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MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS TO BLACK MILITARY HISTORY 1775 TO 1891

John McGlone

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate Faculty of Middle Tennessee State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Arts

December, 1985

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS TO

BLACK MILITARY HISTORY

1775 TO 1891

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ABSTRACT

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS TO
BLACK MILITARY HISTORY
1775 TO 1891

by John McGlone

This dissertation presents, first, a general survey of black military history to provide historical context, and second, the results of a nationwide search for monuments and memorials, including any cultural or natural artifact or site, dedicated to the military service of blacks. The study is limited to service of blacks in the continental United States.

This work is organized into an introductory chapter of the history of monuments and the need to understand historical context in order to appreciate the nature of a monument. This is followed by three chapters presenting the history of blacks in the American military from the colonial era to the end of the Indian campaigns in 1891. The next chapter deals with a nationwide search to discover the existence of monuments and memorials to black soldiers. A traditional academic search provided information for the history of monuments and black military service. In order to locate monuments to that service a nationwide survey,

including contacts with State Historic Preservation Officers, state historical societies, museums, special interest groups, historians of the black experience, and other concerned groups and individuals, was conducted. The major findings of the study revealed some form of memorialization in at least half of the states of the continental United States, as diverse as a mountain pass in Nevada, a state park in California, an outdoor sculptured monument in South Carolina, and a battlefield in Rhode Island. There is still a negative discrepancy between the numbers of blacks who served and the monuments which exist to their service, an issue it is hoped this dissertation will partially resolve.

The final chapter of conclusions and recommendations discusses findings concerning historic preservation surveys in the United States, including the development of a survey form to record information concerning monuments. The role of both the public and private sectors in the preservation of monuments is discussed as well as the leadership role of the National Park Service in the preservation and the physical conservation of cultural resources. Finally, a discussion presented possible future use of the computer as a tool to collect, record, and disseminate information concerning monuments.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge the support, guidance, and friendship of many individuals who helped make this work possible. This includes virtually the entire history faculty at Middle Tennessee State University, but most particularly my major professor, Frederick Rolater, whose patience, wisdom, and good humor have sustained me during the long months of work involved in this study and resulted in a warm personal friendship. William T. Windham, chairman of the History Department has been a model teacher, administrator, and gentleman. David Rowe has provided criticism, guidance, and excellent instruction as a teacher. James K. Huhta and Jack Arters have reviewed this work as doctoral committee members. I would also like to acknowledge others --James Neal, Lee Sikes, Fred Crawford, Robert Taylor, John McDaniel, Robert Corlew--who, although not directly involved in this work, have lent encouragement, support, or a warm smile along the way.

To acknowledge Bernice Burns merely as a typist is to understate the facts. She is also an editor, critic, grammarian, and friend who deserves much credit for the completion of this work.

On a personal note I would like to dedicate this work to my wife, Louise, and daughter Kathleen, whose love and support have motivated me; to Harry Green of Georgetown University, teacher, black soldier, and friend; to family supporters Margaret, Martha, Lucy Bell, and Marlene; and to the memory of my grandfather, Clayton Ramage Barrow, a Southern gentleman who inherited honor and, before passing it on to his descendants, refined it to include a value for human equality.

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INTRODUCTION

The black military experience in the United States is a part of the American story that, until recently, has been largely forgotten history. This seems to imply that, although that history was at one time known, it has somehow been lost to the national memory. To this author, however, it seems that black military history has been neither forgotten nor lost; it has been ignored. The contribution of the blacks, who gallantly served their country in every war since the colonial era, was conveniently forgotten when their services were no longer needed. After blacks served in the Revolution at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, Washington issued the order that no "stroller, vagabond or Negro," was to be enlisted in the army. Subsequent to their service in the War of 1812, blacks who had fought to gain their freedom were sold back into slavery, and following the Civil War, in which tens of thousands of them fought for the Union, blacks returned to second-class citizenship. As recently as the Civil War centennial observance of 1961-1965, a major national publisher put forth a popular illustrated volume of the Civil War in which Negro soldiers were mentioned on 12 pages of a 630-page volume. This shows hardly a fair share since blacks constituted at least ten percent of the Union armies.

American history is replete with such examples of injustice and the time was long overdue for a change by the second American Revolution, the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. The author, as a young liberal undergraduate, had the distinct privilege of witnessing and participating in some of those events which helped to revolutionize American attitudes toward race relations, including sit-ins, freedom rides, and marches. In the course of these events, an increased awareness of black history and a rising sense of inquiry helped lead to the present study. The social, political, and economic gains made during the Civil Rights struggle were also reflected in the historiography of the period. Such scholars as John Hope Franklin, Benjamin Quarles, Ira Berlin, and James McPherson began to produce valuable works which were wholly or partially devoted to the role of blacks in the military. Civil Rights gains were also reflected in a rising public awareness of black participation in the military service of the United States through television specials and articles in popular magazines. Within that context of increasing awareness of black military history, the author, after participation in a survey of Civil War monuments at Shiloh battlefield, began to make inquiry concerning monuments to black military history. The search which followed is the primary thrust of this dissertation.

Monuments are cultural artifacts which reflect a civilization's values, heroes, and aspirations. This dissertation surveys the idea of monuments through the ages and then focuses on specific monuments to black history in the United States. In order to understand and appreciate any monument, it is first necessary to understand the historical event to which that monument was dedicated. In this case, that involves research into the history of the service of blacks in the armies of the United States. With this historical context as background, the study then proceeds to a nationwide survey to locate monuments to black military history. Monuments are defined as any form of memorialization. This includes statues, historic plaques, buildings which are associated with black military history, parks, or even natural objects named for blacks who served in the military.

From a preservation viewpoint, this survey to locate and identify memorialization to blacks is a first major step toward the conservation of those artifacts. A detailed discussion of the methodology used in this search is included in chapter 5 of this study. Finally, chapter 6 discusses in general terms scientific conservation, survey methods and future directions of this method of preservation.

An underlying theme of this whole work will be to increase public awareness of the role of blacks in the military and to call attention to the cultural artifacts,

places, or sites which commemorate that service. It is the author's contention that citizens who have bravely served their country cannot be relegated to second-class status. Although great gains have been made in the area of civil rights since the 1960s, there is still some distance to go before the "self-evident" truths of the Declaration of Independence concerning the equality of all men does, in fact, become a reality for all men, and women, in this country. No American who reads of the deeds of blacks at Bunker Hill, Yorktown, Atlanta, or Appomattox can deny that they, too, helped to forge our liberty and freedom. Such cultural artifacts as a deserted post cemetery where lies a black Medal or Honor winner from the Indian campaigns, or a statue dedicated to a black naval hero of the Civil War, which attest to that service, should be part of our national consciousness and memory.

CHAPTER I

MONUMENTUM

Monument, from the Latin monumentum, memorial, or the French monere, to remind, may be defined as a lasting evidence or reminder of someone or something notable. It may be natural or man-made, designed, built, or designated. It may commemorate an individual, event, age, or even future aspiration. Thus, a stele or tombstone slab of classical Greece raised in memory of a fallen Athenian soldier is a monument as the natural site at Independence Rock is a memorial and was a beacon to pioneers who traveled the Oregon Trail. A pyramid of Ancient Egypt was a sophisticated death house where the earthly remains of a pharaoh and his creature comforts awaited or anticipated a future life after death as surely as the neolithic cave drawings of Liseux, France, are ancient memorials of a sort. Apparently, all cultures at all times deal in their own peculiar way with death, heroes, gods, loved ones, past events, and anticipation of a future life. Indeed, cursory review suggests the age-old concept that the universe is ruled by death. In the seventeenth century, Stefano della Bella's drawings for a De Medici tomb portrayed Death as the "Prime-mover"

of the earth.[1] The prevalence of funerary art in all societies seemingly supports this grim view.

Monuments were originally funerary memorials. A common theme in prehistoric and ancient historic societies focuses on neutralizing the potential negative effect of the deceased's spirit. In fear of the return of the dead, corpses were often mutilated--eyes gouged so the corpse could not "see" his way back, hand mutilated so the body could not carry a weapon--or totally destroyed by cremation. More often an attempt was made to pacify the deceased's spirit by providing for its needs in the future life. Food, utensils, wine, and even slaves accompanied the deceased.

Eventually representative forms of these offerings were devised. In lieu of real slaves or oxen or food, likenesses of these offerings decorated the burial chamber. The pharaoh's tomb included small statuettes of slaves, undoubtedly to the great relief of the real thing. Counterfeit presentments replaced the actual grabeigaben.[2] This appears fully developed in the philosophy and funerary art of ancient Egypt.

Egyptian concepts of death included a polypsychismic philosophy of body, image soul, and life soul. A definite

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[1]Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1956), p. 96.

[2]Ibid., p. 12.

distinction between the three accounted for general statues and decorations of tombs. The concept of the "image soul" (sha) necessitated statues which duplicated the early appearance of the individual awaiting the return of his soul. The "life soul" (ba) was considered invisible and could be represented in art only in symbolic form. The general "principle of immortality" (Akh), "a world soul" (chu), and the active personality of the deceased (ka) further complicated this division. A deceased Egyptian noble, before attaining the afterlife, went through a complicated process of judgement and if found worthy was admitted to heaven to accompany the Sun God (Ra) on his daily journey around the earth. In effect, then, the deceased became a celestial body reflected in funerary art by astronomical decorations. Significantly, Egyptian monuments, pyramids, sculpture, and art served functions for the dead persons, not in memory of them but in anticipation of their future life. A dichotomous concept in Greek and Western civilization, that of commemorating a life well lived or battle bravely fought, eventually replaced the anticipatory focus.[3]

Classical Greek monuments and funerary art represent a transition from the Egyptian anticipatory to the Western commemorative view of death. In their religious philosophy, reflected eventually in art, the early Greeks believed in

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[3]Ibid., p. 19.

a dark realm of the dead inhabited by demons, snakes, and dragons which gnawed the flesh of the unfortunate departed. In juxtaposition, they began including a realm of light originally reserved for heroes and accessible only by ship, a blessed isle. These two concepts, a good and evil afterlife, merged to form the idea of Hades, which was both heaven and hell.

During the classical period of Greek history, new ideas of faith and reason undermined somewhat these traditional concepts. Faith in an afterlife was guaranteed by membership in one of the new mystery cults. An initiated member of such a cult was assured an afterlife in which he could pursue his favorite interest, feast, and look forward to a possible rebirth.

Along with this "guaranteed heaven," Greeks were also being exposed to the agnosticism promoted by the new rational philosophers.[4] Both of these views found expression in Greek funerary art. Memorializing an individual was becoming more important than any symbolic anticipation of his future life. Iconography began to strongly memorialize the deceased. An example exists in a truly monumental tomb constructed in a Greek colony in Asia Minor in the twenty-first century B.C. The word "mausoleum" is derived from this tomb, built by Greek artists and craftsmen in

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[4]Ibid., pp. 19-22.

memory of Mausolus, the ruler of Caria, and his wife, Artemisia. After appearing in lists of the seven wonders of the world, this mausoleum of Halicarnassus was a rectangular podium supporting a temple-like Ionic colonnade topped by a massive stepped pyramid.[5] Interestingly, the structure was truly a memorial to the individual and not merely a resting place for his body, since his wife had consumed the ashes of his earthly remains mixed in a suitable drinking solution.[6] Thus, the pure concept of a monument existed centuries before the Christian era.

When the Roman architect Vitruvius gave a confused description of the mausoleum of Halicarnassus, he little realized that this and other renderings of classical civilization would be revived in the fifteenth century A.D. as the only surviving architectural treatise of antiquity and would thus influence so much of Western classicism, including funerary art and monuments. Development of commemorative art during the Christian era, from the early catacomb inscriptions to the realistic tomb effigies of the middle ages, combined classical memorialization of the individual with overtones of the Egyptian anticipatory concept. A loved one or notable individual would be remembered for his

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[5]Martin Robertson, A History of Greek Art (Cambridge: University Press, 1975), p. 448.

[6]Panofsky, p. 23.

life ordeals, but commemoration also contained allusions to a future life. Ultimately, great monuments would be raised to the glory of God in the form of churches and cathedrals with death and memorials closely associated by burial within or near the church. Thus monuments were associated with anticipation of an afterlife as well as commemoration of the individual.

The Gothic Age from approximately A.D. 1100-1600 saw the flourishing of Christianity and the preponderance of memorials to God in the form of great churches. The individual funerary monuments within these churches represent a transition to Renaissance and then modern sculptured memorials.

Gothic man was certain of his path to God, and this was reflected in the enormous amount of time and energy spent on the construction of cathedrals and memorials from Westminster to Jerusalem and from Paris to Stockholm. Architecture clearly dominated Gothic art.[7]

To Western man, it seems self-evident that the history of funerary sculpture was to be found in the churches. Great Englishmen are found buried in Westminster, French royalty in the cathedral at St.-Denis, and popes buried in Saint Peter's in Rome. This was not always so. Prior to

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[7]John Harvey, The Gothic World 1100-1600 (Norwich, Great Britain: Jarrold and Sons, 1950).

the Christian and Gothic eras, it would be inconceivable to look for the grave of Pericles in the Parthenon or the burial place of Julius Caesar in a Roman temple. Western pagans viewed the dead as loathsome, and this would preclude their burial in a public place, but Christianity revolutionized this concept. A belief in the resurrection of the flesh, combined with burial of early martyrs in church altars, led to the concept of burying the faithful within the church so that they might be near the focus of their salvation. The dead were no longer considered unpure.

Christianity and its salvation were a triumph over death, and early Christian memorialization tended to focus on simple crosses and inscriptions because of a prohibition against graven images. The Gothic era witnessed the continuation of church burial with the addition of fine sculptured monuments and memorials. While the Romanesque period saw the resurgence of pictorial representation of the dead, it was the Gothic which witnessed the return of true statues. Gothic statuary existed over a period of five hundred years. Its interpretation is complicated by local variations and customs, by symbolism such as the crossed legs of a knight indicating his participation in a crusade and by whether the figure portrayed is to represent an idealized living

portrait or a reclining dead person. One method of portraying the transition from life to death was to complete two sculptures of the deceased, one in the dignity of his church robes or armor, and the second, nearby, portraying a decomposing or skeletonized body. This representacion au vif (life) contrasted with a representacion de la mort (death) is usually referred to as en transi. This transition perhaps captures the essence of Gothic memorialization.

In an attempt to deal with the hereafter, Gothic artists rendered innumerable statues, portraits, busts, and monuments which provided the artistic basis for the age to follow.[8] That age, known to us as the Renaissance, saw an explosion and intensification of art, architecture, science, and learning. Growth in all of these areas led, among other things, to the exploration and settlement of the New World.

This heritage of Egyptian, classical Greek, Roman, and Western civilization was transferred to the Western hemisphere in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, Swedes, and Englishmen arrived in the New World, they carried with them a heritage and tradition of civilized art, philosophy, and architecture that extended back for

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[8]Panofsky, pp. 39-67.

millenia. New World culture, however, remained embryonic. Early settlers may have seen Sir Christopher Wren's Saint Paul's Cathedral or the grave of the famed architect which proclaimed Si monumentum requiris circumspice--"If you would see his monument, look around you"[9]--but reality presented the new settlers a thatched hut. The ideas of monumental structures existed, but reality required development for several centuries before this extension of Western civilization could match the artistic level of the homeland. Merely coping with the wilderness and native Americans and eking out a living on these new shores dictated that practical and not artistic concerns dominate American colonial life. Monuments during this time were almost solely simple wooden slabs or cut stone burial markers with simple designs.

Not all Americans of that period evinced that primitive artistic level. When the first Spaniard stepped ashore in what is now Mexico, there existed sophisticated Aztec and Mayan cultures with temples, monuments, and pyramids. Similarly, in the present-day United States, there existed earthen burial mounds, temples, and carved totem poles, all belonging to the native culture.

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[9]Nancy Ellis and Parker Hayden, Here Lies America: A Collection of Notable Graves (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1978), p. 122.

The earliest monuments in European settlements marked the graves of the many who perished during the first difficult years. These early markers, carved with simple two-dimensional engravings of a winged skull, crossbones, and other symbolic markings, indicated a terror of death. These reflections of puritanical world views dominated colonial funerary art. In a century during which the Europeans created Versailles and the Banqueting Hall in London, the American equivalent was the simple Parson Capen House in Massachusetts or the Adam Throughgood House in Virginia.[10] The artistic equivalents of these architectural expressions were simple carved stone monuments which existed from Maine to South Carolina.

The dawn of the Age of Reason in the eighteenth century saw a drastic change and perhaps improvement in funerary and commemorative art and monuments. The new-age emphasis on man and not the hereafter prompted memorials in the form of busts which attempted realistic portrayal of the deceased. These sculpted portraits resembled English high-style monuments which were beginning to appear in Westminster Abbey. The realism portrayed in these busts represented an artistic affirmation of life, and accompanying symbols--angels

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[10] G. E. Kidder Smith, A Pictorial History of Architecture in America, Vol. I (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 34, 291.

and cherubs--alluded to the hereafter in a positive vein as opposed to the preceding age of skulls and crossbones.

Along with this positive iconography, eighteenth-century America saw the beginnings of its first pure sculptured memorials. In the few years before the American Revolution, several monumental marble figures by renowned English sculptors arrived, such as Joseph Wilton's figure of "William Pitt" and Richard Hayward's "Lord Botentort," and various heroic statues of George III.[11] Some of these works, particularly statues of the English king, were lost to the fury of Revolution, and American commemorative art remained primarily in cemeteries.

In the years following the American Revolution, the classical Grecian urn and weeping willow dominated as symbols used in funerary art. Classical allusions reflected appropriately the age of Jefferson's Roman revivalism. The Romantic allusion in the weeping willow seemed to portray even nature's distress at the parting of a loved one. At this same time, veterans of the Revolution were furthering the classic motif by likening themselves to Roman soldiers, founding the Order of Cincinnati, and honoring their dead with classical symbols and coats-of-arms.

The quintessential monument erected during the early national period in the United States was the obelisk raised

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[11] Wayne Craven, Sculpture in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968), pp. 46-49.

at Bunker Hill, near Boston, Massachusetts, to commemorate an early battle in the American Revolution. The Battle of Bunker Hill was fought on June 17, 1775. In this engagement, actually fought on Breed's Hill, entrenched American forces inflicted the highest casualties of the war on British troops before the rebels were driven from the heights. General Warren was killed in this engagement, and as early as April 4, 1776, the Massachusetts Freemasons were commemorating their fallen comrades. The first efforts to raise a monument to the general and to the other patriots who participated in the battle occurred in 1794. In that year the King Solomon Lodge of the Freemasons erected a Tuscan pillar of wood, 18 feet high on a brick pedestal crowned with a gilded urn and dedicated to the memory of "Major General Joseph Warren and his associates" who were slain on that spot June 17, 1775. This monument was maintained by the Masons until 1825, when it was turned over to the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

A patriotic citizen, William Tudor, envisioned the construction of a more enduring memorial at the scene of the battle. The Honorable Daniel Webster and Dr. John C. Warren, along with other interested parties, began work on preserving the site and preparing for construction of a monument. In 1823 the Bunker Hill Monument Association was founded. Subscriptions were solicited from all over

Massachusetts and then from the other states that had sent troops to Bunker Hill. During his triumphal tour of America, Lafayette visited the battlefield and subscribed to the construction of the proposed monument.

