls.

James P. McLemore (b. c 1828/31), a Jackson County, Alabama resident, brother of John W. and William McLemore, married Margaret E. Cowley Apr. 18, 1860. He worked at Santa, Dec. 1862 - June; Aug. 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Oct. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. - Dec. 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist, Paint Rock P.O., 47; Ann B. Chambless to Marion O. Smith, Apr. 5, 1986; CS Payrolls.

John W. McLemore (November 15, 1832 - F11914) of Jackson County, labored at Santa, Nov. 1862 - Mar., May, July - Aug. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. (5 days) 1863. Supposedly later he was sent "to the Warrior river region of Blount Co Ala." Ala. CS Pension Appls., John W. McLemore File; CS Payrolls.

William McLemore (c 1829/31 - July 7, 1901), a Jackson farmer, worked at Santa, Nov. 1862 - July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Oct. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. - Dec. 1863. In Aug. 1863 he was Santa's Foreman of hoppers. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist, Paint Rock P.O., 51; Ala. CS Pension Appls., Martha J. McLemore File; CS Payrolls.

M. M. McMullen was a laborer at Ft. Payne, Nov. 1862, Jan. 1863; Santa, Mar. - July, 1863; Camp near Kingston, Oct. 1863; and Long Hollow, May, 1864; cook, Dec. 1862, foreman, Oct. 1863, and asst. Supt., Nov. 1863 - Jan. 1864, at Ft. Payne; foreman of hoppers, Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863; plus stable boss, Mar. - Apr. 1864, and boiler, June - July, 1864 at Blue Mountain. Ibid.; J. R. Hoptkine Papers.

Patrick Maloney, miner, Feb. - July, 1863, CS Payrolls.

M. Maples, a Santa laborer, Nov, 1862, was likely one of four Jackson residents: Tennessee-born Moses Maples (Sept. 17, 1802 - June 24, 1880), a farmer, or one of three teenagers, Marion (b. c. 1844), Moses (b. c. 1846), or Michael (b. c. 1848) Maples. Tridi, Christine Sumner, comp., Jackson County Alabama Records (3 vols., Scottsboro, Ala., 1971-76), 1:85; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 16, 43, 44.

Jonathan F. Martin (c. 1826 - February 3, 1883), a Franklin County, Tennessee, native, became a merchant and express agent at Larkinsville. On October 3, 1862, he sold forty-eight pounds tallow "for Candles at Eureka Cave." During Nov. and Dec. 1862, and March, 1863, he hired a wagon and team respectively six, twenty-six and a half, and seventeen and three-fourths days to Santa, at \$2 to \$5 per day. He later served Nitro District No. 9 as its wagon master, Nov. 22 - Dec. 9, 1862, and as one of its assistant superintendents, at least Aug. 1863, until Oct. 1864. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 27; Expressmen's Aid Society, May 1, 1883; Chattanooga Times, Feb. 4, 1883; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 661), J. F. Martin File

William Martin was a laborer at Big Spring, Sept. - Nov. 1862, Sept. - Oct. 1863; and Santa, Nov. - Dec. 1862. CS Payrolls.

Luther Mefford (c1826 - fl1870), was stonemason at Santa, July, 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 51 (1870), T5R5E, Larkinsville P.O., 2; CS Payrolls.

Thomas Mefford, laborer, Aug, 1863, Ibid.

George Melton, a Santa laborer, Nov, 1862 - Mar., May, July, 1863, was possibly the same as G. T. Melton (b c1834), a Tennessee-born, Jackson farmer. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 45.

Thomas Murray, laborer, Mar. - June, 1863, CS Payrolls.

James A. Parker, laborer, Nov, 1862 - Mar., May, 1863, Ibid.