The monument association debated the form for the memorial. The choice was eventually narrowed down to two classically influenced ones, a column or an obelisk. A final vote decided in favor of the obelisk as "being the most simple and imposing, the most congenial to our republican institutions, and the most appropriate to the character of the event to be commemorated."[12]

In June of 1825 the cornerstone of the monument was laid with an inscription on the cornerstone stating the purpose of the monument. Also shown were the names of the association officers and the architect, Alexander Parris. Solomon Willard was actually the designer of the monument, but Parris was an architect employed by the association. The builder, James S. Savage, soon began the actual construction of the memorial with stone quarried in Quincy and hauled part of the distance on what was claimed to be the first railroad in the United States. Construction proceeded until funds were exhausted. With the monument

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[12]Richard Frothingham, History of the Siege of Boston, and the Battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill (Reprint ed., New York: DaCapo Press, 1970), p. 343.

only 37 feet high, work was suspended. Years of fund-raising efforts, ladies' fairs, and contributions would pass before sufficient funds were available to complete construction. Finally, in 1841, work recommenced, and the last stone was raised in place on July 23, 1842. Great public celebrations accompanied the completion of the work almost two decades after it was begun. The obelisk itself cost $120,000 to construct and reaches a height of 221 feet. The Bunker Hill monument would serve as a model for the even more famous Washington Monument, but in a sense this comparison is an oversimplification. A simple classical obelisk does not require a model and copies. Undoubtedly the obelisk was used over and over in the United States after the date of the construction of the Bunker Hill obelisk, but this was more from America's infatuation with classical civilization than from any particular mimicry of the Boston monument. The roots of the use of the obelisk went far deeper.

The obelisk had been used as a monument in Ancient Egypt, but it was prevalent in classical Greece and in Roman civilization. In the late 18th century, French scholars who accompanied Napoleon during his Egyptian campaigns brought ancient treasures back to Paris, such as the obelisk that was reerected in the Place de la Concord. Similarly, English expeditions plundered the treasures of the ancient

world for the benefit of the British Museum. These artifacts undoubtedly influenced the rising trend in Europe and the United States to revere all things classical and, in fact, to have a classical revival in literature, art, and architecture.

When the members of the Bunker Hill Monuments Association debated the form of the monument to be raised, the most forceful argument used was that the obelisk was the "most congenial to our republican institutions." While the Egyptian obelisk undoubteduly influenced similar monuments in Greece and Rome, Bostonians had in mind Republican Rome and not Imperial Egypt.[13] Thus associationism was as prevalent in the construction of monuments as it was then in architecture.

In the same era that saw the construction of the Bunker Hill monument, a very similar one was begun in the nation's capital to honor the memory of George Washington. Modern pseudopsychologists may interpret the giant obelisk in Freudian terms as a Phallic symbol, erected to the memory of the Father of his country, but in the more innocent time in which it was constructed, the Washington Monument was simply an allusion to classical antiquity.

The concept of a national monument was first discussed a few days after Washington's death in 1799. Unfortunately,

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[13]Ibid., pp. 339-359.

Congressional inaction and partisan politics interfered with the raising of funds for the monument's construction until 1832, when a group of public-spirited citizens formed the Washington National Monument Society.[14] Fifteen years of public fund raising went by before the cornerstone of the monument was laid on July 4, 1848. Robert Mills, America's first native-trained architect, won the design competition for the memorial with his giant obelisk rising from a classical base supported by Doric columns. For some thirty years, drawings of the capital area included this base surrounding the monument, but it was never constructed. The fledgling United States had enough difficulty erecting the obelisk.

The original site for the monument chosen by L'Enfant in his epic design of the capital called for it to be on the Mall on an axis with the Capitol and the Executive Mansion. This site had to be abandoned because of poor subsurface conditions, and eventually the whole Mall shifted to accommodate the change in the site. After an auspicious start in 1848, the monument reached a height of only 156 feet before construction was stopped when funds were exhausted in 1854. The American Civil War further delayed construction, and it

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[14]Federal Writers Project, Our Washington (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1939).

was not until 1879 that work was resumed on the shaft. This twenty-five year hiatus created a difference in the coloring of the granite building blocks which is still visible today. The marble-sheathed obelisk is the tallest masonry structure in the world.[15]

When finally dedicated in 1885, the monument was a fitting if somewhat bizarre memorial to the Revolutionary hero. This Virginia planter, frontier soldier, and President of a small republic was commemorated by an obelisk bearing strong resemblance to those erected in ancient Egypt millennia ago.

When Greek Revival architecture was becoming popular as a national style in the United States, the first European-trained Americans began their works in stone. Initially, early foreign sculptors who produced neoclassical statuary in the early 1800s found acceptance in this country. By the age of Jackson, however, when Horatio Greenough created a classical Washington, naked from the waist, draped in a toga and wearing sandals, the American people resoundingly rejected it. The farmer, mechanic, and frontiersman wanted realism and naturalism, not Washington in the robes of a Caesar.[16]

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[15]Smith.

[16]Craven, p. 108.

After Greenough, American artists and their monuments began to reflect a realistic attitude in their bust portraits and statues. Although still influenced by European training and classical art, new sculptors were producing statues of the nation's heroes and busts of almost everyone. According to Nathaniel Hawthorne, this proliferation of busts of the not-so-great would be "dusty white ghosts among strangers of another generation."[17] This mania for sculptured portraits may have stifled artistic creativity and artistic freedom to deal with more abstract concepts, but it did produce likenesses of the men of that age as may be seen today in innumerable small-town libraries and antiquarian society headquarters.

By mid-nineteenth century, American sculptors began working in bronze, a medium more durable and satisfactory for the rugged North American climate. Americans at mid-century were demanding statues of famous men presented without classical adornment or pretense. Realistic statues, not just busts, were produced by Thomas Ball, Anne Whitney, and Martin Milmore. The subjects were usually famous soldiers, statesmen, or literary figures--statues of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and Toussaint L'Ouverture graced the courthouse lawns and capitol halls of America; but their

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[17]Quoted in Craven, p. 218.

numbers remained minute compared to the flood of statuary erected following the American Civil War.[18]

The American Civil War had a particularly strong effect on the raising of monuments. According to Stephen Vincent Benet, that war was the American Iliad. The United States had been rural, agricultural, half-slave-owning, and seriously divided before the war. Afterwards, it grew increasingly urbanized, industrialized, immigrant populated, and supposedly free. A whole generation of young men went to early graves at such places as Shiloh, Gettysburg, or Antietam, or perhaps more sadly at Andersonville or Elmira prison camps. A race of people began their march to freedom as a result of the war. Clearly, the basis for remembering an heroic past existed in those events.

The war touched the soul of the American experience, and those who survived it wished to memorialize the scenes of their struggle and their heroes. Oliver Wendell Holmes stated that the generation that came to power after the Civil War was fortunate that its members in their youth had been touched by fire. This need to recognize the scene of youthful glories coincided with a flowering of American sculpture which has never been equaled before or since.

Americans raised memorials to Civil War battles, heroes, and leaders. Union soldiers raised a monument on

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[18]Craven, pp. 218-257.

the Stones River Battlefield while the war was still in progress, as did others at the site of Bull Run. Confederates reportedly built one at the same site in 1862 but removed it when they retreated. More than one hundred years later, Kentucky and Missouri raised monuments at Shiloh. Tennessee belatedly recognized her sons that fell at Gettysburg by finally commissioning a monument in the 1980s. Naturally, many artists contributed to the conception and execution of these monuments, but in the years immediately following the war, Martin Milmore dominated the field. Copies of Milmore's statues silently guard cemeteries and courthouse lawns across America.

Martin Milmore was born in Ireland in 1844 and immigrated with his family to the United States in 1851. He was still only a teenager when he began his sculpting career during the Civil War. In the years immediately after the war, his talents came to fruition as a sculptor of monuments to Union Civil War dead. His work was solid and realistic rather than particularly artistic or creative. He did create the prototype of the ubiquitous Civil War memorial in the North that appeared in village greens, cemeteries and crossroads all over the North. Milmore's unique contribution to memorialization of fallen war heroes was the fact that he commemorated the average soldier and sailor rather than generals and admirals. In 1865 Milmore

received a commission from the city of Boston for a monument in Forest Hills Cemetery. The figure produced portrays a Union soldier leaning on his rifle with lowered head, contemplating the graves of his fallen comrades. This statue was reproduced all over the North and marked the beginning of a period of intense activity for Milmore, when his monuments were raised in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania. Although he produced other works, the American sphinx at the entrance to Mount Auburn, and various portrait busts, Milmore is primarily known for his Civil War monuments. His competent, if not brilliant, talent was cut short by his untimely death in 1881. His grave in Forest Hills Cemetery is not far from his first Civil War monument. Milmore's final resting place is marked by a world-famous work of art by Daniel Chester French, fittingly entitled "Death and the Young Sculptor."[19] That same year, 1881, Saint-Gaudens' statue of Admiral Farragut in New York City was unveiled. French, Warner, and Saint-Gaudens became leading sculptors during the following decades, described as the Golden Age of American sculpture.[20]

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[19]Craven, pp. 232-237.

[20]Loring Holmes Dodd, The Golden Age of American Sculpture (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, Mt. Vernon Press, 1936).

This Golden Age of American monuments occurred between the Civil War and World War I. Dividing history into precise eras is risky. History, like colors in a rainbow or races of men, is a continuum. It is divided arbitrarily for convenience and comprehension. With this qualification in mind, it may be said that the Golden Era of American monuments occurred beween 1881 and 1922. The first date marks the unveiling of Augustus Saint-Gaudens' monument to Union Admiral David Farragut in New York City, to mark a "new era in American sculpture"[21] which would not end until Memorial Day in 1922. On that date, Daniel Chester French's career climaxed with the unveiling of his statue of Abraham Lincoln seated in a Doric temple in Washington, D. C.[22]

Lincoln, the martyred sixteenth President of the United States, had come to be regarded as a larger-than-life figure who had freed the slaves and saved the Union. A fitting monument to his memory had been discussed for years, and many individual states and cities had raised monuments and statues to his memory, but no national monument existed until the 20th century. The effort to complete a monument to Lincoln was long, bitter, and controversial. Efforts began in 1867 with the incorporation of the Lincoln Monument

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[21]Lorado Taft, The History of American Sculpture (New York: Macmillan, 1903), p. 288.

[22]Ibid., p. 290.

Association. Funds had been collected, but no monument was raised. Some thirty years later, a member of that original association, later a Senator from Illinois, introduced legislation providing for a commission to plan and design a suitable monument. The bill did not pass that year, but finally the next year it was approved by both houses and signed into law by Pres. Theodore Roosevelt in 1902. It was some two years later that the new authorized commission held its first meeting, and it was five more years before a report discussed memorials in the form of equestrian statues, triumphal arches, bridges, universities, and art galleries. All of these were rejected, and the commission finally recommended a monumental highway from Washington, D.C., to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, embellished with fountains, statuary, and views of "mountain or valley or river."[23]

The Park Commission report of 1902 and its recommendations for a monument in Potomac Park was all but forgotten in a rash of suggestions for an appropriate memorial. In addition to the "Lincoln Highway," there were proposals for memorials to be located at the new railroad station, at the U. S. Soldiers Home, and on Capitol Hill. Glenn Brown, on the occasion of his election to the National Institute of

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[23]James T. McCleary, "What Shall the Lincoln Memorial Be?" The American Review of Reviews, No. 3 (September 1908), p. 340.

Arts and Letters, described all of these proposals and then vigorously supported the Potomac Park location, this in spite of the opposition of the Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives, "Uncle Joe" Cannon from Illinois, who vowed that no memorial to Lincoln would ever be built "in that God-damned swamp."[24]

Finally, in 1911, Congress agreed on a course of action and passed into law a bill providing for a Lincoln Memorial Commission and funds for design and construction. The commission debated the various proposed sites but finally agreed on the one located near the Potomac River. Its reasoning for this location, based upon an earlier opinion by Lincoln's secretary and later Secretary of State John Hay, is interesting in that it reveals the influence that architecture has on memorials. Hay said in part that "[Lincoln] was of the immortals. . . . His monument should stand alone, remote from the common habitations of man, apart from the business and turmoil of the city--isolated, distinguished and serene."[25]

And so it was to be. Henry Bacon was selected as the architect, and Daniel Chester French the sculptor of the statue which was to sit within the Doric temple. The

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[24]Statement by Elihu Root, as quoted in Phillip C. Jessup, Elihu Root (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1938), pp. 279-280.

[25]John W. Reps, Monumental Washington (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 155-158.

monument was to be located at the end of the Mall on a direct line with the Washington Monument and the Capitol, and just across the Memorial Bridge from the Arlington home of Robert E. Lee, perhaps symbolically linking a reunited North and South. In spite of its relationship to these other memorials, the Lincoln Monument was located alone and aloof within a circular drive. The architectural message of the monument was clear. The pure democracy of Ancient Greece, the beauty of its temples, and simplicity of classical civilization were all attributes to be associated with an American classic, Abraham Lincoln.

The Gilded Age, which witnessed this artistic creativity, was one of great contradictions. The whole late Victorian period proved crassly commercial, yet idealistic. It was business- and success-oriented, yet extremely proper. In art, society demanded naturalism and at the same time "an idealized imagery that would reflect its destiny, its aspirations and its enormous pride and confidence."[26]

The sculptured art produced by Saint-Gaudens, French, and Warner rivalled or excelled in quality anything produced in Europe since the Renaissance. Some of the works produced during this era rivalled anything sculpted in any age. The memorial of Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Henry Adams' wife in

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[26]Craven, p. 373.

Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D. C., has been characterized as having no modern rival for its beauty, simplicity, and universality.[27]

The end of the Golden Age of American sculpture simply marked the end of one artistic period that was both creative and highly prolific. It did not mark the end of heroic monuments or memorials. The Statue of Liberty, a gift from France erected during this era, was followed in later years by other national memorials of massive scope and proportion, including the Jefferson Memorial, the Iwo Jima Monument to World War II, and recently the Vietnam Memorial.

The Statue of Liberty is probably America's most famous monument in the popular mind. As a symbol of the United States, it attracts more than a million visitors a year to tiny Liberty Island in New York Harbor. Only the White House and Capitol in Washington attract more visitors. The statue was dedicated in 1886, after considerable difficulties. The original idea for the statue apparently originated with a French historian and democrat named Laboulaye. He shared it with his friend Auguste Bartholdi, who was the sculptor of the monument to be known as Liberty Enlightening the World. There were twenty-one long years of trials and tribulations before the statue was erected. These intervening years in France saw the defeat

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[27]Dodd, p. 31.

of France in the Franco-Prussian War, the fall of Napoleon III, and the collapse of the Second Empire. A tenuous Third Republic was established in France which finally authorized construction of the statue. Idealistically and in the popular mind, the statue was a gift from France commemorating the historic ties between the two countries, such as French aid during the American Revolution. In fact, not enough money could be raised in France to pay for the project, so it was soon agreed that the recipient of the "gift" would pay for the pedestal and foundation. Even this compromise proved difficult to implement, and another dozen years went by before the statue began to rise on Bedloe's (later Liberty) Island in New York Harbor. Cynics said that the real reason for France's generosity was to secure support from the United States for the shaky Third Republic.

Whatever the reasons for the statue, it was a happy day for the artist and America when Liberty was unveiled in 1886. The statue has become a symbol of the United States, a source of pride to Americans. The poet Emma Lazarus captured the intended spirit of the memorial toward welcoming immigrants when she wrote: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free."[28]

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[28]Charles Mercer, The Statue of Liberty (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1979), p. 76.

The recent efforts to restore and conserve the statue have met with national and international support. In fact, support has been so enthusiastic as to generate general enthusiasm for the restoration and conservation of monuments in the United States as evidenced by popular and academic articles and the proposed nationwide survey of monuments by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Thomas Jefferson, the brilliant and controversial third President of the United States, was not officially memorialized by his country until the eve of World War II. George Washington's Federalist politics had been forgotten when the country raised the obelisk to his memory in the District of Columbia, and Lincoln's Republicanism had been overlooked by Southern Democrats in the construction of a Doric temple in his honor, but it was well into the 20th century before his countrymen erected a monument to Jefferson. The Sage of Monticello was apparently the hero of only some of the people. Jefferson was a Southerner, an agrarian, an aristocrat, and, in spite of his democratic words, something of an elitist. All of these factors contributed to the delay in erecting a monument to him by an America that was increasingly democratic, urban, immigrant, and egalitarian. In spite of the delay, Jefferson may well have been pleased with the monument, since it reflected his architectural, political, and social views.

In his lifetime, Jefferson viewed Roman Republicanism as the only fitting association to be connected with the new American republic. He was also disdainful of the architecture that existed in the United States prior to his time. Jefferson designed his own home, Monticello, based upon the Hotel de Salm in Paris. The Virginia State capitol was also his design, based upon the Maison Carree in Nimes, France, which he mistakenly thought was built in the Roman Republic rather than in the Empire. The library at his beloved University of Virginia was based upon the Roman Pantheon.[29] Clearly Jefferson was an associationist, and it was fitting that when his country did finally memorialize the great Virginian, it was in a form that he would have understood.

The election of strong Democratic majorities in Congress under Franklin D. Roosevelt facilitated support for a memorial to Jefferson. In 1935, the National Capital Park and Planning Commission appointed a committee to study the various sites suggested for a memorial to Jefferson. The site proposed in the original 1902 Senate Park Commission Plan was agreed upon, and John Russell Pope was engaged as architectural advisor. Pope recommended a building resembling the Pantheon in Rome. A bitter controversy followed, with opposition raised on the basis that the

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[29]Leland Rothe, A Concise History of American Architecture (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), pp. 74-77.

proposed memorial was too imitative of the Lincoln Memorial (i.e., a statue enclosed in a temple) and that it was merely applied archeology. Pope's death, a revision of the plan, and further controversy did not stop construction of the monument.

In its final form, the Jefferson Memorial is a classic structure resembling the Roman Pantheon, which befits Jefferson's tastes. It is located on the Tidal Basin, and on an axis with the White House. Its associations, like Jefferson's, are Roman Republican, simplicity and virtue.