Hugh Thomas Perry (May 28, 1833 - fl1907), a native Alabama farmer residing in Jefferson County, was a laborer at Ft. Payne, Nov. 1862 - Jan, 1863; Santa, Mar. - May, July, 1863; Big Spring, July - Sept, 1863, Jan., May - June, 1864; Cedar Mountain, Mar. - May, 1864; and Little Warrior, July, 1864. He was also cook at Big Spring, Oct. - Nov. 1863. He returned to Jefferson County and after it was founded, lived near Trussville. Marilyn Davis Barefield, comp., Civil War Records of Jefferson County, Alabama (Birmingham, 1993), 101, 136; 1860 Census, Ala., Jefferson, Selfs Precinct, Elyton P.O., 834; (1870), T15R1E, Village Springs P.O., 5; CS Payrolls.

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William Petty, who worked at Sauta, May-Aug, 1863, presumably is the same as the Jackson farmer, William L. Petty (b. c 1829), who owned 256 acres before the war. *Ibid.*; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, T4R7E, Bellefonte P.O., 13; Agricultural Census, T4R7E, 3.

James O. Phillips was a laborer at Ft. Payne, Nov. 1862-Jan. 1863; Sauta, Feb.-May, 1863; Big Spring, Aug.-Nov. 1863, Jan. 1864; and Nixons, Mar.-Apr. 1864. CS Payrolls.

Joseph P. Phillips was timekeeper at Sauta, Nov. 1862, Jan.-Mar., May-July, 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug.-Oct. 1863. Dec. 1, 1863-June 30, 1864, and perhaps longer, he was the Ninth District's receiving and shipping clerk. By Fall, 1864, he had become the District military storkeeper at headquarters in Montevallo. At the end of the war he was paroled at Talladega, May 20, 1865. *Ibid.*; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 798), J. P. Phillips File; J. R. Hopkins Papers; CSR, N. & M. Bureau (M258, Roll 113), J. P. Phillips File.

Eli Porter was a laborer at Sauta, Apr. 1863, and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863. CS Payrolls.

Pleasant Porter, laborer, Apr. 1863. *Ibid.*

S. B. Posey (b. c 1834), a Madison County engineer, worked at Sauta, Nov., 1862. *Ibid.*; 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, SE Div., New Hope P.O., 31.

David Prince, a laborer at Eureka Cave, Jan., 1863; Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., May, July, 1863; and Trinity Cave, Aug. - Sept. 1863, probably equates to Richard David Prince (November 8, 1841 - May 13, 1900), a son of David (b. c. 1800) and Anna Cagle Prince. CS Payrolls; 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 38; Heritage of Morgan County, 625.

James P. Prince (b. c. 1835), a native of Stanley County, N. C., and another son of David and Anna Prince, was a Morgan County farmer who lived next door to his brother-in-law, William A. Lamons. He was a laborer at Eureka, Nov. 1862, Jan. 1863; & Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., May, 1863; overseer at Gunter's Mountain, July, 1863; & the town of Gunter'sville, Aug. 1863; asst. overseer, Sept. 1863, and supt. of hoppers, Town Creek Potash Works, Oct. 1863; & stonemason, Big Spring, Dec. 1863 - Jan. 1864. Heritage of Morgan County, 626; 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 38; J. R. Hopkins Papers; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 823), James Prince File.

James S. Raines (June 1, 1831 - May 10, 1910), a laborer at Eureka Cave, Nov. 1862, Jan. 1863; Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., May, July, 1863; and Trinity Cave, Aug. - Sept. 1863, was a North Carolina-born Morgan County farmer. He married Winny Price, a sister of James P. and Richard David Prince and William A. Lamons's second wife. Marine and Walls, Morgan County Cemeteries, 1:158; 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 38; Heritage of Morgan County, 626; CS Payrolls.

David A. Ramsey (c 1828 - February 19, 1893) of Huntsville, a Memphis + Charleston Railroad conductor, hired a wagon and team to Santa, Nov. - Dec. 1862, Feb. 1863; and was wagonmaster at Santa, Nov. 1862, Jan. - Feb. 1863. All of Mar. 1863, he was a special messenger for the Ninth Nitro District, making two trips to Augusta, Georgia, with one and two car loads of saltpeter. Toward the end of his life he lived in Memphis. 1870 Census, Ala., Madison, Huntsville, 1st Ward, 15; Chattanooga Daily Times, Feb. 22, 1893; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll ), David A. Ramsey File.