The Marine Corps Memorial, popularly known as the Iwo Jima Monument, is located in Arlington, Virginia, near the National Cemetery. It portrays an incident, in heroic scale, during the battle for Iwo Jima in World War II when a group of battle weary marines raised a flag on Mt. Surabachi, the Island's summit. Two separate flag raisings took place. The first one occurred under Japanese fire when a patrol of Marines attached a small flag to a length of iron pipe and raised it on Surabachi. This incident was photographed by Marine Sgt. Louis R. Lowery, a combat photographer with Leatherneck Magazine.[30] The flag was of such a size (54 by 28 inches) that it could not be seen well from the beaches, or offshore, so a second flag of larger

[30]While he was stationed at Quantico, Virginia, in 1956, the author had the privilege of meeting Sergeant Lowery.

dimensions (96 by 56 inches) was secured and carried up Mt. Surabachi. At that point, Associated News photographer Joe Rosenthal, seeing the flag carried up Surabachi's slopes, attached himself to this second patrol in time to photograph the second flag-raising. That second incident was in no way staged, but merely reflected an attempt to raise a larger flag. The photograph by Rosenthal was flashed around the world and touched the hearts of the American people. Rosenthal won a Pulitzer Prize for the photograph.[31] The monument in Arlington is a depiction of Rosenthal's photograph and makes no pretense at being abstract art. It is a simple portrayal of a dramatic moment in American history, and because of this association the monument now ranks with the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument as a prime tourist attraction in Washington, D. C.

The sculptor Felix de Weldon used three of the Marines who took part in the flag-raising as models. The remaining figures were based upon photographs, since the other participants had either died in battle or, as in the sad case of the American Indian, Ira Hayes, had died after returning

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[31]Bernard C. Nalty, "The United States Marines on Iwo Jima: The Battle and the Flag Raising," (Washington, D.C.: Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1962), courtesy of Clayton R. Barrow, Editor-in-Chief, U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, Annapolis, Maryland. (Xeroxed.)

home. The statue, of cast bronze, stands 64 feet high including its pedestal and weighs 101 tons. It was formally unveiled on the one hundred seventy-ninth birthday of the Marine Corps, November 10, 1954. To the extent that bronze and stone can capture flesh and blood, this monument accomplishes its purpose of portraying a moment when "uncommon valor was a common virtue."[32]

All of the highlights of American history can be traced in her monuments, statues, memorials, and historic sites. From the statue of Capt. John Smith, commemorating the Jamestown settlement of 1607, to the sad roll call of names carved in the Vietnam Memorial, one can follow more than 350 years of American history. The National Trust for Historic Preservation estimates that there are between 15 and 20 thousand monuments in the United States,[33] and this figure represents only outdoor sculpted memorials, not historic sites, houses, forts, parks, and battlefields. Clearly the preservationist has an enormous task in conserving this heritage.

While man is himself mortal, his memory, valor, and heroic deeds are thought imperishable if captured and

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[32]This quote, inscribed on the base of the monument, is attributed to Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, who observed the battle.

[33]Letter of Alan S. Boyd, Chairman, Public Monument Conservation Program, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C. [summer 1983].

preserved in marble, bronze, or granite. In one sense, erecting a memorial is an attempt to gain immortality. For centuries historic sites and monuments have been shrines, sanctuaries, and points of interest such as battlefields where the values of a society were preserved--glorified.[34] Unfortunately, monuments often prove nearly as perishable as the flesh they commemorate and barely survive the individual or generation that built them.

What man builds falls subject to the ravages of time. Wind, rain, floods, earthquakes, war, and more recently environmental pollutants, all have wreaked havoc with man's monuments to past events. Ironically, one of the earliest efforts by a would-be preservationist to conserve a monument actually destroyed part of the memorial's original integrity. The Colossi of Memnon, erected in Egypt to guard the entrance to the Valley of the Kings, suffered the heavy hand of a well-meaning conservator. According to legend, as reported by Homer, Memnon was killed by Achilles but returned to life each morning with the first rays of the rising sun. The sandstone statue was created with a gaping hole in it to portray Memnon's wound. When heated by the morning sun, this hole produced a musical sound. Travelers

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[34]James Marston Fitch, Historic Preservation--Curatorial Management of the Built Environment (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982), p. 403.

from all over the ancient world, including Emperor Hadrian in the year A.D. 130, came to see this wonder. All of this stopped, however, when Septimius Severus repaired and "restored" the statue, filling in the hole, and silencing it forever.[35]

Modern preservationists should heed this ancient lesson. Actual physical conservation or repair of a monument proves a highly technical undertaking, requiring a solid background in chemistry, metallurgy, engineering, and a host of other sciences. A well-intentioned historian, archeologist, or preservationist who, like Severus, does not have this scientific training, could actually do more harm than good. Similarly, the pure scientist would have little to conserve without the work of the humanities. Saving the material culture of this country is definitely an interdisciplinary process.

Somewhere in America can be found a monument to almost any event or individual, great and small. A zealot in a town in Alabama once commissioned a statue of Lincoln's assassin, John Wilkes Booth, which is now mercifully removed from public view. In Salt Lake City, Utah, a memorial was erected to the seagulls which devoured swarms of locusts to save early Mormon crops. Elsewhere there are statues and

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[35]Jean Mathe, Great Buildings and Monuments of the World, translated by Evelyn Rossiter (Geneve: Editions Minerva SA, 1982), p. 4.

monuments to Vikings, generals, private soldiers, horses, and floods. Except as abstract works of art, these would all be virtually meaningless without an understanding of the events which they were erected to commemorate. It is thus incumbent upon the historian to provide the context within which monuments can be understood.

The goal in the next three chapters is to provide the historical background necessary to understand one particular group of monuments in the United States, those dedicated to the military history of black Americans. Black Americans first arrived in the colony of Virginia in 1619 as indentured servants. Within a few years, certainly by the mid-seventeenth century, their condition had been reduced to one of chattel slavery. Two more centuries elapsed before American blacks attained citizenship, and many feel they are still struggling for full citizenship. Black participation in the military service of the colonies and of the United States reflects a part of that struggle. That service is described in general terms in the following three chapters in order to achieve an understanding of the historical context within which to place given monuments.

CHAPTER II

EARLY BLACK MILITARY HISTORY

Colonial Service

The great age of exploration which led to the settlement of North America helped to establish slavery in the Western Hemisphere. As the powerful nation-states of Spain and Portugal, and then of France and England, established territories in the "New World," labor was needed to exploit the new resources. Of the three factors necessary for production, land was available in seemingly limitless quantities, large amounts of capital were available for investment, especially after the acquisition of Aztec and Inca gold, but there never seemed to be enough labor to implement production. The first European conquerors of the Western World began casting about for hands, willing or unwilling, to perform the labor. At first the Spanish tried native American Indians to fill the void. Captured, imprisoned, and worked under unspeakably harsh conditions, the Indian proved to be an unsatisfactory slave. Slavery, warfare with the white invaders, and disease decimated the tribal population. When Columbus landed on Hispaniola in 1492, there was a native population of approximately one

million inhabitants. Fifty years later, only five hundred survived. Modern estimates place the population of Central Mexico at five to ten million Indians before the arrival of the Spanish.[1] By the end of the sixteenth century, only one million survived.[2] Obviously, the Spanish could not continue employing the Indian as a slave very profitably. A Jesuit missionary by the name of Bartolaneo de Las Cassas suggested relief for the plight of the Indian by advocating the importation of black slaves from Africa. Thus, the first black man was brought over to supply labor for the Spanish.

For most of the sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal ruled supreme in the Western World. This all changed toward the end of the sixteenth century under the reign of Elizabeth I of England. The Virgin Queen, supported by her sea captains and adventurers such as Drake, Frobisher, Martin, and Hawkins, took on mighty Spain and won.

As late as 1580 England was laying claim to North America based upon the supposed voyages of the Irish monk, St. Brendan, which had occurred more than a thousand years earlier. In the 1580s, a group of West countrymen,

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[1]Mary Beth Norton et al., A People and a Nation, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1982), p. 7.

[2]For a detailed discussion of this problem, see William M. Denevan, ed., The Native Population of the Americans in 1492 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976).

including Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his younger half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh, urged the establishment of American colonies in order to trade with the native peoples, establish way stations on the long route to the Far East, and bring Christianity to the native Americans. Their colonial aspirations were also fed by increasing hostility toward Spain. Gilbert and Raleigh argued that the new colonies would serve as excellent bases to attack the Spanish. Gilbert failed, and died in his attempt at colonization, while Raleigh was only temporarily successful.[3]

Sir Walter Raleigh sponsored the colony, while John White actually led it. These first English settlers arrived at Roanoke Island, off the coast of present-day North Carolina, in May of 1587, but soon ran into difficulty. By autumn, it was necessary for White to return to England for help and supplies. It took several years for a relief expedition to return, and when it did, not a man, woman, or child remained of the Roanoke colony. What befell the colonists has never been determined, but its failure did not deter further efforts. Events in Europe soon opened the way to almost unrestricted settlement of North America by the English.

In 1588 the mighty Spanish Armada sailed against England. The issue, in part, was control of the seas and, by

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[3]Norton, p. 10.

implication, the overseas colonies and commerce. The small English fleet bravely attacked the huge Spanish galleons and badly crippled the huge fleet. Storms and shipwrecks further added to the Spaniards' difficulties as they fled before the English. Spain was utterly defeated, England was now a world power, and the way was open for large-scale colonization in the Western Hemisphere by England.

In 1607, the colony of Jamestown was founded in Virginia. In 1620, settlers began arriving in Massachusetts, and by mid-century the English were driving the Dutch out of New Amsterdam. From Virginia to Massachusetts, English colonies were growing and thriving.

The English faced the same predicament as the Spanish had earlier. There was abundant land but just not enough hands to do the work. A solution was begun in 1619 when twenty black men were landed in Jamestown. The first Negroes in the English colonies were not slaves, but, rather, indentured servants.[4] Their work was sold to a master only for a specified period of time, after which they would go free. This remained the practice for the first several decades after the initial arrival of black men in English America. They worked out their time--usually

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[4]Leslie H. Fischel, Jr., and Benjamin Quarles, The Black Americans: A Documentary History, 3rd ed. (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1976), p. 19.

seven years--and then some became free men.[5] Unfortunately, several factors worked against this arrangement. The black man was not easily assimilated into the English population. When a white indentured servant came from England, he already knew the language and customs of the people, and, after serving his time, he could easily mix into the general population. His former indentured status could not be determined by the color of his skin. This was obviously not true of black people. Their language, culture, and background were completely different from the Englishmen's. And, once they had gained their freedom, they and their children were forever marked as having been indentured, because they were black.

The peculiarities of the English legal tradition were yet another factor which led to the establishment of black slavery in the colonies. Slavery had not existed in England within written history, so legal protections for the indentured or the slave did not develop there. By contrast, Spain had a firm slave tradition, so that the legal inheritance of her colonies included laws that protected the slave.[6] In the Spanish colonies, a slave system developed

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[5]Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Kingsport, Tenn.: Kingsport Press, 1968), pp. 74-76.

[6]Frank Tannenbaum, Slave to Citizen: The Negro in the Americas, (New York: Vintage Books, 1946), p. 43.

that had many routes to freedom open to the slave, such as purchasing his own freedom.[7] In North America, with no legal protection, the slave system became absolute.[8]

All of these factors--legal, social, and economic--combined to enslave black people. By the mid-seventeenth century, the length of indenture for Negroes was increased over that of whites. Soon, the duration of indenture was extended to life, and then became hereditary for blacks. The yoke of slavery had been forged.[9]

Even while gradually being relegated to the position of slave, the black man was helping to defend his new home. Blacks and whites worked side by side to gain a foothold on the North American continent. When Indians attacked the European settlements, the color of one's fellow defender's skin did not matter much. The early Dutch colonists in New Amsterdam armed their slaves with pikes and tomahawks to repel Indian raids. The English followed suit. A 1652 law in Massachusetts required that Negroes train for the militia, and a battle report from that colony in 1689 states that a "Naygro" belonging to a Colonel Tyng fell in combat.[10]

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[7]Ibid., p. 52.

[8]Ibid., p. 67.

[9] Jordan, pp. 53-56.

[10]John P. Davis, The Negro Heritage Library (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 572.

Many whites, however, feared the revolt of armed slaves.[11] New Jersey and South Carolina, for example, passed laws which forbade Negroes from joining the military service. In 1715 some Carolinians had expressed Southern fears well when they said, "There must be great caution used [in the military employment of Negroes] lest our slaves when armed might become our masters."[12] These laws were, however, conveniently forgotten in time of crisis. The South Carolina act which forbade Negro service had a handy escape clause. Negroes were not allowed to serve in the military except when it might be "necessary for the safety of the colony in case of actual invasion to have the assistance of our trusty slaves."[13] This eighteenth-century law reflects an unfortunate attitude that has continued for hundreds of years to the present day. Blacks were slaves or, in more modern times, second-class citizens, until an enemy threatened, and then suddenly they were transformed into "trusty" soldiers to be called upon to fight and die in battle. South Carolina was fortunate to have an ample

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[11]Gary Nash, Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 180.

[12]Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 13-14.

[13]Statutes at Large, December 23, 1703, General Assembly of the Province of South Carolina.

number of slave-soldiers in 1715, when the Yamassee Indians threatened to wipe out the colony. Blacks, fighting side-by-side with white militiamen under Governor Craven, successfully repelled the Indian assault.[14]

The Indians and the Spanish were not England's sole enemies in North America. Mighty France was also contending for the riches of the New World, and this brought about direct conflict with England after 1684. Wars between England and France raged in America as well as on the Continent and high seas. In the last of these struggles, the French and Indian War, or Great War for Empire, many black soldiers served in General Braddock's ill-fated army as militia, teamsters, pioneers, and scouts. Although severely defeated by the Indians, Braddock's men served well. Black soldiers served in the New York and South Carolina militia, and thirty-six Negroes served under a young Virginia colonel by the name of George Washington.[15] The history of black service in colonial times has been largely lost and unrecognized, but the names of a few of these black fighting men are known--Billy Brown was a scout, and Abraham Lawrence a soldier.[16]

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[14]Nash, p. 150.

[15]Robert Ewell Greene, Black Defenders of America 1775-1973 (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 337-339.

[16]Ibid., p. 338.

The colonies existed for almost two centuries under British rule. During that time slavery was established, Englishmen fought against Spaniards, Frenchmen and Indians, and the basis was being formed for what is now the United States; yet the services of black men in that struggle remain vague. They received little enough recognition in their own day and virtually none now.

The American Revolution

Among the many paradoxes found in the history of the American Revolution is the fact that blacks who were enslaved or at least second-class citizens helped to win America's fight for independence. When the enlightened Jefferson wrote stirring words about the "self-evident truths" that all men were "created equal," he was writing of an ideal, not a real, world. The harsh reality of 1775 was that most blacks in the colonies were in servile condition and had little hope of improving their lot. In spite of this, some five thousand slaves and former slaves shouldered weapons in the cause of Liberty. Revisionist historians may argue that the "real" causes of the revolution were economic. But for a lowly slave, the struggle was quite simple. It was a fight for his freedom.

By the spring of 1775 the colonies were seething with rebellion. The "Boston Massacre," unjust taxation, and

the famous Boston "Tea Party" had all helped to foment the insurrectionary spirit. The British commander in Boston, General Gage, decided that all this loose talk about resisting England had gone far enough, and he decided to send a military expedition to capture rebel leaders and stores of arms at Lexington and Concord.

On the night of April 18, 1775, the British advanced from Boston. Two riders, William Dawes and Paul Revere, sped to warn the colonials. The cry, "The British are coming!" aroused the Minutemen, who stood ready to face the Redcoats. Black Minutemen were there, shoulder to shoulder with white patriots.

The first clash of arms occurred at Lexington on April 19, 1775. As the British advanced into the town, they were confronted by about fifty rebels. No one knows who fired the "shot heard 'round the world" in those early morning hours, but a shot was fired and the battle raged. Eighteen Americans fell that day. As the British marched on, they were attacked at North Bridge and forced back into the village of Concord. During the British withdrawal to Boston, the English regulars were harassed every step of the way by "embattled farmers" firing from behind rocks, fences, and trees. The British lost two hundred seventy-three men, the Americans only ninety-three. Among those "embattled

farmers" were black men like Lemuel Haynes, Prince Easterbrooks, and Peter Salem.[17]

In June of 1775, Negroes participated in the fateful battle of Bunker Hill. American Revolutionary soldier and artist John Trunbull commemorated the battle in a painting which included the black patriot, Peter Salem (fig. 1). From Trunbull's painting, the story originated that Salem was responsible for killing the British Major Pitcairn. Whether or not Salem actually killed Pitcairn is impossible to say, but it is known that black men fought bravely at Bunker Hill. Fourteen white officers petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts on behalf of Salem Poor, a "brave and gallant soldier."[18] Poor had the honor of being presented to General Washington. After such a memorable beginning, it must have been a deep hurt and humiliation when Washington's Adjutant General, Horatio Gates, issued the order to recruiting officers in July 1775 that no "strollers, Negro or vagabond," were to be enlisted in the Revolutionary Army.[19] The British, however, were not so short-sighted.

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[17]Otto Lindenmeyer, Black and Brave: The Black Soldier in America (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 16.

[18]From a petition to Massachusetts Legislature signed by Colonel Brewer and thirteen other officers, in "Revolutionary Rolls," Collection, Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, File CLXXX, No. 241.

[19]Quarles, Negro in the American Revolution, p. 122.

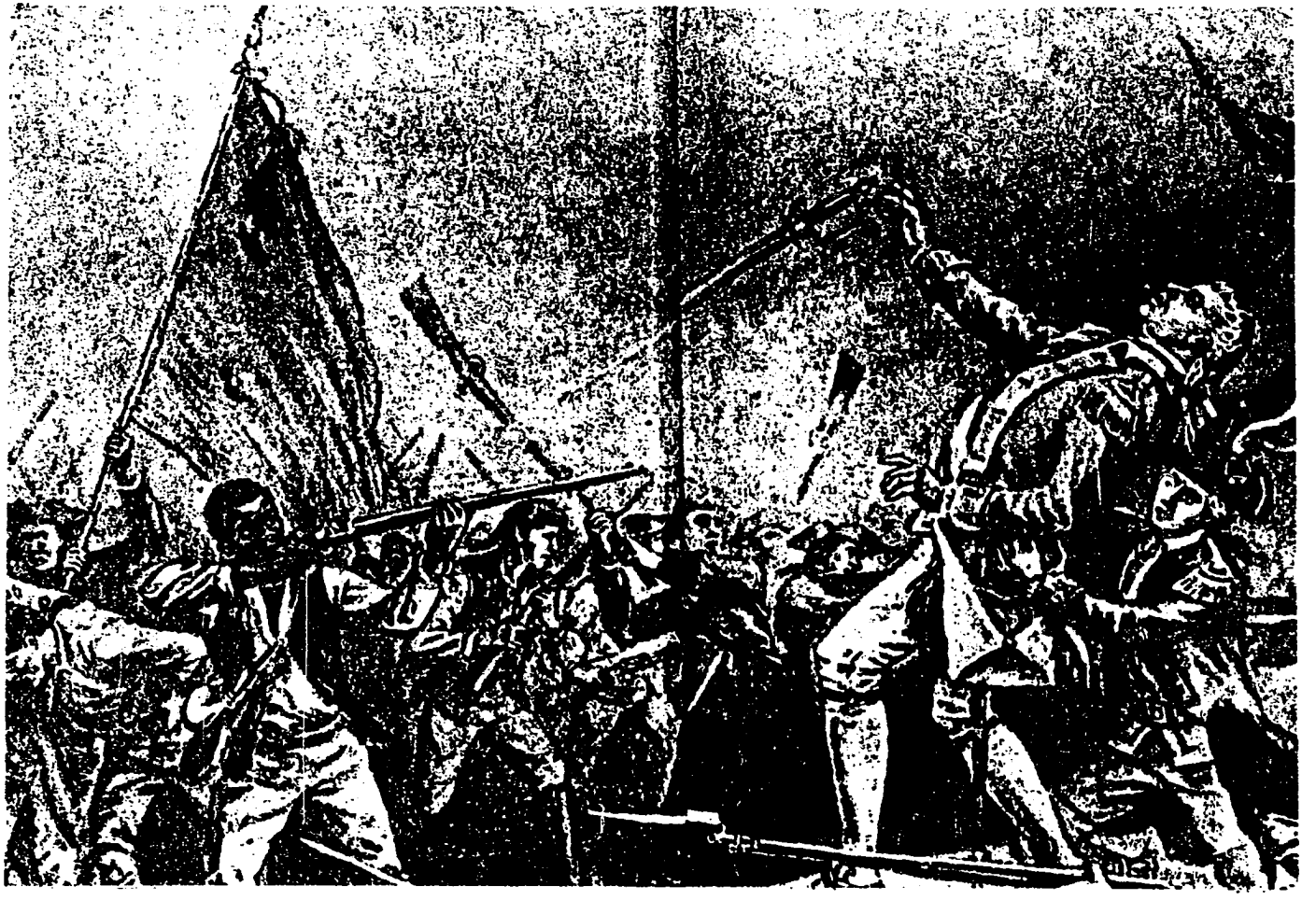

Fig. 1. Black American soldier, Peter Salem, at Battle of Bunker Hill, shooting British Major Pitcairn, June 17, 1775. (Greene, p. 18. From painting by John Turnbull which hangs in the U. S. Capitol, Washington, D. C.)