William T. Reece hired a wagon and team to Santa, Nov. 1862. Late the next month he became a private in Young's Nitro Guard company, from which he "Deserted near Cedar Bluff Ala Feb. 16 1864." CS Payrolls; CSR, Young's Nitro Guards (M311, Roll 504), William T. Reece File.

Richard J. Rivers (b c 1831), a South Carolina Morgan County Farmer, was a laborer at Eureka Cave, Nov. 1862, Jan. 1863; Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., May, July, 1863; and Trinity Cave, July - Sept., 1863. On March 6, 1863, sold two iron dippers and 500 boards to be used at Santa Cave. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Dist., Valhermoso P.O., 39; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 868), Richard Rivers File

Hiram L. Robinson (b. c. 1843), a Georgia-born Marshall County day laborer, worked at Sauta, Nov. 1862 - May, July, 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, E. Div., Gunterville P.O., 8; CS Payrolls.

T. J. Robinson (b. c. 1822), reputedly a native of Ohio County, (West) Virginia, was supt. of Eureka Cave, Sept (28-30), Nov 1862, Jan 1863; on exploration duty Jan. 1-20, 1863, in Walker, Blount, & Hancock Counties, Alabama, "searching for nitrous caves"; supt. of Gunter Mountain Potash Works, Mar., May, July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. - Oct., 1863; Big Spring, Nov. 1863 - June, 1864; and Cedar Mountain, July 28 - Oct. 1864; agent at Selma, July, 1864, in charge of District Nine stores; and military storeroom at Little Warrior, Nov. 1864 - Feb. 1865. He was paroled at Talladega, May 20, 1865. *Ibid.*; J. R. Hopkins Papers; Citizens Papers (M346, R. 877), T. J. Robinson File; CSR, N. & M. Bureau (M258, R. 1113). T. J. Robinson File.

Levi J. Rose (b. c. 1827), a farm worker from Morgan County, was a laborer at Gunter Mountain Potash Works, July, 1863; and Trinity Cave, Sept. 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 30; CS Payrolls.



William Leroy Rounsavill (January 14, 1828 - June 9, 1907), a farmer-blacksmith from Woods Cove west of Scottsboro, was a Santa Cave laborer, Feb. - Mar., July, 1863. On four occasions between July 1 & 10, 1863, he hired a wagon pulled successively by four and two oxen and four and two mules "Removing Gout Stone to the south side of Tenn. River to a place of safety from the enemy." 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P. O., 63; Ala. CS Person Appls., W. L. Rounsavill's File; Biographical data from Ann B. Chambless, Scottsboro, Ala.; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 886), Wm. L. Rounsavill File; CS Payrolls.

J. L. Rouse, laborer, May. Ibid.

Merny Y. Scott (b. c. 1834), a South Carolina native, lived with his parents before the war in Gordon County, Georgia. He was a laborer at Parton & Cave Spring, June, 1862; Blue Mountain, July, 1864; Foreman of cave, Sept., Nov. - Dec. 1862; and supt., Jan. 1863, at Ft. Payne; boiler at Santa, Mar. 1863; Foreman or supt., Apr. - Nov. 1863, Feb. 1864, wagoner, Jan. 1864, and forner of hoppers, Mar. - June, 1864, at Big Spring. 1860 Census, Ga., Gordon, Spring Town, 330; CS Payrolls.

Gross H. Scruggs (c. 1832 - fl. 1870), a Madison County resident who became a dry goods merchant after the war, was boat-repair at Santa, Nov. 17-30, Dec. 16, 1862 - Jan. 15, 1863, Feb. - Mar., June, July, 1863. 1870 Census, Ala., Madison, T2R1E, Huntsville P. O., 22; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 912), G. H. Scruggs File.

Andrew J. Sharp (c. 1834 - April 19, 1892), a Morgan County farmer, was overseer of slaves at Sauta, May, 1863; Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. - Sept, 1863; a / generally for the District, Sept. 18 - Oct. 17, Nov. 1 - 18, 1863; and Blue Mountain, Nov. 1863 - Jan. 1864. He was supt. at Blue Mountain mid-Jan. Mar. - July, 1864. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., G; CS Payrolls; Ala. CS Pension Appls., Nancy A. Sharp File; Citizens Papers (m346, Bill 922), A. J. Sharp File.

John W. Sharp, probably the pre-war Morgan County farm laborer (b. c. 1837), worked at Sauta, Jan. - Mar. 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., G; CS Payrolls.

J. C. Strelton, laborer, Aug. Ibid.

Calvin Smith, laborer, Nov. 1862 - Feb. 1863. Ibid.

William Smith worked at Sauta, Nov. 1862 - July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug., Oct. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. 1863. Ibid.

Robert Sommers, miner, Feb. - May, July, 1863. Ibid.

William M. Swafford (b. c. 1839), apparently a Marshall County resident born in Marion County, Tennessee, married Sarah Baird, Sept. 29, 1860. He was a laborer at Sauta, Nov. 1862 - May, July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug., Oct. 1863; & Big Spring, Nov. - Dec (2 days), 1863, & then deserted. J. R. Hopkins Papers; Mazie C. Brooks, Marriage Records of Marshall County, Alabama 1849-1869 (Wyandotte, Okla., n.d.), 64. CS Payrolls.

George Swartz was a laborer at Sauta, Mar.-Apr., July, 1863; & Big Spring, July, 1863. He was also a miner at Sauta, May, 1863. Ibid.

D. Tanner hired a wagon and four mules to Sauta, Mar., 1863, Ibid.

Albin Tate (b. c. 1815), a Jackson resident and railroad day laborer, was a Sauta laborer, Nov.-Dec., 1862. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 8.

J. M. Tate (b. c. 1843), son of Albin, was also a railroad day laborer, who worked at Sauta, Nov., 1862. Ibid.; CS Payrolls

Joseph/J. W. Thomas was a laborer at Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, May, July, 1863, & Town Creek Potash Works, Sept.-Oct., 1863. Ibid.

John Vercer was a laborer at Eureka Cave, Nov., 1862, Jan., 1863; Gunter's Mountain Potash Works, Mar., July, 1863; and Trinity Cave, Aug.-Sept., 1863. Ibid.

John Vernon (b. c. 1822), a Jackson farmer, hired one mule, Nov. 1-29, 1862, to work in Sauta "hauling nitrous Earth to mouth of cave," and within that time, Nov. 10-17, he and a horse worked in the cave seven and a fourth days. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 71; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 11054), John Vernon File.

Abner Waller (b. c. 1829), a native Virginia Jackson County farmer worked at Sauta, Dec. 1862 - May, July - Aug. 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 60; CS Payrolls.

James Whitlock, Jr. was probably the post-war Madison County carpenter (b. c. 1840). The payrolls only gave an initial for the given name. He only worked at Sauta, Nov. 1862. Also, on the first of that month, a "plain" James Whitlock sold a pair of drawing chains for "use of 'car' hauling nitrous Earth in Sauta Cave." 1870 Census, Ala., Madison, T4R2W, Madison P.O., 26; CS Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 1103), James Whitlock File.

David W. Whitten (c. 1829 - August 17, 1888), a Morgan County farmer, worked at Sauta, Jan., Mar. - May, 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 6; Morgan County, Alabama TID-BITS Volume I, . . . From the Alabama Enquirer, 1887-1901 (Decatur, Ala., 1995), 20; CS Payrolls.

James Whitten (b. c. 1823), also a Morgan County farmer, was a carpenter at Sauta, May - June, 1863. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Morgan, E. Div., Valhermoso P.O., 21.

Jacob Whitworth was a Sauta laborer, Nov. 1862 - July, 1863; then a boiler, Aug. 1863. CS Payrolls.



Jacob W. Whorton (1841-f11900) was a Cherokee County, Alabama, resident. He was a laborer at Cave Spring, Oct. 1862; Ft. Payne, Nov. 1862-Feb. 1863; Sauta, Feb. (6 days)-Apr., July, 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. 1863; later commissary and clerk at Blue Mountain, May-July, 1864. 1860 Census, Ala., Cherokee, 1st Div., 153; (1900), 6th Precinct BG; CS Payrolls.