In the fall of 1775, Royal Governor Dunmore of Virginia issued a call to American slaves to join the British Army. In return for their service, the slaves would be emancipated. Many served in the important but humble job of laborer for the English, but some blacks, perhaps as many as 15,000, actually wore the red coats of the British Army. They served as pioneers and arms-bearers and, in some cases, fought in battle against their former masters.[20]

Washington, noting the effect of this British recruitment policy, revised the order of July 1775, and by December of that year Negroes were again joining the American Revolutionary Army. There was an average of fifty Negroes in each of Washington's battalions by the war's end. These black men--free Negroes, runaway slaves, and black substitutes for white masters--served throughout the war in every major action. Blacks were at Lexington, Concord, Ticonderoga, Bunker Hill, Princeton, Brandywine, Monmouth, Rhode Island, Valley Forge, Savannah, Yorktown, and many other battles.[21]

Col. Christopher Greene[22] commanded a Negro regiment, the 1st Rhode Island, through many battles. His black

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[20]Melvin Drimmer, ed., Black History: A Reappraisal (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1968), p. 133.

[21]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 137.

[22]Not to be confused with the more famous General Nathanael Greene, also of Rhode Island.

soldiers distinguished themselves repeatedly. In the Battle of Rhode Island they repulsed the Hessian mercenaries three times.[23] In 1781 Colonel Greene was surprised and killed in an action near Points Bridge, New York. Although outnumbered, the black soldiers refused to abandon his body and were cut to pieces. The British reached the body of Colonel Greene over the corpses of his faithful black soldiers.[24]

Most blacks in the American Revolution served in integrated companies. Their white comrades-in-arms testified to their courage and ability and heartily commended these "brave, hardy troops." Even the enemy recognized the black contribution to the rebels' war effort. A Hessian mercenary officer wrote in 1777 that "The Negro can take the field instead of his master; and therefore no regiment is to be seen in which there are not Negroes in abundance; and among them are able-bodied, strong and brave fellows."[25] Somewhat belatedly, even the Georgia Legislature recognized black service in the American War for Independence. Forty years after the Revolution, Georgia gave 112 acres to one Austin

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[23]J. C. Furnas, Goodbye to Uncle Tom (Kingsport, Tenn.: Kingsport Press, 1956), p. 301.

[24]William W. Brown, The Negro in the American Rebellion (Boston: A. G. Brown & Co., 1880), p. 8.

[25]Franklin, Slavery to Freedom, p. 137.

Dabney, slave, for his valiant service during the Revolution in Colonel Clark's artillery corps.[26]

On Christmas Day 1776 when Washington crossed the Delaware and surprised the Hessians at Trenton, two blacks, Prince Whipple and Oliver Cromwell, took part in the assault.[27]

In 1777, a Negro substantially helped in the capture of British General Richard Prescott. This black soldier, Jack Sisson, made a rather unusual contribution in the taking of the suprised British officer. An American raiding party led by Lt. Col. William Barton was sent to capture the British officer near Newport, Rhode Island. Under cover of darkness, the colonel and the black private approached the quarters of the sleeping general and overcame the sentry. The black soldier charged the door of the general's chambers and with his head "ram-butted" the door open. The surprised British officer was soon a prisoner. Colonel Barton received a sword and the thanks of Congress while Sisson

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[26]In the city of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, in recent years the Daughters of the American Revolution recognized another black Revolutionary artilleryman by erecting a tombstone to Peter Jennings in the Old City Cemetery. Jennings' burial site had been lost to a road widening project and his original tombstone was being used locally as a porch step. This relic was recovered by James K. Huhta, Middle Tennessee State University, and is now in his possession.

[27]Greene, pp. 8, 23.

apparently received little more than a headache for his troubles.[28]

Blacks also served as spies in the revolution. General Lafayette employed the services of a slave in Virginia known as James. In 1781 James gathered and delivered vital information about the British position at Portsmouth. This intelligence was of great importance, since the decisive battle of Yorktown was only a few months away. After the war, Lafayette wrote a commendation for James which eventually led to the purchase of James' freedom by the Virginia Legislature. When Lafayette made his triumphal return visit to America some forty years later, one of the citizens who welcomed him to Richmond was James. Now a free man, James had adopted his superior officer's surname, becoming James Lafayette.[29]

The Northern colonies did not show the reluctance to enlist Negroes that was manifested in the South--the proud First Regiment of the Rhode Island Line was seventy-five percent black.[30] When the war shifted to the Southern colonies, Georgia and South Carolina remained adamant in their decision not to enlist black men in spite of the fact that

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[28]Brown, p. 7.

[29]Fishel and Quarles, Black American, p. 54.

[30]Drimmer, p. 133.

the very existence of the colonies was at stake. In 1779 Alexander Hamilton, in an attempt to change the position of the Southern colonies and induce them to enlist Negroes, wrote that he did not see how enough men could be raised to defend South Carolina and Georgia without the help of black men.[31] In spite of the desperate need, South Carolina and Georgia remained firm in their refusal to consider arming the slaves. Ironically, black French soldiers carried the day at the Battle of Savannah in the very state of Georgia which had refused the services of American blacks. The black troops, the "Volunteer chasseurs," who played such a vital role in the Battle of Savannah were free Negroes from Santo Domingo who were serving with America's French allies. These smartly uniformed, well-disciplined soldiers, even in defeat, saved the American Army on that day. Among the ranks of those crack troops were six who would later become generals in the struggle for Haitian independence. One of their number was Henri Christophe, who later served under the "Black Napoleon," Toussaint L'Ouverture, and himself became president, and later, king of Haiti.[32]

While black soldiers were helping to win American Independence on land, Negro sailors were doing their share

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[31]Quarles, Negro in the American Revolution, p. 59.

[32]Ibid., p. 82.

at sea. Blacks served in the Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Continental Navies. They were boatswain's mates, gunners, and even pilots. It has been estimated that 2,000 blacks served in the United States and State Navies. One free black family from the Northern Neck Region of Virginia, the Nickens, sent seven family members to serve in the Virginia Navy as well as two more to the Army.[33]

When the 22-gun Pennsylvania ship Royal Lewis was captured by a British frigate, nineteen of the twenty black men in her crew were sold back into slavery. The one black man who escaped this fate was James Forten. The British admiral's son had taken a liking to Forten and offered him a refuge in England. As a patriot, Forten refused to betray his country and chose rather to go to prison. Forten survived the war to become an abolitionist leader.[34]

Other American Negro seamen helped to beat back the marauding British Naval expeditions in our coastal waters. In one such fight off the coast of Virginia, the Americans were victorious, and in the process captured a Negro by the name of Bill, who was serving with the British Fleet. Bill had run away from his master to join the Royal Navy and get

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[33]Ibid., p. 77.

[34]Franklin, Slavery to Freedom, p. 138.

his freedom. He was considered a traitor to the American cause and was tried for treason and hanged.[35]

After six long years of fighting, independence was in sight. When the British stacked arms and surrendered at Yorktown, three-fourths of the Rhode Island regiment present was composed of black men. Blacks had served from the opening skirmishes at Lexington and Concord to the final surrender of the British at Yorktown. An aide to Count Rochambeau paid fitting tribute to the services of black men in the American Revolution, writing:

> I cannot insist too strongly how I was surprised by the American Army. It is truly incredible that troops almost naked, poorly paid, and composed of old men, children and Negroes should behave so well on the march and under fire.[36]

A simpler tribute was paid by a white American soldier when he stated that the black man had "helped to gain our Liberty and Independence."[37]

During the course of the war, thousands of slaves had run away from their American masters and, in return for their freedom, had joined the British forces. Now, with England defeated and evacuating the United States, these black soldiers of the British Army obviously could not be

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[35]Fishel and Quarles, Black Americans, p. 60.

[36]Burke Davis, America's First Army, Pamphlet of Colonial Williamsburg (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965), chapter 6.

[37]Franklin, Slavery to Freedom, p. 137.

left behind to face the vengeance of the Americans. The British decided to take their black soldiers, plus the slaves of Loyalists, with them. In 1782 the British sailed off with some fourteen thousand blacks--four thousand from Savannah, six thousand from Charleston, and four thousand from New York. These black veterans were settled in Nova Scotia, the West Indies, East Florida, and even England.[38] The Negroes of one group which had served with the Hessians eventually found themselves part of an infantry battalion received with honors in a public square in Brunswick, in what is now West Germany.[39] Members of another group refused to flee at the time of the English withdrawal and, instead, retreated to the back country of Georgia and Florida. There, styling themselves "King of England's Soldiers," they formed guerrilla bands which raided white plantations.[40] They were finally wiped out at Bear Creek in 1786 by South Carolina and Georgia militia.

The blacks who were resettled in Nova Scotia soon became dissatisfied with their surroundings and the failure of the British government to fulfill its promise of land and bounty for the veterans. To rectify the situation, they sent Thomas Peters, African-born, twice-wounded

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[38]Drimmer, p. 134.

[39]Quarles, Negro in the American Revoluton, pp. 174-75.

[40]Drimmer, pp. 58-81.

veteran of the British Army, to London to register their complaints. British abolitionists and reformers received Peters well, and soon he was a celebrity in London society. His new-found friends helped Peters draft a petition of complaint to William H. Granville, Minister for Foreign Affairs. After reviewing the petition, the Secretary ordered the Nova Scotian government to look into the matter and either fulfill its pledges to the black veterans or help transport them back to Africa where they could begin life anew. Eventually almost two thousand of these black British veterans were transported to Sierra Leone. Back in Africa as free men, they helped to establish a city with a fine-sounding name to these ex-slaves--Freetown.[41]

With independence won, the wartime service of black Americans was largely forgotten. An act of Congress in 1792 restricted service in the militia to "able-bodied, white, males."[42] Blacks did continue to serve in the Navy, but service in the armed forces was closed to the black man.

The War of 1812

The years from the end of the Revolution to the War of 1812 saw many changes in the new United States. The Articles of Confederation were abandoned in favor of the more

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[41]Ibid., p. 146.

[42]U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 1, p. 271.

workable Constitution. An undeclared naval war was fought against France, and punitive expeditions against the Barbary pirates of the Mediterranean gave the fledgling country a sense of military pride and blacks the chance to serve in both conflicts in the integrated navy. The size of the United States was doubled by President Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory, and new states were added to the Union. But conflict in Europe was soon to involve Americans.

America's claimed rights as a neutral trading nation had long been violated by both England and France. England, however, was the worst offender. Recruits for the Royal Navy were kidnapped from American vessels on the high seas. In one such impressment incident in 1807, an American warship, the Chesapeake, was fired upon, and American seamen were killed. Four seamen were taken from the Chesapeake. Two of these seamen were American blacks who had previously volunteered for the British navy but had never actually served. They were eventually restored to their ship, the Chesapeake, in 1811.[43] In addition, many Americans on the frontier suspected England of encouraging Indian depredations against American settlements. Finally, the "War Hawks," strong in the South and West, convinced President

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[43]John C. Miller, Toward a More Perfect Union (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1970), pp. 206, 208.

Madison that America's only recourse was a war to preserve honor. Thus, in June of 1812, the United States went to war with England for the second time.

During the War of 1812, blacks distinguished themselves at two of the more famous engagements, Jackson's triumph at New Orleans and Perry's victory on Lake Erie. A large number of blacks were also enlisted in various Regular Army units and in the Marine Corps. A Capt. William Bezean enlisted some 247 black recruits for the 26th U.S. Infantry, but once again America's attitude toward black soldiers was ambivalent. They were cheered as heroes for their part at Lake Erie and New Orleans, but the following year all of Bezean's recruits were discharged with the remark that "being a Negro is deemed unfit to associate with the Americans."[44]

Black Americans came to the aid of Oliver Hazard Perry as he struggled to build a fleet and meet the British on Lake Erie. Perry had requested reinforcements, but when help arrived, the Commodore bitterly complained to his commanding officer about the "motley set of blacks, soldiers and boys" that he had received. His somewhat more enlightened commanding officer, Commodore Chaucey, replied tersely that he had "yet to learn that the color of a man's skin or the cut and trimmings of his coat [could] affect his

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[44]Greene, p. 29.

qualifications or usefulness. I have fifty blacks on board this ship and many of them are my best men."[45] Chauncey's words proved prophetic. On September 10, 1813, Perry met the British fleet in battle. He soundly defeated them, inspiring his oft-quoted message: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. . . ."[46] After the battle, Perry completely revised his opinion of the "motley set of blacks" in his crew. In his praise of the courage of the Negro seamen, Perry said, "they seemed insensible to danger."[47]

When the British succeeded in capturing Washington, driving out the federal government and sacking many of the public buildings, other cities along the coast feared the same fate. In Philadelphia, the vigilance committee called on leading Negro citizens to secure the help of Philadelphia's black population in preparing the city's defense. One of the black citizens called upon was James Forten, whose service in the Revolutionary Navy has already been noted. Again Forten answered his country's call. He helped to organize a Negro battalion for the city's defense, and solicited the help of some twenty-five hundred other black citizens in building fortifications. Black men worked

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[45]Williams, Vol. II, p. 23.

[46]The rest of the quotation is ". . . two ships, two brigs, one schooner, one sloop."

[47]Franklin, Slavery to Freedom, p. 169.

almost continually for two days to complete the defenses. When the British attack failed to materialize, the city officially thanked the Negro citizens for their contributions to the city's defense and sent them home.[48] Not all Americans proved as grateful as the Philadelphians for the sacrifices of black Americans. Some black soldiers were actually sold back into slavery when the war ended.[49]

The greatest American victory of the War of 1812 was the Battle of New Orleans. Ironically, the battle was fought two weeks after a treaty ending the conflict had been signed in Europe.[50] The British Fleet had sailed against New Orleans to capture the city as British forces had done to Washington. Gen. Andrew Jackson commanded the defense of the city. Two battalions of blacks stood shoulder to shoulder with frontiersmen, Army regulars, American Indians, and the pirates of Jean Lafitte as they awaited the British attack.[51] The British advanced across the open plain toward these defenses with bands playing,

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[48]Ibid.,, p. 118.

[49]Ibid., p. 119.

[50]A peace treaty was signed at Ghent, Belgium, in December 1814, but the news had not yet reached Andrew Jackson, who fought his famous battle on January 8, 1815. Although the war was technically over, the victory was a great morale booster and psychological triumph for the Americans.

[51]Fishel and Quarles, Black Americans, pp. 137-38.

flags flying, and red coats bright in the sun. The withering American fire on that day took a severe toll in the British ranks. When the final tally was taken, some six thousand British soldiers, including their commanding general, had fallen. Only seventy Americans were casualties. More than six hundred black soldiers, the Native Guards, had fought in the Battle of New Orleans, and they had been commanded by black officers. After the battle, Jackson gave full credit to his "free men of color" and cited their bravery, saying, "You have surpassed my hopes; the Nation shall applaud your valor."[52]

Unfortunately, the national memory was short. Only a few years later, an order from the Army Inspector General's office dated February 1820 confirmed Congressional action of 1792 by stating that "no Negro or mulatto will be received as a recruit in the U.S. Army."[53]

Congressional action and Army policy stopped blacks from serving in the militia or regular Army. Also, the period after 1820 was one of sectional debate over the issue of slavery and hardly a time for blacks to be admitted to the Army. The only declared war during this period was the Mexican War of 1846-48. The offensive nature of the war

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[52]Ulysses Lee, The Employment of Negro Troops (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), preface.

[53]Lindenmeyer, p. 30.

and the fact that it was supported by white Southerners who wished to expand slave territory largely prohibited blacks from service. Some few mulattoes undoubtedly served along with slaves who were servants to white officers, but generally the Mexican War was fought most enthusiastically by the regular Army and white Southern volunteers. The outcome of the war, the acquisition of vast territories, would help to set the stage for the next conflict in which blacks did serve in great numbers, the American Civil War.

CHAPTER III

THE RIGHT TO DIE FOR FREEDOM:

CIVIL WAR 1861-1865

> Once let the Black man get upon his person the brass letters "U.S.," let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder . . . and there is not power on earth which can deny that he had earned the rights to citizenship in the United States.[1]

The black man did get "a musket on his shoulder" in the Civil War and served his country well. By the war's end, some 209,000 had served in the Union Army and Navy, thousands had died in battle, and twenty black men had won the nation's highest award, the Medal of Honor.[2] Lincoln is reported to have said that "without the Negro's help, neither the present nor any coming administration can save the Union."[3]

When Fort Sumpter was fired upon, President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to put down the rebellion. Free black men from all over the North responded to his call, but they were rejected. The war was to be both

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[1]James McPherson, Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction (Princeton: Knopf, 1962), p. 349.

[2]James M. McPherson, The Negroes Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for the Union (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), p. 37.

[3]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 2 vols.(1944; reprint ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 2:738.

short and white. A resolution stating that the war was not being fought to overthrow slavery but to defend the constitution and preserve the Union was passed by the U. S. House of Representatives on July 22, 1861, and by the Senate three days later.[4] Secretary of War Cameron stated that "the War [Department] has no intention to call into the service of the government any colored soldiers."[5] For one thing, Lincoln did not wish to offend the slave-holding "Border States" whose loyalty to the Union was unsteady at best. He felt that acceptance of black volunteers from the North might feed the Southern fear of armed slaves and drive the border states out of the Union. When a delegation from Indiana offered two regiments of blacks for service, Lincoln refused, saying, "To arm the Negroes would turn 50,000 bayonets from the Loyal Border States against us."[6]

Abolitionists and black leaders worked diligently to persuade Lincoln to change this policy. They made visits to the White House, wrote editorials, and even presented

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[4]Benjamin Quarles, Lincoln and the Negro (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 68.