A. G. Wood was a laborer at Sauta, Nov. 1862-Mar., May-July, 1863; Town Creek Potash Works, Aug., Oct. 1863; and Big Spring, Nov. (5 days), 1863, and then deserted. However, a man with the same name in Feb. 1864, stole government horses on three occasions. Also that month, on the 23rd, he sold eight cords of wood to the District office, and hired a wagon and driver one day "Hauling Freight to depot at Rome Ga." Ibid.; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 1136), A. G. Wood File.

Warren/S. W. Wood worked at Sauta, Nov. 1862-Mar., May, July-Aug. 1863; and Town Creek Potash Works, Oct. 1863. CS Payrolls.

Jacob Woodall (b. c. 1844), a son of P. R. and Christine Woodall of Marshall County, was a laborer at Sauta, Nov. 1862-Mar. 1863; and Big Spring, Aug. 1863. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, T5R4E, Kennamer P.O., 49.

James R. Woodall (b. c. 1835), a Marshall farmer, hired a wagon and team to Sauta, Dec. 1862. 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, T55R4E, Kennamer P.O., 49; CS Payrolls.

Silas P. Woodall (c. 1834 - fl. 1870), a Jackson farmer, worked at Sauta, Dec. 1862 - May, 1863; and Big Spring, July, 1863. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Point Rock P.O., 11; (1870), 4th Subdiv., Woodville P.O., 1; CS Payrolls.

Frederick Wright (c. 1815 - February 22, 1883), an Englishman, came to the United States, first to Maryland, and by the late 1850s to Hawkins County, Tennessee, where he taught school. During late 1861 - early 1862 he was powder maker at Stone Fort Powder Works, Manchester, Tennessee, and March, 1862, he was "Chief Powder Maker" at the new Augusta, Georgia, mill. Later, he held a variety of jobs with the Nitro Bureau: "overseer Nitro works" at Ringgold Cave, Georgia, July, 1862; instructor to Lieutenant Charles H. Latrobe's men in Florida as how to make saltpeter, Aug. 1862; Foreman and head of boiling at Bartow Cave, Georgia, Sept. - Oct. 1862; Nickajack Cave, Tennessee, Nov. 1862 - Feb. 1863; <sup>and Town Creek Potash Works, Aug. (15 days) 1863.</sup> Sauta (supt. furnaces), June - July, 1863; He was supt. at Sauta, Aug. 1863; and the South Sauta Creek Epsom Salts Works (somewhere near the Jackson-Marshall-Dekalb lines), Sept. 1 - Dec. 28, 1863. He was captured the latter date and held first at Louisville then Camp Chase, Ohio. By March, 1865, he was exchanged and made his way to the Nitro office at Augusta, Georgia, before starting for Alabama. But he probably did not make it since he was paroled at Macon May 5, 1865. In 1870 he was powder maker at Sycamore Powder Mill, Cheatham County, Tennessee,

and by 1880 he lived with his brother James in Hawkins County. History of Tennessee (Chicago & Nashville: The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1887), E. Tenn. Ed., 1238; 1860 Census, Tenn., Hawkins, 12th Dist., 148; (1870), Cheatham, 3rd Dist., 1; (1880), Hawkins, 12th Dist., 32; Cemeteries of Hawkins County, Tennessee (2 vols., Rogersville, Tenn., 1985-86), 1: 275; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 1146), Frederick Wright File; CS Payrolls; CSR, N. & M. Bureau (M258, Roll 113), Frederick Wright File; N. A. Pratt Nitre Bureau Letter Book, Special Collections, Hargrett Collection, University of Georgia Library, Athens.

Joel Pryor Ledbetter (January 26, 1818 - November 19, 1870) who had a saddle shop in Woodville, boarded a Santa laborer twenty-six and a half days, January 1-27, 1863.<sup>3</sup>

Several persons, other than the Santa employees above mentioned, aided the withdrawal from Larkinsville and Santa Cave, July - September, 1863. District Assistant Superintendent James M. Hull paid for ferrriage of two wagons and himself at Larkins Landing, July 2, and a wagon and six men at Guntersville July 4, while he was "superintending the transmission of stores from Larkinsville to Guntersville." William Rains, a Big Spring Cave employee, hired a wagon, ox team, and driver July 5-8, and a wagon and two mules, July 3-10, for "Hauling tools materials &c &c from Santa Cave to south side of Tennessee River." Between July 5 and 24 James Lamar (b. c. 1804), a wealthy farmer and ferry operator, was paid \$187.79 for "ferrying across Tennessee River at Guntersville Ala of Government Property and Laborers from Santa Cave and District Office." This included seventy-seven boat loads, two cart loads, thirty-nine men and horses, two men and mules,

one man and one barrel potash, 110 men, one yoke oxen with driver,  
 three beef cattle, and five wagons. George W. Hayes, July 1 -  
 August 31, hired two two-mule teams, and September 1-14,  
 one two-mule team, all for "Hauling Nitre & Materials in Dist  
 No 9 to places of safety from the enemy." 4



## BLACK WORKERS AT SAUTA CAVE

With the exception of the first page for January, 1863, the Sauta Cave slave rolls, November, 1862 - July, 1863, seem to be complete. Exclusive of January, the monthly totals, broken down by numbers of men, women, and owners were: twenty-six (20 men, 6 women) from four owners; nineteen (13 men, 6 women) from three owners; seventy-six (62 men, including two free blacks, 14 women) from eight owners; eighty (66 men, 14 women) from seven owners; eighty-four (74 men, 10 women) from thirteen owners; seventy (60 men, 10 women) from ten owners; seventy-four (64 men, 10 women) from ten owners; and fifty-three (44 men, 9 women) from twelve owners. Only four owners are known for January, with at least seven female slaves out of a total of sixty-four. The two free blacks in February were Jim Coleman and Thomas Black. The slaves employed in July only worked the following numbers of days: forty-six for sixteen; one for three; one for nine; three for nineteen; and two for eleven.

The known Sauta Cave slave owners were:

James Henry Bibb of Madison County and an employee, who February - April and June - July respectively hired six, eleven, eleven, nine, and three men. Slave Payrolls.

Ira Brown, who was either Ira E. Brown (b.  $\leq$  1805), a Jackson farmer, or his son, Ira Pelt Brown (April 15, 1839 - March 24, 1915), a private in Young's Nitric Guards, who was captured on Sand Mountain, Dec. 27, 1863, contributed two males, July, 1863.

1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 40; CSR, Youngs Nitre Guards (M311, Roll 504), Ira P. Brown File; Smith's Chapel at Aspel Cemetery; Slave Payrolls.

William J. Brown (b. c. 1834), ~~1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 40~~

also a private in the Nitre Guards, hired Tom to Sauta in April. Brown on February 5, 1864, was sent from Blue Mountain to Guntersville "to watch the movements of the enemy," and August 4-6, 1864, he took a message to the enrolling officer at Lebanon, Alabama.

1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 40; CSR, Youngs Nitre Guards (M311, Roll 504), William J. Brown File; Slave Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 109), William J. Brown File.

Clement C. Clay, Jr., the former U. S. and Confederate senator, February - July, 1863, hired respectively twelve, eleven, eleven, eight, six, and six men to Sauta. The six were Jesse, Baltimore, Richmond, Julius, Jackson, and Wallace. Slave Payrolls.

Edward Cotten (c. 1825-1911), a wealthy Jackson County farmer who owned 800 acres near Larkinsville before the war, hired one man, Aleck or Ellick, to Sauta, March - July, 1863.

1860 Agricultural Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., 9; 1870 Census, Ala., Jackson, 4th Subdis., Larkinsville P.O., 19; Christine Sumner, comp., Jackson County Alabama Records (3 vols., Scottsboro, 1971-76), 2: 62; Slave Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 198), Edward Cotten File.

Benjamin F. Cowley, overseer at Sauta, hired Willis to the operation sixteen days in July, 1863. Slave Payrolls.