[5]The Negro in the Military Service of the United States, 1639-1886, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: General Services Administration, 1963), 2:27. Response to black volunteers from the District of Columbia, at a time when the nation's capital was threatened by Confederate forces.

[6]James M. McPherson, Marching Toward Freedom: The Negro in the Civil War 1861-1865 (New York: Knopf, 1965), p. 70.

Lincoln with a scholarly report on the past services of black Americans in the War of 1812 and the Revolution.[7] Lincoln was interested but unmoved by their arguments. Frederick Douglass spoke out angrily:

> Colored men were good enough to fight under Washington. They are not good enough to fight under McClellan. They were good enough to fight under Andrew Jackson--they were good enough to help win American independence, but they are not now good enough to help preserve that independence against treason and rebellion.[8]

In spite of the official administration policy, some blacks did manage to get into Union military service early in the war. They served the North as scouts, couriers, and spies as early as 1861 under Gen. Charles Stone in Maryland. Gen. David Hunter, early in 1862, raised a black regiment among freed slaves in South Carolina, while Gen. John Phelps did the same in Louisiana. The official Confederate reaction was the issuance of War Department General Order Number 60, which branded Phelps and Hunter as outlaws because they had "organized and armed Negro slaves for military service against their masters" and provided that

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[7]James M. McPherson, The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 193.

[8]Benjamin T. Quarles, The Negro in the Civil War (Boston, 1953), p. 153.

"in the event of capture [they] be held for execution as felons."[9] The reaction in the North was only a little better, since both Lincoln's administration and the Congress wished to avoid the sensitive issue. Lack of Federal support and recognition soon forced an end to the experiment. The black man was not given the opportunity to serve the Union fully until the heavy Union casualties of Bull Run, Seven Days, and Shiloh forced a change in policy. Finally, in July of 1862, Congress passed two measures providing for the enlistment of blacks. The Confiscation Act allowed the President to enlist slaves and a Militia Act removed the ban on enlisting free blacks.[10] However, the attitude of the white public toward the enlistment of blacks continued to be hostile. Indeed, a popular song reflecting white public opinion was entitled "Sambo's Right to be Kilt." The ditty concluded that they, the white soldiers, would gladly share their dying with the Negro and even give him the bigger half.[11]

Popular legend and high school history books notwithstanding, Abraham Lincoln was no particular friend of the Negro race. His Kentucky birth and mid-Western upbringing

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[10]McPherson, Ordeal, p. 350.

[11]Ibid., p. 355.

produced typical nineteenth-century racist attitudes. He believed the Negro to be inferior, and most of his statements and writings up to and including the Civil War period reflected a man who was a product of his times. Lincoln was, however, a practical politician. By 1862, Union spirit was lagging, casualty lists were growing, and the danger that England or France might recognize the Confederacy was increasing. All of these reasons plus public pressure from abolitionists, particularly black abolitionists, forced Lincoln to reconsider his earlier position.[13] The Emancipation Proclamation could not be issued in the face of Union defeats, so Lincoln waited until a win gave him the opportunity to proclaim from a position of victory. This came on September 17, 1862, when the overly cautious George B. McClellan barely managed to stop Robert E. Lee at Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, Maryland. The fact that McClellan had possession of Lee's battle plans and outnumbered him did not detract from Union claims of a victory. On September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued what is known as the "Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation," which would go into effect on January 1, 1863. This strange document proclaimed freedom for slaves in Confederate territory and left slavery alone in the loyal slave states and in rebel territory which was Union occupied. In effect, no slaves were immediately set

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[12]McPherson, Marching, p. 70.

free, since the Confederate Army stood in the way and many astute observers, including the prestigious Times of London, looked upon the document as call for servile insurrection. However, it was perceived otherwise by the masses, both here and abroad. Naturally, those most directly affected by its promises, the slaves, received it most warmly.[13] No longer was official policy merely the preservation of the Union; but now, and more importantly, the avowed purpose of the war was to eliminate slavery from the United States.[14]

As soon as it was officially acceptable for black men to join the Union forces, thousands flocked to the colors. The 1st Kansas Regiment, organized and trained at Fort Lincoln, soon saw action at Island Mound, Missouri.[15] In that same month, October 1862, the 1st South Carolina Infantry was formed.[16] This regiment was composed of recently freed slaves from the Union-controlled coastal areas of the Carolinas. The regiment saw battle only two weeks after it was mustered into service, but the raw recruits behaved like veterans. Their commanding officer reported:

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[13]John Hope Franklin, The Emancipation Proclamation (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1963), pp. 106-14.

[14]McPherson, Negroes Civil War, p. ix.

[15]Philip S. Foner, History of Black Americans: From the Compromise of 1850 to the End of the Civil War (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 335.

[16]McPherson, Marching, p. 70.

> The colored men fought with astonishing coolness and bravery. . . . As soon as we took a slave from his claimant (i.e., master) we placed a musket in his hand and he began to fight for the freedom of others.[17]

In Louisiana, Gen. Benjamin Butler accepted the services of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Native Guards. They later became part of the Corps d'Afrique and served under Gen. Nathaniel Banks in the lower Mississippi and Gulf areas.[18] The 1st Regiment of these "Native Guards" consisted of free men of color who had served the Confederacy in the first year of the war.[19] However, when the Confederate forces abandoned New Orleans, the Guards chose to remain. The Guards had served in the South in hopes of gaining a more respected place in their community. Now that they were on the Union side, the Guards served faithfully throughout the war.[20]

Meanwhile, in the North, Gov. John Andrews of Massachusetts obtained permission from Secretary of War Stanton early in 1863 to raise an all-black regiment, to be made up of free black men. They would be led to glory and many to their graves by Robert Gould Shaw. The 28-year-old Shaw,

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[17]John P. Davis, ed., The American Negro Reference Book (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 600.

[18]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Pt. 1, 26:539.

[19]Dudley T. Cornish, The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-65 (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p. 9.

[20]Ibid., p. 65.

the son of New England abolitionists, would test to the final limit the strength of his beliefs.[21]

Soon after the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, Gen. Lorenzo Thomas was placed in charge of recruiting former slaves in the Mississippi Valley, and within a few months he became chief of the Bureau of Colored Troops. General Thomas' appointment was a major turning point in the enlistment of black soldiers. From then on the recruitment program was administered by the federal government directly through his capable supervision.[22] Frederick Douglass and other Negro leaders helped in the recruiting effort. Douglass was promised a commission as a Union officer and a place on General Thomas' staff as recruiter. Douglass returned to his home to settle his affairs, but the promised commission was not forthcoming. The Washington bureaucracy apparently had second thoughts about so radical a step as making a black man an officer.[23]

The case of Douglass was not unique. Fewer than one hundred black men were granted commissions during the course of the war.[24] The unfortunate aspect of this unwillingness

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[21]Foner, pp. 359-60.

[22]McPherson, Ordeal, p. 350.

[23]Arna Bontemps, Free at Last: The Life of Frederick Douglass (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1971), pp. 238-41.

[24]McPherson, Ordeal, p. 351.

to grant black officers status is illustrated by the case of Sgt. Stephen Swails. Swails was First Sergeant of Company F, 54th Massachusetts Infantry. Cited for bravery in the Battle of Olustree, Florida, in February 1864, Sergeant Swails was recommended for promotion to Second Lieutenant by Governor Andrews of Massachusetts, but the War Department procrastinated.[25] In order to become an officer, it was technically necessary that the officer candidate first be discharged from the enlisted men's roll. The War Department simply refused to discharge Swails from enlisted status.[26] Papers were conveniently shuffled between "Adjutant Feeble and Capt. Dull."[27] Finally, after a year of delay and near the war's end, Swails got his commission. Most officers of Negro regiments were white enlisted men who were sent to Philadelphia for a thirty-day officer's training course and then commissioned.[28]

Blacks were discriminated against not only in matters of promotion but also in duty assignments and especially in

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[25]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 35, Pt. 1, p. 315.

[26]Ira Berlin, ed., Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861-1867, Series II, The Black Military Experience (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 342.

[27]Stephen Vincent Benet, John Brown's Body (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1928), p. 237, gives the author's apt description of that type mentality.

[28]Foner, p. 361.

pay.[29] While Sergeant Swails was fighting Confederates in South Carolina and Florida and struggling against War Department bureaucrats to get his commission, his wife and child had to go to the "poor house."[30] Black troops were paid laborer's wages of $7.00 a month rather than a soldier's pay of $13.00 a month.[31] There was some justification for this in the early years of the war, since blacks had been restricted to serving as teamsters and cooks. But the practice continued long after they had been allowed to shoulder arms and to give their lives in battle. Every black that died storming the bloody parapets of Fort Wagner was paid a laborer's wage.[32] In an attempt to correct this injustice, Governor Andrews of Massachusetts appropriated state funds to pay his black soldiers the difference between what they were receiving and what white soldiers received. The men of the 54th Massachusetts were grateful but would not accept the money. They felt that their pay was the responsibility of the federal government and to accept money from their state government would weaken their cause.[33] In an effort to influence the federal government

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[29]McPherson, Marching, pp. 118-22.

[30]Ibid., p. 121.

[31]Cornish, p. 187.

[32]Ibid., p. 191.

[33]Foner, p. 367.

to change the discriminatory pay policy, several soldiers of the 54th, with Cpl. Andrew Gooding as their spokesman, wrote a letter to Pres. Abraham Lincoln. Gooding spoke of their indignation at being paid at the rate of $7.00 a month while their white counterparts received $13.00 for the same service.[34] Discrimination, not money, was the real issue. In his letter to Lincoln, Gooding went to the heart of the matter by asking, "Are we soldiers or are we laborers?"[35] Lincoln and the Congress eventually answered this question by equalizing pay for all Union soldiers. The 54th Massachusetts received some $170,000 in back pay.[36] Corporal Gooding, however, did not receive any of this money. After the dispatch of the letter to Lincoln, Gooding was wounded in battle and was captured by the Confederates. He died in the infamous Andersonville prison camp.

Discrimination was also shown toward the black soldier in type of service. In the early years of the war, Negro soldiers performed a disproportionate amount of post, guard, and fatigue duty--garrisoning forts, guarding prisoners, and digging fortifications and trenches. It was not until June

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[34]Pay for black soldiers was $10.00 per month minus $3.00 for clothing, while their white counterparts received $13.00 per month plus $3.50 for clothing.

[35]Benjamin Quarles, Lincoln and the Negro (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 169.

[36]McPherson, Negroes Civil War, pp. 193-203.

of 1864 that the War Department ordered that Negro soldiers no longer be required to do more than their fair share of fatigue duty. The same order directed that black troops be prepared for the higher duties of active combat.[37] Black detachments would thus see their share of action before the war was over. Blacks took part in 449 battles, 39 of which were major engagements.[38]

The discriminations suffered in matters of duty, pay, or promotion were minor affairs compared with what befell a black soldier if he were captured.[39] A captured black was not viewed as a prisoner of war by the Confederate forces. Rather he was considered a slave bearing arms, and, as such, guilty of capital offense. Some distinction seems to have been made between blacks who had been freedmen and blacks who were former slaves.[40] Confederate Secretary of War Seddon, with the concurrence of Jefferson Davis, ordered the execution of four former slave prisoners. In April of 1863, the Confederate Congress passed a law which decreed that Negroes taken in arms be dealt with in accordance with the

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[37]Ibid., p. 196.

[38]Frederick Henry Dyer, A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, 5 vols. (New York: T. Yoseloff, 1959), 2:1720. This seems to be more accurate than the official Army Register, which counts the 11-month siege of Petersburg as one battle.

[39]McPherson, Marching, pp. 105-106.

[40]McPherson, Ordeal, p. 353.

laws of the state where they were captured.[41] Such a decree constituted a death sentence, since Southern state laws uniformly dealt harshly with "servile insurrection." Following the assault on Fort Wagner in July of 1863, President Lincoln took action to protect captured black soldiers.[42] The assault on Fort Wagner had failed, and there was considerable fear for the safety of the officers and men who had been taken by the Confederates, especially after Rebel General P. G. T. Beauregard had stated that "no wounded officer of the 54th Massachusetts Negro regiment was returned."[43] Lincoln earlier had dealt with this problem by having Negro soldiers assigned to areas where they were not likely to be captured; but now, with blacks in combat, the problem had to be faced directly. Lincoln sponsored a War Department directive in the summer of 1863, ordering that a Confederate prisoner of war be executed for every Union soldier executed after capture by the rebel forces. In addition, the directive further provided that, for every Union soldier sold back into slavery, a Confederate prisoner be put to hard labor on the public roads.[44] The effect of the War

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[41]McPherson, Marching, pp. 105-106.

[42]McPherson, Ordeal, p. 353.

[43]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 28, Pt. 2, pp. 45-46.

[44]McPherson, Negroes Civil War, p. 174.

Department order was to forestall the wholesale massacre of black Union prisoners. There were exceptions like the massacre at Fort Pillow and the atrocities at the Battle of the Crater.[45] Another exception was in the Georgia campaign in which black prisoners of the 44th Infantry were returned to slavery; but, generally, the captured black man was treated as a prisoner of war.

Blacks had already seen some combat before 1863 with the Army of the Frontier in the West against Confederate guerrillas. The former slaves of the 1st South Carolina Regiment had also taken part in a raiding expedition along the Florida-Georgia border, and the Native Guards of New Orleans had joined the forces of Benjamin Butler when New Orleans was captured, but the real test in battle was yet to come.[46]

The black soldiers who proved themselves in the last two years of the war came from two sources, free Negroes of the North and former slaves from Union-occupied areas of the South. It took some work to rebuild the enthusiasm of the blacks from the Northern states after the initial rejection of their services. Negro recruiters had to blanket the North with speeches, editorials, and appeals to black pride. But soon black regiments were filled to capacity. Frederick

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[45]McPherson, Marching, pp. 106-107.

[46]Foner, p. 335.

Douglass' own two sons were the first recruits from New York to join the 54th Massachusetts Infantry. And Governor Andrews was getting enough men to begin forming a second black regiment from Massachusetts, the 55th Infantry.[47]

John Hope Franklin estimates that of 179,000 blacks who served in the Union Army, approximately 93,000 came from Southern states.[48] A large measure of the credit for this successful recruitment of former slaves must go to Gen. Lorenzo Thomas and his organizational ability.[49] But the main force that impelled black men into the Union Army was their desire to fight the forces that oppressed them and their people. The war would mark the dawn of freedom for blacks.[50] A recruit in the first South Carolina regiment aptly expressed the sentiments of many black men by stating that if an individual kept his freedom without enlisting in the army, "his children might grow up free and well cultivated enough to be equal to any

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[47]James McPherson, The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 202-203, 205.

[48]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 221.

[49]McPherson, Ordeal, p. 350.

[50]Joe H. Mays, "Black Americans and Their Contribution Toward Union Victory in the American Civil War" (Doctoral dissertation, Middle Tennessee State University, 1983), p. 9.

business, but the fact that their father never fought for his freedom might have been flung in their faces."[51]

The first major test of the black soldier in battle took place in May of 1863. Two regiments of New Orleans free Negroes and ex-slaves took part in the Union attack on Port Hudson, Louisiana. This fort was a major Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi. Among the regiments that charged the rebel fort was the 1st Louisiana Infantry, the "Native Guards," which Butler had found when he entered New Orleans. This regiment was led by black line officers, one of whom led the charge. This gallant officer, Capt. Andre Callioux, led his men across open ground in a hopeless charge against the Confederate artillery works and suffered heavy casualties.[52] Captain Callioux and many other black men died on that day.[53] General Nathaniel Banks, their commanding officer, said that their "conduct was heroic.[54] Commenting upon the battle, the moderate New York Times said, "Official testimony settled the question that the

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[51]McPherson, Marching, p. 81. In an effort to overcome racial stereotypes, all material in dialect has been transcribed into standard English (i.e., then for den, the for de).

[52]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 26, Pt. 1, pp. 66-70.

[53]McPherson, Negroes Civil War, pp. 184-85.

[54]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 26, Pt. 1, p. 44.

Negro race can fight. . . . It is no longer possible to doubt the bravery and steadiness of the colored race."[55] Times were beginning to change.

Ten days after the unsuccessful assault on Port Hudson (fig. 2), two regiments of newly freed slaves, the 9th and 11th Regiments of Louisiana Volunteers of African descent, drove back a Confederate attack on Millikens Bend, a Union outpost on the Mississippi River above Vicksburg.[56] Twenty-five hundred Texas cavalrymen attacked the outpost defended by only a thousand Union soldiers. The black soldiers drove back the Confederates with a fierce bayonet charge. One Union officer praised the bravery of his black soldiers and commented that the fighting had been fiercer than that at Shiloh. When the battle was over, more of the Confederate dead had perished from bayonet and clubbed musket wounds than from bullets. "It is impossible for men to show greater gallantry than the Negro troops in this fight," wrote Union Gen. E. S. Dennis.[57] Even the Confederate general who commanded the attack gave praise to the black troops. In his report after the battle, Gen. Henry McCulloch, C.S.A., wrote, "This charge was resisted by

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[55] New York Times, June 11, 1863.

[56] War of the Rebellion, Series 1, Vol. 24, Pt. 1, pp. 95-96.

[57] Cornish, p. 144.

Fig. 2. Bayonet charge by black troops at the Battle of Port Hudson, Louisiana, May 27, 1863. (Wesley and Romero, p. 83.)

the Negro portion of the enemy's force with considerable obstinacy."[58] Coming from a rebel general, this was high praise, indeed.

The deaths of these brave men in battle led to changes in public opinion, both at home and in the Army, about the worth of black troops. Charles Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, visited the battlefield at Millikens Bend a few days after the fighting. He wrote that "the bravery of the blacks in the Battle of Millikens Bend completely revolutionized the sentiments of the Army with regards to the employment of Negro troops."[59]

Port Hudson and Millikens Bend were gallant fights on the part of brave black troopers, but real national attention and respect did not come to black soldiers until the following month at Fort Wagner, South Carolina. The 54th Massachusetts Infantry shed the blood that finally focused attention of the country on the black American soldier (see fig. 3).

Fort Wagner, guarding the entrance to Charleston Harbor, was located on Morris Island.[60] The capture of

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[58] War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 24, Pt. 11, p. 467.

[59] Charles Dana, Recollections of the Civil War (New York, 1899), p. 86.

[60] Peter Burchand, One Gallant Rush: Robert Gould Shaw and His Brave Black Regiment (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), p. 119.