William W. Darwin (1840-1898), a Madison County store clerk and son of George (1799-1865), contributed four male slaves, Anderson, Bob, Dan, and Jack, six and a fourth to seven

days each during Nov. 1862. Heritage of Madison County, 159; Johnson, Cemeteries of Madison County, 1:129; 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, 1st Dist., Hayes Store P.O., 58; Slave Payrolls.

Dewitt C. Davis (b. c. 1830), a well-to-do Madison County physician, hired to Sauta, April - July, 1863, respectively six, five, five, and three men. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, NW Div., Madison Station P.O., 18.

Zebulon P. Davis (b. c. 1816), a Kentucky-born Huntsville farmer, Nov.-Dec. 1862, hired his slave, Milton, to Sauta. 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, Huntsville, 20; Slave Payrolls.

Grantland and McIntosh, who were probably the Sauta/Gunters Mountain overseers James B. Grantland and John L. McIntosh, hired to Sauta, January - July, 1863, seventeen, seventeen, sixteen, sixteen, eighteen, eighteen, and two men per month. They received \$58.43 on April 29, 1863, for ninety-two and three-fourths days "Sunday or Extra time" made by sixteen of their slaves the first quarter of the year. McIntosh, March 27 - April 14, 1863, traveled once to Decatur and at least twice to Huntsville "to hire slaves to work at Sauta Cave," apparently obtaining a dozen men. Ibid.; Citizens Papers (M346, Rolls 370, 632), Grantland & McIntosh, John L. McIntosh Files.

Lewis Harris hired one man, Lewis, to Sauta, Jan. - Feb. 1863. Slave Payrolls.

Thomas B. Jordan hired at least sixteen persons, breakdown of gender unknown, to Sauta, Jan. 1863, and ten men and seven women for the next two months. During this period sixteen slaves earned forty-two and three-fourths days extra time for both January and February,

at 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  cents per day, and thirteen individuals earned twenty-two and a half days "Sunday Labor" for March at fifty-four cents-a day. In addition, Nov. 16-Dec. 19, 1862, at two dollars a day each, Jordan provided four black masons for "Putting up Furnaces at Sauta," and Jan.-Feb. 1863, he hired a male to the District headquarters at Lartinsville "as Hostler and office boy." Ibid.; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 529), Thomas B. Jordan File.

William P. McBride (b. c. 1828), a Madison County brick mason and private in the Nitro Guard company, April-June, 1863, hired one man, Willis, to the Sauta operation. McBride reportedly "Deserted near Guntersville Ala June 24, 1863," but he signed the June slave roll. 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, 1st Dist., Hayes Store P.O., 67; CSR, Youngs Nitro Guards (M311, Roll 504), William P. McBride File; Slave Payrolls.

James R. Plummer (c. 1823-Apr. 1885), a Methodist clergyman in Madison County, Jan.-July, 1863, hired his slave, Billy, to Sauta as a blacksmith. After the war Plummer was transferred to the Tennessee conference, serving colleges or churches at Murfreesboro, Clarksville, and Lebanon. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, SW Div., Madison Station P.O., 19; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 1305), J. R. Plummer File; Nashville Daily Press and Times, Nov. 7, 1865; Clarksville Chronicle, Oct. 22, 1870; Nashville Banner, Apr. 29, 1885.

Edward E. Pyncheon (b. c. 1804), a wealthy, Massachusetts-born Huntsville resident, NOV. 1862-July, 1863, hired to Sauta respectively sixteen (10 men, 6 women), sixteen (10 men, 6 women), thirteen (6 men, 7 women), thirteen (6 men, 7 women), thirteen (6 men, 7 women), fourteen (6 men, 8 women), fourteen (6 men, 8 women), thirteen (6 men,



7 women), and twelve (6 men, 6 women) slaves. On April 20, 1863, Pyncheon was paid "28 days services as extra time of seven Negroes during the first Quarter 1863 @ 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  cents per day." 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, Huntsville, 38; Slave Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 829), E. E. Pyncheon File.

Mary E. Rhodes (b. c. 1825), who in 1860 lived in the household of Francis E. Harris (1800-1877), a native Appomattox County, Virginia, Jackson Farmer, in Dec. 1862, hired two black men, Charley and Brown, to Santa. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 26; Heritage of Madison County, 234; Slave Payrolls.

Benton Sanders (November 10, 1829 - March 13, 1897), an Athens, Alabama, merchant, Feb. - July, 1863, respectively hired to Santa per month six, ten, nine, nine, seven, and eight men. On April 20, 1863, he was paid for thirty and a fourth days' extra time for seven blacks during the first quarter at 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  cents a day. April 1 - June 30, 1863, he hired William at the District headquarters as "Hostler and office boy." Earlier, about Feb. 16, 1863, he sold to the District office 379 pounds assorted nails and eighty-five pounds spikes, and had them shipped from Athens to Larkinsville for \$217 total. Limestone County Cemeteries (3 vols., n.p., 1970-71), 3: 47; 1860 Census Ala., Limestone, 1st Div. Athens, Sheal Ford P.O., 75; Slave Payrolls; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 899), B. Sanders File.

John R. Slaughter (c. 1825 - fl. 1880), a Madison County physician-farmer, Apr. - July, 1863, hired ten men and two women to Santa. Jan. 13-22, 1864, Slaughter furnished a wagon with six mules and driver, "Hauling nitre from Somerville to Gadsden."

A little over a year after the war it was reported that Slaughter, as president of the Memphis and Savannah Railroad, was trying to complete the line between Opelika and Tuscumbia. 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, Huntsville, 7; (1880), 205th Enum. Dist., 17; Slave Payrolls; Memphis Daily Post, June 7, 1866.

James H. Stephens (c1826-c1865), a Jackson farmer, who married Martha S. M. Roden, July 22, 1851, was a private Dec. 26, 1862 - Jan. 4, 1863, he went to Tennessee "to purchase mules for the use of Sauta in Young's Nitre Guards." During July, 1863, he hired his slave, Reuben, to Sauta for eleven days. Eleven months later Stephens was reported to have been absent without leave in the enemy's lines since January 27, 1864.

On Dec. 15, 1864, he became sergeant in Company C of L. G. Mead's Alabama Confederate Cavalry. Sometime afterwards he was captured in the Paint Rock Valley and died at Camp Chase, Ohio. 1860 Census, Ala., Jackson, 3rd Dist., Paint Rock P.O., 18; Sumner, Jackson County Records, 2: 89; CSR, Young's Nitre Guards (M311, Roll 504), James H. Stephens File; CSR, Mead's Confederate Cavalry (M258, Roll 138), James H. Stephens File; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 980), J. H. Stephens File; Tennamer, The Story of Woodville, 150; Slave Payrolls.

S. D. Tanner in April, 1863, hired his servant, Ben, to Sauta for seven days. Ibid.

Winston & Bros., who perhaps were the Huntsville brick makers Thomas and Isaac W. Winston and brick mason Joseph W. Winston, hired five blacks to Sauta, Nov. 1862. Also that month they sold two picks and two shovels to Sauta, and on three occasions hired two and four mule teams to the Nitre Bureau. Earlier, on Sept. 27, they sold a sorrel horse for use of assistant superintendents in District Nine. On Oct. 15 they hauled "7 boxes Potash 4000 lbs From Stevenson to Sauta" and Oct. 16-29 they hired a slave at District headquarters to take charge

of horses. Ibid.; 1860 Census, Ala., Madison, NW Div., Huntsville P.O., 26, City of Huntsville, 9; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 1131), Winston & Bros. File.

### MAIN TEXT SOURCES

1. See Marion O. Smith, "The Santa Cave Confederate Nitro Works," Civil War History, 29 (Dec, 1983), 293-315, later re-printed in Jackson County Chronicles.

2. CS Payrolls; Slave Payrolls; and various files from Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, RG109 (M346), National Archives.

3. John Robert Kennamer, The Story of Woodville And Community Album (Lanett, Ala. & West Point, Ga., 1950), 67; Citizens Papers (M346, Roll 577), J.P. Ledbetter File.

4. Ibid. (M346, Rolls 425, 480, 563, 834), George W. Hayes, James M. Hull, James Lamar, William Rains Files; 1860 Census, Ala., Marshall, W. Div., Guntersville P.O., 41.