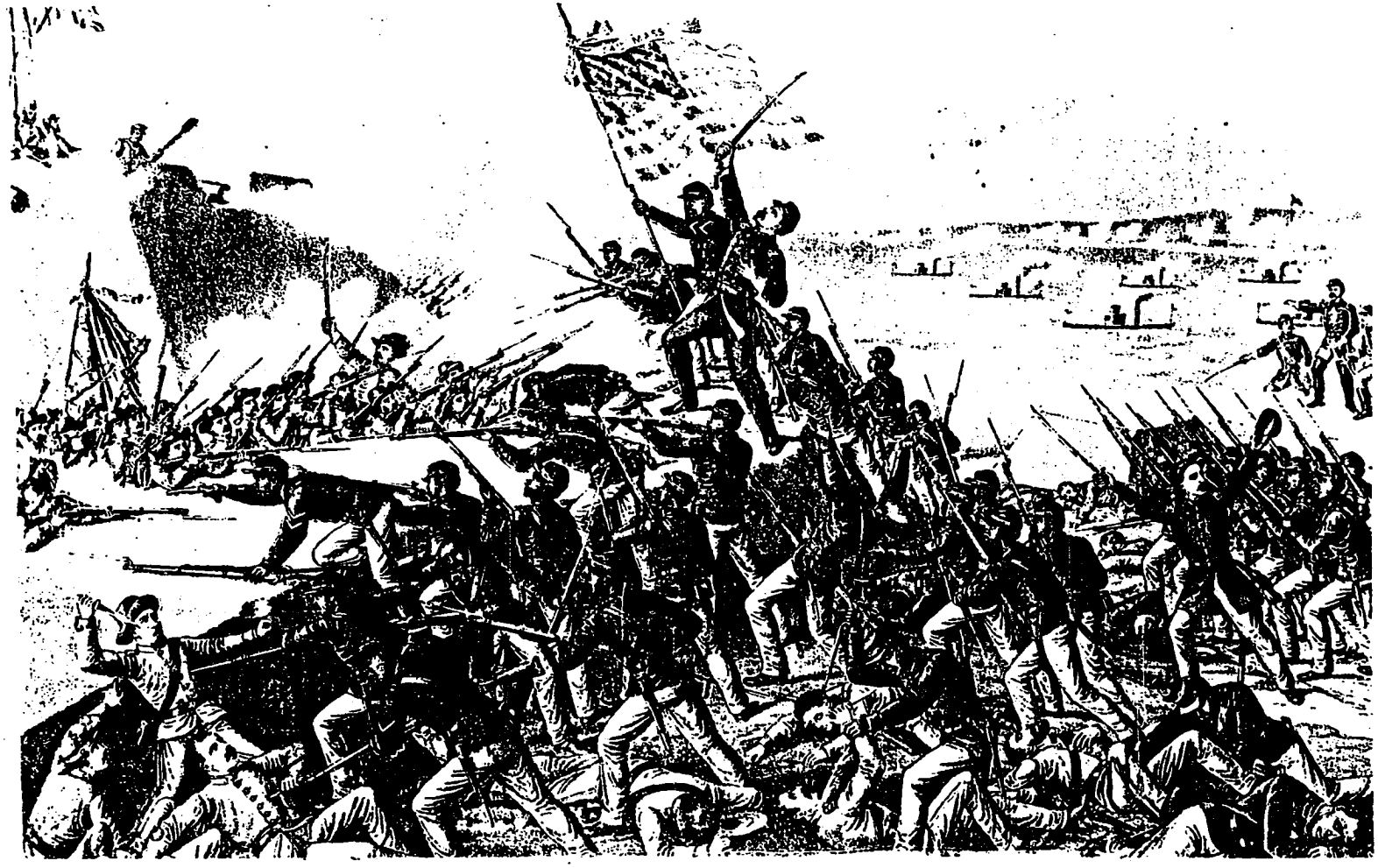

Fig. 3. Col. Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, storming Fort Wagner, S.C., July 17, 1863. (Wesley and Romero, p. 89.)

Wagner would greatly help in the closing of one of the South's major seaports. The Confederates were well aware of this. The fort was bristling with guns. The 54th reached Morris Island the day before the assault by forced march through swamps under the hot Carolina sun and then over causeways to the island amidst rain and thunder. By 6 p.m. on the evening of July 18, 1863, the 54th had reached the headquarters of Gen. George Strong. The men were wet, hungry, and tired, but they had no time for rest. They immediately took their place at the head of the assault column. The sun was setting as the charge began. The black soldiers advanced across a narrow spit of sand following their gallant leader, Col. Robert Shaw.[61] As the attacking column approached the fort, withering artillery fire cut huge holes in its ranks, but the 54th charged on. The men crossed the open sands, scrambled up the steep parapets, and swarmed into the fort itself. In a desperate struggle, many rebel gunners died in hand-to-hand combat with the black troopers. The blacks actually breached the defenses of Fort Wagner and planted their regimental flag on the rebel parapets. But supporting forces had failed to come up in time, and Confederate fire was rapidly thinning the ranks of those who had penetrated the fort. Gen. George Strong was killed as was the young colonel of the 54th, Robert

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[61]McPherson, Ordeal, p. 351.

Shaw.[62] Rebels closed in on both sides of the blacks. The fire intensified. Finally, all hope gone, retreat was sounded. The survivors slid back down the walls of the fort and over the open sands raked by grapeshot and shell fire.[63] Colonel Shaw was buried in a ditch with "his niggers,"[64] as the North apprehensively awaited word of the fate of those black soldiers captured by the Confederates. Fort Wagner was a defeat for the Union, but, in the long run, the heroism displayed by blacks at Wagner accomplished much for the Union cause. These brave men helped admit Negroes to full participation, even dying, in American democracy. The New York Tribune saw the conduct of the 54th as a trial in which the Negro had proven himself.[65] The bravery of the black men of the 54th opened the way for the general enlistment of Negroes into the Union Army. The course of the war was thereby changed, and the Union would emerge triumphant.

A month after the Battle of Fort Wagner, Gen. U. S. Grant wrote Lincoln that the arming of the Negro, along

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[62]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 28, Pt. 1, p. 348.

[63]Burchand, p. 139.

[64]Ibid., p. 143. Statement attributed to Confederate General Hagood, commander of Confederate forces at Morris Island.

[65]McPherson, Marching, pp. 101-102.

with the Emancipation Proclamation, was the "heaviest blow yet struck to the Confederacy."[66] In fact, since the Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves only in Confederate Territory, it could be argued that the most important clause of the whole document was the one that provided for enlistment of black soldiers.[67]

Eventually more than 200,000 blacks served in the Army and Navy. An additional 250,000 Negroes served the Union in the humble but vital roles of teamster, cook, orderly, and spy.[68] It can be strongly argued that, without the services of the black man, the North could not have won the war. Lincoln himself, in a reply to critics of emancipation, said that "some of the commanders of our

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[66]Ibid., p. 104.

[67]The Emancipation Proclamation had no immediate effect in terms of freeing slaves, since it applied only to the States in Rebellion (i.e., Confederate-controlled territory) and not to the loyal Border States or West Virginia, etc. It also contained provisions for a rather unrealistic colonization scheme "on this continent or elsewhere" for ridding the United States of the Negro. The possibility of compensating owners for emancipation of their slaves was also suggested if they (i.e., the Southerners) would return to the Union. As a war measure, the document succeeded in dealing a blow to the South; and as a diplomatic measure, it rallied worldwide workingman's support to the Union cause while foiling foreign recognition of the Confederacy. But its most important clause, in terms of immediate effect, was the one which allowed for the enlisting of Negroes in the Army. For whatever reasons the document was promulgated, its long-run effect (along with the XIII Amendment) was the freeing of a race of people.

[68]Foner, p. 454.

armies in the field who have given us our most important successes believe the emancipation policy and the use of colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion."[69] From this point on, the Union forces made greater use of their black fighting men. One Negro soldier wrote in his diary at the end of 1863: "The close of this year finds me a soldier for the cause of my race. May God bless the cause and enable me to forward it on." The black writer, Sgt. Christian Fleetwood (fig. 4), earned the Congressional Medal of Honor before the war was over.

While the black soldier was winning citizenship on the battlefield, he was preparing for freedom in the classroom. Education, a necessary prerequisite for full participation in a democracy, was sadly lacking among Negro soldiers. More than half of the black troopers were former slaves and illiterate. Several thousands joined the Army by marking their "X" on the enlistment papers, and there were so many who lacked even surnames that the roll call in many companies was answered by "Johnson number 5" or "Jackson number 8."[71] In attempting to alleviate this problem, each black regiment secured its own teachers--

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[69]Quarles, Lincoln and the Negro, p. 179. This was a public letter in answer to critics of his emancipation policies.

[70]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 42, Pt. 1, p. 849.

Fig. 4. Black Congressional Medal of Honor winner, Sgt. Christian Fleetwood. (Greene, p. 66.)

either educated blacks, wives of officers, or teachers brought down from the North. In these improved regimental schools, off-duty soldiers learned the first rudiments of reading and writing. The Army became not only a source of prideful service, but, for many ex-slaves, the first step in preparing for life outside the military.[72]

The blood shed by blacks at Port Hudson, Millikens Bend, and Fort Wagner would help to prepare the way for the full use of black troops in the last year and a half of the war. A war-weary North, where many were leaning toward peace candidates and Copperheads, did not mind if someone else's sons did the dying for a while. The stage was thus set for the black sacrifices of 1864-65.

Fort Pillow (fig. 5) was a lonely Federal outpost in Tennessee, guarding the Mississippi River above Vicksburg. The fort was garrisoned by almost six hundred Union soldiers, half of whom belong to the 6th U. S. Colored Artillery. On April 11, 1864, the outpost was attacked by Confederate cavalry under Gen. Nathan B. Forrest. The Union forces were outnumbered but put up fierce resistance. Finally, the Federals were overwhelmed, and the Confederates swarmed into the fort. The Battle of Fort Pillow was at an

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[72]Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., and Benjamin Quarles, The Black Americans, 3rd ed. (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1976), pp. 236-37.

Fig. 5. Massacre of black troops at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, April 12, 1864. (Wesley and Romero, p. 92.)

end, but the Massacre of Fort Pillow now began.[73] The black artillerymen, hands above their heads in surrender, were systematically executed by rebel cavalrymen.[74] Some troopers who could not swim were pushed into the river and then shot.[75] It was reported that black wounded were slashed to death by Confederate sabers as they lay in hospital beds. The white commanding officer of the garrison was also murdered, as were other whites who had fought alongside the Negroes. One white Union soldier was told by his captors that he would not have come to harm except for the fact he had fought side-by-side "with those damn niggers,"[76] and he was then shot in the head and killed.

Survivors testified before a congressional committee ten days later, and word of the atrocity soon spread throughout the Army.[77] The report of the committee was undoubtedly exaggerated by the heated wartime atmosphere.[78] It is equally clear that, even if only one United States black soldier was murdered after surrendering, it was an atrocity. Modern scholarship has shown that the number

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[73]Cornish, pp. 173-74.

[74]Ibid., p. 175.

[75]McPherson, Marching, pp. 106-109.

[76]McPherson, Negroes Civil War, p. 219.

[77]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 32, Pt. 1, pp. 530-41.

[78]Cornish, p. 173.

murdered was probably forty to fifty. There are reports that Confederate Gen. James Chalmers tried to restrain his men.[79] There are also conflicting reports that Confederate General Forrest encouraged the massacre.[80] The ultimate truth lies buried with the victims, but the immediate effect on the North and on black troops was electric. Black soldiers in nearby Memphis, upon hearing of the disaster, fell to their knees and vowed to take no more Confederate prisoners. General Hinks, who commanded a black division, asked that his troops be issued repeating rifles to lessen their chance of capture. Public opinion in the North was inflamed. A white soldier who was stationed next to a black regiment at Petersburg, Virginia, wrote home that the black soldiers went into battle screaming, "Remember Fort Pillow." When, in the heat of battle, they forgot the place-name of the massacre, they would cry, "Remember what you done to us way down there!"[81]

Beyond vengeance, black troops had a fierce pride in being United States soldiers. During the fighting around

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[79]"Dr. Fitch's Report on the Ft. Pillow Massacre," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 44, No. 1 (Spring 1985): 27-39. An eyewitness report discovered in 1982 supports massacre story but does credit certain Confederates with humane behavior.

[80]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 32, Pt. 1, pp. 578-600. Among the conflicting reports there is evidence that Forrest allowed Union survivors to bury the dead and helped to arrange for the parole of black soldiers.

[81]McPherson, Negroes Civil War, p. 222.

Petersburg, an onlooker observed a wounded black infantryman, carrying his haversack, cartridge box, and musket in spite of his condition, going to the rear for medical help. The observer suggested the injured man discard these, but he refused, saying he "didn't want the fellows at the hospital to think he was a teamster."[82] Spirit such as this was typical of black soldiers in the final year of the war.

On June 16-17, 1864, black soldiers in the division under Gen. Edward W. Hinks captured a section of the Petersburg line and opened the way for the capture of Petersburg itself.[83] Hinks' superior, Gen. William F. Smith, did not follow up the success of his black division. General Smith's failure to take advantage of this break in the Confederate defenses was considered a major calamity for the Union forces. In a report of August 1, 1864, U. S. Grant stated that "So fair an opportunity will probably never occur again for carrying fortifications."[84] The Federal armies were now forced to resort to nearly a year of siege and trench warfare to capture Petersburg.

In an attempt to break the stalemate and capture Petersburg, Lieutenant Colonel Pleasants and his coal

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[82]Bruce Catton, A Stillness at Appomattox (New York: Doubleday, 1955), p. 231.

[83]Shelby Foote, The Civil War: A Narrative, 3 vols. (New York: Random House, 1974): 3:431.

[84]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 40, Pt. 1, p. 134.

miners of the 48th Pennsylvania Regiment implemented an ingenious plan of digging a tunnel from the Union trenches, under no man's land and placing an explosive charge directly under the Confederate lines. The mine was successfully dug, eight thousand pounds of gunpowder were put into place, and forty-three hundred black men of Gen. Edward Ferros' Division were prepared to lead the attack.[85] The black troops would not go in first, since it was felt they lacked sufficient combat experience. This decision proved to be but the first in a series of orders, counterorders, delay, and poor leadership in what would be called the Battle of the Crater. Finally, on July 30, 1864, all was in readiness. The fuse was lit, went out, was lit again, and at 4:44 a.m., the tremendous explosion ripped open the earth.[86] Men, cannons, wagons, horses, and tons of dirt were thrown into the air. The dazed Confederate forces were in no shape to resist a Union attack, but Union leadership seemed paralyzed and unable to press the advantage. The experienced white troops who were to lead the attack upon the shattered section that would come to be known as the Crater had difficulty getting out of their trenches. No one had thought to provide ladders for this purpose. Thus, instead of a

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[85]Cornish, pp. 273-74.

[86]Foote, 3:535.

solid charge, the Union soldiers straggled forward in small groups. The Confederates began to recover as the leaderless Union soldiers poured into the gap. The officers who should have been directing the attack, Gens. Edward Ferrero and James Ledlie had sought safety in a bomb shelter and were taking "stimulants" (i.e., rum) to steady their nerves while their men died.[87] The attack, so mismanaged and leaderless, was doomed to failure, as the Confederates closed in on both sides of the Union soldiers.[88] Instead of sounding retreat, the Union command, from the safety of its bunker, ordered the black division forward. The blacks advanced, avoiding the confused mass of men in the crater, and charged a portion of the Confederate line that was still intact. With bayonets and clubbed muskets, they drove the rebels out and captured a stand of colors. This was to be one of the few victories on that day. Confederate reinforcements soon drove the blacks out of their recently captured trenches. In their retreat, the Negro soldiers fell back on the confused mass of Federals in the crater. The Confederates began to pour artillery and mortar fire point-blank into the dense mass of Union troopers. Rebel infantry closed in on both sides, firing from the rim down on the hopeless

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[87] War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 40, Pt. 1, pp. 118-19.

[88] Cornish, p. 273.

men. The Confederates were screaming, "Take the white man, kill the nigger."[89] In the last desperate moments white soldiers who were fearful of Confederate revenge even began to kill their fellow black Union soldiers.[90]

On that day, 3,700 Union soldiers died.[91] Over a third of that number were black, and all of the blacks died after a retreat should have been ordered.[92] As a result of the Congressional investigations that followed, Generals Burnsides and Ledlie were forced into retirement, scant punishment for almost 4,000 lives. (See fig. 6.)

In the bloody months that followed the Crater, black soldiers distinguished themselves in many other engagements. The Confederate Army was encircled in the Richmond-Petersburg area behind strong defenses. Grant's effort to wear down and finally breach the rebel defenses proved costly to black as well as to white lives. Thousands of black soldiers fell in battles known to us by quaint, rustic names like Deep Bottom, Hatchers Run, Darby Town Road, and Chaffin's Farm.[93] The last-named battle included the

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[89]Catton, p. 251.

[90]Cornish, p. 276.

[91]War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 40, Pt. 3, p. 707.

[92]Ibid., p. 705.

[93]Ibid., Series I, Vol. 51, Pt. 1, pp. 265-69.

Fig. 6. Black troops burying their dead, in front of Petersburg, Virginia, in the last year of the Civil War. (Wesley and Romero, p. 94.)

gallant charge up New Market Heights by black soldiers under Gen. Benjamin Butler. Butler ordered his Negro soldiers to remove the caps from their rifles, in effect unloading them, before the charge. The charge was made with bayonets only, but the heights were taken. A thousand black men fell, and fourteen Congressional Medals of Honor were awarded to black soldiers for their gallant service on that day.[94] Butler thought so much of his black soldiers that, before he left their command, he had special medals struck for them at Tiffany's of New York.

Elsewhere Confederate fortunes of war were on the decline. Lee's army was hard pressed by Grant in Virginia, Atlanta had fallen, and Sherman was planning his "March to the Sea" through Georgia. All hope was lost for the Confederacy in the western theater of war unless a major Confederate victory could be won.

In a last desperate attempt to win that victory, Gen. John B. Hood, commanding general of the Army of Tennessee, led his army on an invasion of Union-held Tennessee. Black Union soldiers were among those who would stop him (fig. 7). General Hood had been driven from Atlanta by Sherman. Now, instead of pursuing Sherman through Georgia, he chose to strike north in Tennessee, hoping to force Sherman's

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[94]McPherson, Marching, p. 112.

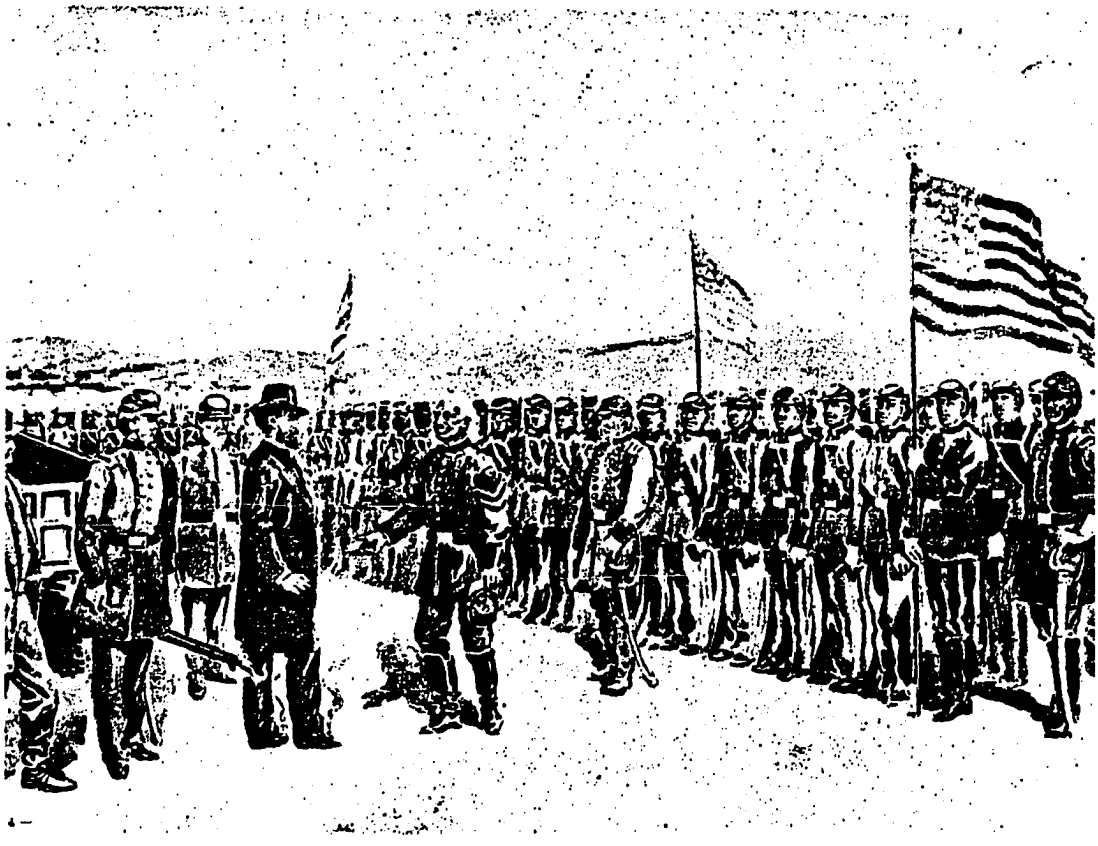

Fig. 7. Review of black troops who participated in the Battle of Nashville, Tennessee, December 15-16, 1864. (Wesley and Romero, p. 95.)

withdrawal from Georgia.[95] It was an ironic situation--the Confederate Army was headed north for Union territory while Sherman, in the opposite direction, was slashing across Georgia. Both armies were virtually unopposed and marching into each other's territory.[96] The difference was, however, that the North could gather other troops to meet Hood's invasion and let Sherman continue his devastation of Georgia, while the South's only hope was Hood's army. Gen. George Thomas, the Rock of Chickamauga, commanded the Union forces defending Nashville.[97] Among Thomas' troops were eight full regiments of black soldiers. Other Union forces slowed the advance of Hood in the skirmish at Spring Hill and the bloody battle of Franklin. One of the Confederate casualties at Franklin was Maj. Gen. Patrick Cleburne, an early advocate of the use of black troops by the South.[98] In spite of his losses, Hood pressed on, and by early December 1864 was facing the Union defenses at Nashville.[99] Many leaders in the North were disturbed by what they felt was excessive caution shown by General Thomas, who insisted

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[95]Foote, 3:607.

[96]Stanley F. Horn, The Army of Tennessee (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 371-76.

[97]McPherson, Marching, pp. 113-15.

[98]Horn, p. 401.

[99]Ibid., p. 409.

that his defenses needed to be built up. Thomas waited patiently while the order actually removing him from command was sent on the eve of the climactic battle. The order was not received until events had proved him right. The Battle of Nashville opened on December 15, 1864, when Thomas, in a diversionary attack, sent forward the black troops from the left wing of his army. Hood concentrated his strength to meet the black advance, and thereby weakened the rest of his line. While the black troops were distracting Hood, other elements of the Union forces attacked on the right and completely broke that sector of the Confederate formation.[100]

The second day of the battle also went well for the Union. During the night, Hood withdrew his forces some two miles. Col. Thomas Morgan's black soldiers pursued the enemy and charged the entrenched Confederate position on Overton's Hill. The blacks' first charge on the hill was beaten back. In that action, a black sergeant carrying the American colors refused to withdraw. He remained in the open under enemy fire and emptied his pistol at the Confederate position. Only when he had exhausted his ammunition did this brave man retire to his own lines.[101] The second charge the blacks made against Overton's Hill

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[100]McPherson, Negroes Civil War, pp. 231-33.

[101]Ibid., p. 233.

succeeded. The blacks rushed forward through a rain of Confederate grapeshot and rifle fire, breached the Confederate lines, and drove out the defenders in fierce hand-to-hand combat. Hood's army fell back in disorder and panic and was never again a threat to the Union. Union General Steedman, who commanded the black wing of Thomas' army, had earlier in the war been completely opposed to the use of freed men in the Army. After commanding them at Nashville, Steedman had nothing but praise for his black troops, and stated, "I was unable to discover that color made any difference in the fighting of my troops."[102]

After the battle, Thomas rode over the field and viewed the bodies of fallen black soldiers in the midst of the enemy's works. He passed the solemn judgement, "Gentlemen, the question is settled; Negroes will fight."[103] President Lincoln sent a message of congratulations to Thomas and his army.[104] With the help of black troops, the major Confederate Army in the West had been shattered.

As the Confederate position worsened, Southern leaders began to take a second look at one of their major potential

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[102] War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 45, Pt. 1, p. 508.

[103] McPherson, Marching, p. 115.

[104] War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 45, Pt. 1, p. 28.

sources of manpower: the slaves. Early in the war, free black men of New Orleans had formed a military unit known as the Native Guards which offered its services to the Confederacy. They were accepted in the Confederate Louisiana militia but never saw action.[105] When New Orleans fell, the Native Guards offered their services to Union General Butler rather than retreat with the Confederate Army. Other free Negroes in 1861 formed themselves into a military company in Richmond and offered their services to the South. They were thanked and sent home. Slaves did serve the Confederate Army as cooks, teamsters, and orderlies, and often went to the front with their masters. There are even reports of Negroes manning a Confederate artillery piece in battle in front of Richmond in 1862.[106] These instances, however, are exceptional. No slave, and very few free blacks, had any interest in defending slavery.[107] Blacks did serve the South, however unwillingly, on the home front while the white Southerners went off to battle. There was, however, no serious consideration of using the Negro as a soldier until near the war's end.

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[105]Quarles, Negro in the Civil War, pp. 35-41.

[106]McPherson, Negroes Civil War, pp. 25-27.

[107]There were a few free Negroes who had attained the distinction of being slaveholders in the pre-Civil War South. These men willingly sided with the Confederacy.

Those few who did advance the idea of using Negro soldiers, like Gen. Patrick Cleburne,[108] were officially silenced by Jefferson Davis.[109] In the last days of the Confederacy, Davis became more willing to consider the use of black troops. In December 1864, Confederate Secretary of War, Judah P. Benjamin, wrote that "the Negro will certainly be made to fight against us if not armed for our defense."[110] Benjamin favored freeing slaves in return for their loyal service to the Confederacy. Robert E. Lee, in a letter written to a Confederate senator in January of 1865, endorsed the policy of arming slaves. Lee reasoned that the Confederates could either use the slave manpower or continue to be defeated by the superior members of the North. Lee concluded, "We should employ them [blacks] without delay."[111] In February of 1865, Jefferson Davis made a speech in which he said that "the slave bears another relationship to the state--that of a person." This is truly a remarkable and contradictory statement for the Chief Executive of a slave nation to make. With the endorsement of Robert E. Lee, the Confederate Congress

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[108]Cleburne, the advocate of using black troops, was actually Irish and not Southern.

[109]McPherson, Negroes Civil War, p. 243.

[110]Ibid.

[111]Ibid., p. 244.

passed the Negro Soldier Act which Davis signed into law on March 13, 1865.[112] It was a last futile act of a falling government. A few black companies were raised in Richmond, and some slave hospital orderlies were actually sent into combat for the Confederacy in March of 1865.[113] Richmond fell, and Lee surrendered in early April before the spectacle of slaves fighting to preserve a slave society could be fully implemented. (See fig. 8).

By early 1865, the Confederacy was dying. After four years of terrible fighting, the rebellion was all but crushed. The whole course of American history was altered in that relatively brief span of years framed between the attack on Fort Sumter and the final stacking of arms at Appomattox. The war had ostensibly begun over political, economic, and social differences between the agrarian South and the industrial North. After the Emancipation Proclamation, it was no longer merely a war to save the Union, but a war to free the Negro race. The war was transformed into a crusade that, by 1865, eliminated the blight of slavery from the land. Black men had shared in the toil and sacrifice of that crusade in their own behalf.

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[112] W. B. Yearns, The Confederate Congress (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960), p. 98.

[113] James H. Brewer, The Confederate Negro Virginia's Craftsman and Military Laborers, 1861-1865 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1969), pp. 102-103.

Fig. 8. Black Confederate troops observed through field glasses in the last days of the war. (Wesley and Romero, p. 174.)

By the war's end, 166 black regiments were serving the Union.[114] A total of approximately 179,000 Negroes had fought in the Union Army and 30,000 in the Navy.[115] Twenty blacks had won the Congressional Medal of Honor. In addition, 250,000 other black people served the national government in the vital capacities of teamster, cook, scout, and spy. The black contribution to Union success was probably decisive.

It had been a long, hard, and bloody road from those early days in 1861 when the Union officially rejected Negro volunteers to the closing weeks of the war. When Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, and Charleston, the seat of the rebellion, were first entered by Union soldiers, blacks were in the vanguard. When Richmond fell, just before the final surrender at Appomattox, the first troops to enter the city were elements of the 29th Connecticut Regiment, the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry, and the 9th U. S. Colored Infantry.

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[114]Cornish, p. 288.

[115]McPherson, Ordeal, pp. 349-355. The usual figure given for blacks in the army is 186,017, but this includes 7,122 white officers. The actual figure in the Army would then be 178,895. There is no general agreement about numbers of blacks serving in the Navy, since the men served in integrated units and their race often went unnoted. Estimates range from several thousand (McPherson) to the standard 30,000 (Fishel and Quarles). One naval exploit, which was later commemorated by a monument, occurred in Charleston, S. C., when the slave-pilot Robert Smalls of a Confederate vessel, the Planter, commandeered the ship and delivered it to the Union fleet in 1862. Smalls went on to serve as a coastal pilot for the Union navy.

The 21st U. S. Colored Infantry was the first to enter Charleston, followed closely by elements of those two proud black units, the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Infantry. Col. Charles B. Cox, commanding the 55th Massachusetts, described its entry into Charleston:

> Words would fail to describe the scene which those who witnessed it will never forget--the welcome given to a regiment of colored troops by their people redeemed from slavery. As shouts, prayers and blessings resounded on every side, all felt that the hardships of the siege were fully repaid. . . . On through the streets of the rebel city passed the column . . . manly voices were singing "John Brown," "Babylon is Falling," and "The Battle Cry of Freedom" while at intervals, the national airs were played by the regimental band. The glory and triumph of this hour may be imagined but can never be described. It was one of those occasions which happen but once in a lifetime, to be lived over in memory forever.[116]

The "glory and triumph" that Colonel Cox described soon faded as black soldiers returned home to second-class citizenship. The gains that they had made on the battlefield had to be reasserted with the ballot box and in the classroom. Some blacks, however, chose to remain in the service of the United States; and they began to establish their fame in the West, battling Indians, Mexicans, outlaws, the elements, and their ever-present enemy, prejudice.

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[116] McPherson, Negroes Civil War, pp. 236-37.

CHAPTER IV

"BUFFALO SOLDIERS": BLACK TROOPS IN THE INDIAN CAMPAIGNS 1865-1891

The title "Buffalo Soldier" was proudly borne by those black army regulars who fought Indians, Mexican bandits, and desperadoes throughout the American West in the last third of the 19th century.[1] The plains, deserts, and mountains from Texas to the Canadian border were the scenes of this great American drama and still provide the material for song, story, and legend in our culture. Gun fighters, cavalrymen, miners, farmers, and Indians all constitute a rich panorama which even now is celebrated in American folk legend. All too often the contributions made by blacks to this epic in our history are forgotten, ignored or purposefully omitted. Blacks were there as cowboys, railroad workers, settlers, and soldiers.

Legend states that Indians first observed black soldiers in the dead of winter riding dark horses and wearing heavy buffalo skin clothing. They immediately dubbed these "black white men" as "Buffalo Soldiers." It was not the

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[1]Robert M. Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), p. 25.

Indians' first contact with blacks, since slaves had been running away for years and seeking a life of freedom among various tribes, but it was the first time native Americans had seen blacks as soldiers of the Federal government.

The name "Buffalo Soldier" also alluded to the Indian perception of the buffalo as rugged, strong, and indomitable. The regimental crest of the black 10th Cavalry was decorated with a buffalo above an Indian shield until well into the 20th century.

The army after the Civil War offered blacks and other minorities an honorable, if dangerous, escape from prejudice and poor treatment. Back home in Alabama, Virginia, or even New York, the individual black may have been a "nigger," "brunette," or "moac," but in the West it was a different story. With his blue uniform, high boots, pistol, repeating rifle, saber, and slouch hat, he was definitely a "Buffalo Soldier." Secretary of War Redfield Procter in 1889 said that the Army offered the white man merely refuge while it offered blacks a career.[2]

The recruitment of black soldiers for the Civil War Union armies stopped in June of 1865. By that date all major Confederate armies had surrendered and the only remaining resistance to Federal authority was a few

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[2]Ibid., p. 26.

scattered guerrilla bands. With the Confederacy defeated and freedom won, black soldiers embarked upon new duties for their country. Many who remained in the army were used as garrison troops to occupy the defeated South. White ex-Confederates found this particularly galling, and there were inevitable clashes between former slave and former master.[3] Since Northern political and military forces controlled the former Confederacy, not only were blacks occupation troops but they were also admitted to state militia units which were used to control and enforce Reconstruction policy.[4]

In addition to occupation duty in the South, at least thirty black Union regiments were transferred to the Texas-Mexican border at the close of the Civil War.[5] During the American Civil War, Mexico had been occupied by the French who, ostensibly, were trying to collect debts owed to them. The French had set up a puppet government and had installed the Austrian Maximilian as Emperor. The United States considered this a clear-cut violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

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[3]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 253.

[4]Henderson H. Donald, The Negro Freedman (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1971), pp. 195-99.

[5]Russell F. Weigley, History of the United States Army (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 262.

With the Civil War concluded, the United States could turn its attention to this threat.[6]

American troops, including many blacks, were massed on the Mexican border. This American threat combined with a native Mexican rebellion helped to convince the French to withdraw. The hapless Maximilian faced a Mexican firing squad, and American soldiers, black and white, were withdrawn from the border.[7]

As the threat of war with France over Mexico faded and occupation troops began to be withdrawn from the South, the most significant service of black soldiers was in the West. During the Civil War approximately 179,000 blacks had served in the Army and 30,000 in the Navy.[8] Now with peace restored, if reconstruction and the Indian campaigns could be called peace, the volunteer black regiments were disbanded. To take their place, Congress authorized in 1866 the raising of two black cavalry regiments, the 9th and 10th, and four black infantry regiments, the 38th through 41st. Three years later the four infantry regiments were

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[6]T. Harry Williams et al., A History of the United States Since 1865, 3rd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 52.

[7]Robert Kelley, The Shaping of the American Past, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982), p. 374.

[8]James M. McPherson, The Negroes Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for Union (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), p. 37.

consolidated into the 24th and 25th Infantries. Altogether some 12,500 blacks would be accepted for the first time into a peacetime army.[9] Their officers would be mainly white, although occasionally they were commanded by such men as Henry O. Flipper, the first black to graduate from West Point.[10] (See fig. 9.)

Their opponents in the post-Civil War Indian conflicts, the mounted Plains Indians, have been described as the finest light cavalry in the world. Their lightning-fast raids forced the two black cavalry regiments to see more action than their infantry counterparts. The native Americans somewhat contemptuously called the infantry "Walks-a-heap" but retained a grudging respect for the cavalry. During the quarter of a century from their organization until the Indian Wars were officially declared over, black soldiers would fight and subdue Apaches, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Sioux. The men of these regiments suffered through blizzards on the Northern Plains and died of thirst in the deserts of the Southwest. Death, boredom, prejudice, and loneliness did not stop the black troopers. They fought Indians, built forts, strung telegraph wires, and opened

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[9]Otto Lindenmeyer, Black and Brave: The Black Soldier in America (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970), pp. 60-61.

[10]Robert Ewell Greene, Black Defenders of America 1775-1973 (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 113-14.

Fig. 9. Lt. Henry O. Flipper, first black to graduate from the United States Military Academy (West Point) in 1877.

new areas to settlement. They imposed law where anarchy had existed.[11]

One may justifiably question the morality of driving the native Americans from their ancient homes, but ethical considerations are rarely the domain of the average soldier. Black men were doing their country's bidding and helping to "win" the West for America.

The United States Army awarded a campaign medal to soldiers who fought in the "Indian" wars.[12] This was strictly defined as service in the West during the period 1865-1891. In fact, American soldiers and settlers had been fighting native Americans since the early settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. Blacks had fought Indians during the Colonial era, the Revolution, the War of 1812 and most dates in between as the frontier was pushed westward. The Indian campaigns of 1865-1891 were simply the final chapter in this expansion. This great push westward from the tiny settlements clinging to the Atlantic coastline involved dispossessing a whole people--the native Americans --from their land. It is always risky business to pass judgement on past events and to impose latter-day values on different times. The typical 19th-century American (or 17th

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[11]Lindenmeyer, pp. 60-61.

[12]U. S. Army Campaign Medals, Chart, U. S. Army Recruiting Office, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

or 18th century) believed that the "redskins" stood in the path of "civilization" and that it was the manifest destiny of Americans to fill out continental boundaries and beyond. The Civil War had slowed but not stopped the nation from that westward expansion, but with the war over and the slaves freed, the path was open for blacks, now American citizens, to join officially in that westward expansion. It had not always been the case. For at least two centuries slaves had been running away from white masters to join the Indians in the Florida everglades, the Oklahoma prairie or the Rocky Mountains to find the dignity and honor of being free men.[13] Ironically, now that blacks were officially free in the eyes of the nation, they helped in the suppression of another race of people, the native American. (See figs. 10 and 11). These concerns troubled only a few in the 19th century. Blacks who joined the Army for service on the frontier received only regular pay and food, and a chance to prove themselves worthy of their country.

Prior to the Mexican War of 1846-1848, the lands west of the "bend of the Missouri" had been unofficially reserved for the Indian tribes.[14] This policy had failed miserably as settlers began pushing west to Texas, Oregon, and

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[13]Lindenmeyer, p. 61.

[14]John D. Hicks, The American Nation, 2nd ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1941), p. 124.

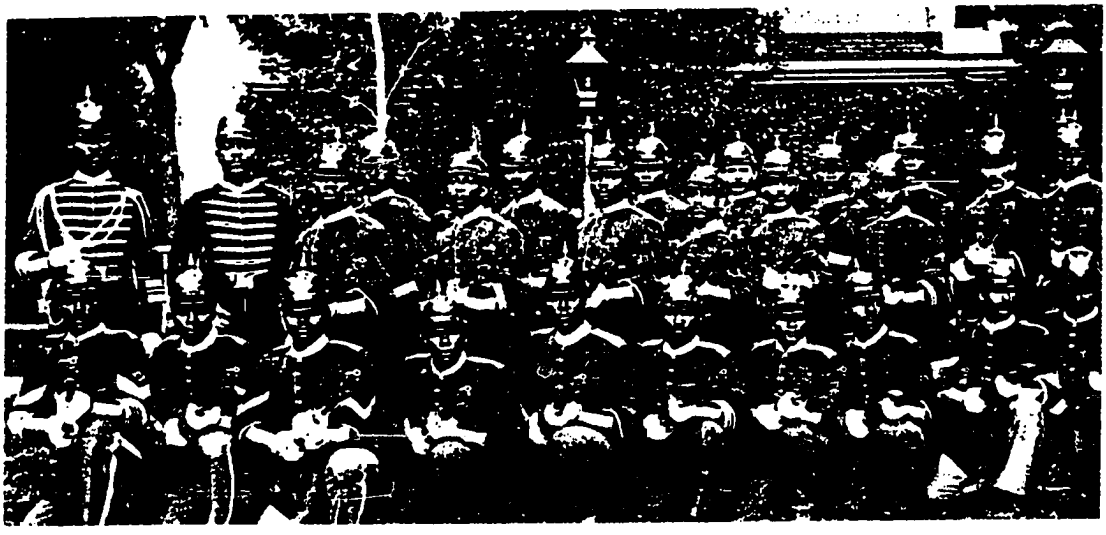

Fig. 10. Black troops of the 25th Infantry Regiment. (Ferris, p. 12.)

Fig. 11. Apache warriors. (Ferris, p. 52.)

California. Thousands of wagons and immigrants began crossing Indian territory, thereby coming into contact, and conflict, with the red man. During the Civil War, the Army garrisons in the West were reduced to fight against the Confederacy. The Indians took advantage of this internecine strife by attacking unprotected settlements and pioneers. The Sioux uprising in Minnesota in 1862 and the Cheyenne depredations on the Plains in 1863-64 were typical.[15] The close of the Civil War plus the discovery of gold and silver in Colorado, copper in Montana, gold in the Dakotas, not to mention the vast wealth to be had in timber, land, and cattle, ensured that America's push westward would be renewed and conflict with "hostiles" would occur.

The Indian wars were actually a series of skirmishes, pursuits, fire fights and maneuvers against many different tribes over millions of square miles of territory. It is impossible to study the "war" within the parameters of opening battle, major campaigns, and final surrender. The field to be covered, like the West itself, is too vast.

There were approximately one thousand separate engagements or battles against hostile Indians in the period

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[15]Robert M. Utley, Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian 1848-1865 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967).

1865-1891.[16] A great many of these were firefights, patrol actions and skirmishes which could not rightly be defined as battles. Only a few of them occurred within the context of a major campaign or war. Given the mobility of the Indians, their guerrilla tactics, and the geography of the region, it is natural that the majority of the fighting fell upon cavalry units, with infantry and artillery taking a second role. This held true for the black 9th and 10th Cavalry and 24th and 25th Infantry. The two cavalry units saw action in the winter campaign of 1868-1869; at Beecher's Island and Beaver Creek; on the Mexican border; and in Victorio's war; in pursuit of Indians into Mexico; in the Ute war; the Red River war; against the Apaches; at Anadarko; at Rattlesnake Springs; and in the final, sad Sioux campaign which culminated in Wounded Knee.[17] In the latter campaign, elements of the famous 7th Cavalry were pinned down by hostile fire at the Drexel Mission Church and had to be rescued by black troopers from the 9th Cavalry. This was one of the last actions against hostile Indians in the 19th century.[18] By contrast, black soldiers of the two infantry regiments

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[16]Robert M. Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian 1866-1891 (New York: Macmillan, 1973), p. 410.

[17]Ibid., passim.

[18]Ibid., pp. 406-409.

served their country, as did their white infantry counterparts, in the less glamorous role of guarding supplies, manning forts and building roads. Black infantrymen are mentioned in only a few campaigns on the Mexican border and in Victorio's war. Elements of the 24th Infantry were detailed to form a gatling gun platoon in 1878 which was used for training purposes.[19] Black infantrymen simply did not have the opportunity to see active service against the Indians to the same extent as did the cavalry.

The 9th and 10th U.S. Cavalry were transferred to the Plains in early 1867. The 10th Cavalry was commanded by Col. Benjamin Grierson (fig. 12), who had won laurels as a Civil War Union Cavalry leader. The 9th Cavalry was commanded by Col. Edward Hatch, also a Civil War veteran.[20] Both these officers, as were the vast majority of all officers of black regiments, were white. The Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 9th Cavalry had been offered to George Armstrong Custer, but he had refused command of black troops. Instead, Custer joined the 7th Cavalry, elements he would lead to doom on the banks of the Little Big Horn.

In 1867, the Central and Southern Plains swarmed with hostile Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes and Cheyennes. On August 2 of that year some black troopers on a scouting

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[19]Ibid., p. 73.

[20]Ibid., p. 27.

Fig. 12. Col. Benjamin H. Grierson, Commander of the 10th Cavalry. (Ferris, p. 328.)

expedition from Fort Hays, Kansas, were attacked by twice their number of Cheyenne warriors. The black soldiers dismounted to fight off the attack, as more and more Indians joined the fray. For six hours the troopers were pinned down by hostile fire under the burning Kansas sun. With ammunition and water running low, they were ordered to mount up and break through the Indian encirclement. Amidst clouds of dust and rearing horses, the black soldiers charged their tormentors and broke free. A fifteen-mile running fight ensued. During this action, black Sgt. William Christy fell, mortally wounded, with a shot through his head. He became the first Buffalo Soldier to fall in combat on the Plains.[21] He was not to be the last.

In October of 1867, a temporary cease-fire with the Indians was agreed upon in the Medicine Lodge treaties. This temporary cease-fire soon broke down in an atmosphere of broken promises and mutual distrust. An Indian Peace Commission, established by Congress in that same year, now decided that the "final solution" to the problem would be the reservation system, whereby the once free-ranging red man would be confined to specific areas and made dependent upon government handouts. While the majority of native

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[21]William H. Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 22.

Americans grudgingly accepted this arrangement, the minority prepared for war.

The winter campaign of 1868 was particularly hard on black soldiers. The all-white 7th Cavalry under George Custer attacked and massacred a village of Cheyennes at the so-called Battle of the Washita. Many of the Cheyenne warriors were absent from the village while Custer shot down women, children, and old people. Black troopers did not take part in this attack. Their role in the campaign was to patrol and maneuver to prevent the escape of the Indians. In the process, they suffered frostbite, their horses froze to death, and they were reduced to a point of starvation. Some black troopers were forced to cover their feet with animal hides as their army boots disintegrated.[22] This type of arduous campaigning would be fairly typical over the next twenty years.

In addition to the hazards of hostile Indians and the savage element, the Buffalo Soldiers had to contend with the racism of white soldiers and the hatred of civilians whom they were protecting. This was particularly true in the former Confederate state of Texas. In January of 1869, a patrol of the 10th Cavalry on reconnaissance along the Big Sandy River got into a sharp fight, not with Indians, but with white United States soldiers. In the ensuing battle,

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[22]Ibid., p. 41.

one black soldier was so seriously wounded that it was necessary for the regimental surgeon to amputate his arm.[23]

In Starr County, Texas, in January of 1875, five members of a 9th Cavalry patrol under a Sergeant Troutman were ambushed by white desperadoes. Two privates were killed outright and two more severely wounded. Sergeant Troutman fought his way out of the ambush and rode for help. The next day he led a reserve party, consisting of Colonel Hatch, commander of the 9th Cavalry, and sixty black troopers, back to the scene of the attack. When the cavalry reached the site of the ambush, they found the horribly mutilated bodies of two black United States soldiers. Hatch was outraged. He had his troopers surround a nearby ranch house and "arrested every suspicious character" he could find.[24] Two of the captured men were still bleeding from gunshot wounds received in the ambush of the black soldiers. In a shack near the scene of the attack, Colonel Hatch's men found the uniforms and equipment of the murdered black troopers. Of the nine men arrested on strong suspicion of having committed the atrocities, eight were immediately set free by white civilian authorities. The one individual who was brought to trial was quickly acquitted by a Texas jury.

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[23]Ibid., pp. 43-44.

[24]Leckie, p. 109.

To add insult to injury, the Texas authorities then arrested Sergeant Troutman for "murdering" one of his attackers and, incredibly, Colonel Hatch, commanding officer of a U. S. Cavalry regiment, was indicted for burglary. The supposed burglary consisted of Hatch's searching the shack in which were found the uniforms of his murdered soldiers![25] Hatch and Troutman both cleared themselves, at their own expense, but the treatment they received illustrates not only the poor relations which existed between blue uniformed occupation troops and unreconstructed Texas rebels but also the added difficulties of those in blue who also happened to be black men.

In spite of this racism, poor rations, and dangerous missions, the morale of the black soldiers remained high. At a time when desertion rates in the Army ran as high as fifty percent each year, black troopers remained steadfast. Their desertion rate was the lowest in the Army. An Inspector General's report of 1870 noted that a company of the 10th Regiment was "one of the finest cavalry companies I have inspected in this department."[26]

Black soldiers of the 24th and 25th Infantry did, on occasion, get the opportunity to see active service. These

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[25]Ibid., p. 109.

[26]Records of the War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Colored Troops Division, 1888, in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., Microfilm T823, p. 469.

two regiments, along with the 9th and 10th Cavalry, were deployed along the Texas-Mexican border in the early 1870s. This area had been in a constant state of anarchy, suffering from the depredations of Mexican bandits, Anglo desperadoes, and Indians. The black soldiers were thinly spread out over the vast West Texas area, but they gave good account of themselves.

Mexico provided a sanctuary from which warring Indian tribes and renegade whites could raid into the United States and then disappear into the mountains of northern Mexico. The Mexican government, in a constant state of anarchy and revolution, was apparently helpless to prevent this. In an attempt to stop this constant harassment, Colonel MacKenzie of the 4th Cavalry was authorized to pursue the enemy across the international boundary. In May of 1875 a surprised raiding party found itself being chased across the border by MacKenzie's 4th Cavalry and the black 24th Infantry. The war party was caught and defeated, with nineteen braves killed, forty women and children captured, and three of their villages wiped out.[27] This retaliation greatly boosted morale among the troops who had been constantly frustrated by the restraints of the Mexican border.

Buffalo Soldiers of the 10th Cavalry were given a less dramatic but equally arduous task in the Indian

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[27]Utley, Frontier Regulars, pp. 346-49.

territory. As an army of occupation, they were to act as a police force and keep peace among the various tribes that had been confined to reservations. As black soldiers cut the timber and quarried the stone to build Fort Sill (present-day Oklahoma), the Kiowas broke reservation and attacked a cattle train. Soon other Indians began stealing horses and mules from Army outposts. For the next few years, the supposedly peaceful "Army of Occupation" was almost constantly in the saddle pursuing renegade Indians, cattle thieves, and criminals. Between September and December of 1873, elements of the 10th Cavalry recovered twelve hundred head of stolen livestock, killed four horse thieves and captured seventeen others, and had a dozen skirmishes with hostile Indian war parties.[28] Such was the peaceful army of occupation duty!

The "peace policy" of President Grant was shattered in the winter of 1873-1874. Grant's policy had failed long before actual conflict broke out. White greed, illegal whiskey sales, and the Indian refusal to be confined to a reservation all led to open warfare.

The Red River War of 1874 raged from Texas to the Central Plains. Hard-pressed black soldiers were in the saddle from dawn to dusk, fending off the attacks of the wide-ranging Indian raiders. In one skirmish, a party

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[28]Ibid., p. 221.

of tough Texas Rangers was ambushed and badly shot up by Comanches. They got away with only their lives when a detachment of Buffalo Soldiers rescued them. In another action, black soldiers battled Indians under Chief Big Red Foot at the Anadarko Indian Agency.[29] The troopers were attempting to drive the hostiles back to the reservation. The battle at the Anadarko Agency was complicated by the fact that not all the Indians in the area were hostile. In the confusion, some hostiles infiltrated the blacks' lines and began firing on the Buffalo Soldiers from the protection of barns and corrals within the Agency proper. Under attack from front and rear, the black soldiers, with great difficulty, succeeded in beating back the attack.[30] Retreating, the Indians set fire to the dry grass around the agency. The black cavalrymen, while continuing the fight, quickly started counter-fires, formed bucket brigades and even used their clothing to beat out the fire.

Through efforts like the bitter fight at the Anadarko Agency, black soldiers helped to win the Red River War and restore peace. The fighting was almost over by the end of 1874, but, in those final days of the campaign, black soldiers were confronted by another deadly enemy, the plains winter. In November 1874, Buffalo Soldiers of the

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[29]Ibid., pp. 222-25.

[30]Leckie, p. 79.

10th Cavalry were driving Cheyennes back to the reservation when a severe winter storm of snow, sleet and hail struck. In spite of the severe conditions, the troopers managed to cover ninety miles in two days, but it appeared for a while that victory would go to the elements. One hundred horses froze to death, twenty-four Negro cavalrymen were disabled by frost-bite, and rations ran low before the column reached the shelter of Fort Sill.[31] Those troopers could look back with pride on their service during an arduous campaign under the severest conditions. They had captured four hundred Indians, recovered several thousand horses and had destroyed dozens of renegade villages.

By the spring of 1875 peace was restored to the Central Plains. The troopers of the 10th Cavalry were transferred to the Texas-Mexican border where, with the all-Negro 9th Cavalry, they struggled to pacify the wild stretch of country along the Rio Grande. Their enemies included not only Indians but Mexican raiders, Comancheros, and desperadoes who had turned the area into perhaps the wildest frontier in our history.[32]

One of the first duties of the Buffalo Soldiers in West Texas was to drive the Indians from the region known as the Staked Plains. This territory, thousands of square miles

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[31]Ibid., pp. 40-44.

[32]Utley, Frontier Regulars, p. 344.

in size, was the last refuge of the Southern Plains Indians. It had never been penetrated by white men, but black soldiers pacified the area and drove out the renegade Cheyennes, thereby opening the way for white settlements. An expedition composed of Negro soldiers of the 10th Cavalry and 24th Infantry entered the region on July 14, 1875.[33] The burning Texas sun and lack of fresh water soon proved to be their deadliest enemies. This arid section of West Texas was only sparsely dotted by wells or springs. Days passed without water. The discovery of water holes that were dried up or water too brackish to drink caused great suffering for the men.[34] In deperation, some were actually reduced to drinking the blood of dead horses.[35] In spite of these terrible conditions, the Buffalo Soldiers succeeded in driving the Indians from the Staked Plains.

Black cavalrymen supported by Negro Infantry of the 24th and 25th Regiments soon saw action south of the Rio Grande. For many years Indians had raided out of Mexico and then sought refuge south of the border. Now the hostiles were pursued into their sanctuary. The soldiers chased one raiding party across the Rio Grande and caught up with it

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[33]Leckie, p. 143.

[34]Ibid., pp. 144-46.

[35]Ibid., p. 160.

near Zaragosa, Mexico.[36] The Indian village was attacked at dawn. After savage hand-to-hand combat, the fight was over in a matter of minutes. Fourteen braves had fallen before the onslaught, and ninety horses were captured. Lt. John Bullis commanded the black soldiers of the 10th Cavalry and Seminole-Negro scouts.[37] The men of this latter group were descendants of slaves who had run away from Southern plantations and joined the Seminole tribe in Florida (fig. 13).

After nearly a year spent campaigning against Indians, Mexicans and the elements, the Buffalo Soldiers returned to their home forts in time for Christmas. Instead of their usual diet of rotten beef and vermin-infested bread, the black troopers were treated to a Christmas dinner worthy of their gallantry. While the regimental band serenaded them, the men of the 10th Cavalry feasted on turkey, buffalo tongue, olives, cheese, biscuits, and sweet cakes, washed down by gallons of coffee.[38] It was a rare day for the 10th Cavalry.

For almost three hundred years, the Apache had held sway in the Southwest. Spaniards and, later, Mexicans had warred with them for over two centuries before the United States took over the territory. When the United States

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[36]Leckie, pp. 150-51.

[37]Utley, Frontier Regulars, p. 352.

[38]Leckie, p. 151.

Fig. 13. Rare photograph of Seminole-Negro scouts of the U.S. Cavalry. (Greene, p. 121.)

acquired the Southwest in the Mexican War, they also acquired the Apache. No intruder was safe on their land. These fierce warriors, who neither asked nor showed any mercy in battle, met their match in the Buffalo Soldier.

By 1873 many Apaches had been forced onto reservations with only small bands continuing to raid from mountain sanctuaries. Even this relative peace was not to last, however. The usual combination of illegal whiskey and gun sales along with the short-sighted policy forcing all Apaches onto the San Carlos reservation soon led to the explosion. The Apaches could not survive in the desolate San Carlos region. They chose rather to fight.[39]

The proud Apache Chief Victorio was among the first to break reservation.[40] Many followed his example, and the Buffalo Soldiers were again on the trail of the elusive hostiles. In the pursuit of Victorio, the Buffalo Soldiers campaigned over several thousand blood-soaked miles, twice drove the enemy into Mexico and succeeded in depriving the hostiles of food, water, or rest. Victorio's band was outmarched and outfought by the brave men of the 9th and the 10th Cavalry.[41] A Mexican army unit finally cornered and

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[39]Ibid., p. 359.

[40]Robert Ewell Greene, Black Defenders of America 1775-1973 (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1974), p. 109.

[41]Ibid., p. 119.

wiped out Victorio and his followers, but it was the Buffalo Soldiers who had driven the dispirited, broken group into the hands of the Mexicans.

Besides countering Apache raids, Buffalo Soldiers also had to deal with the lawless element all over the Southwest. Lincoln County, New Mexico, for example, at that time boasted of having more thieves, crooks and murderers per square foot than any other area in the West. Gunfights, rape, murder and pillage were common, and personal feuds had reached the point of civil war. Open battle raged in this "Lincoln County War" until the tough, black cavalrymen intervened. Peace was restored when the commanding officer forced the issuance of arrest warrants for the chief trouble makers. In serving these warrants, the soldiers became embroiled in a vicious gunfight around a ranchhouse. The defenders were finally subdued and captured when the house was set on fire. A few managed to escape from the Buffalo Soldiers; among them was one killer by the name of William Bonnie, more commonly known as Billy the Kid.[42] The Lincoln County "War" was over.

As if fighting Apaches, gunmen, and vicious criminals were not sufficient for the Buffalo Soldiers, trouble sprang from a new source, the Ute Indians of Colorado. The case was typical of the mistreatment of the Indians by whites.

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[42]Leckie, p. 202.

The Utes, in the mountains of Colorado, had been out of the main stream of the white advance until gold was discovered at Pike's Peak in 1859.[43] White prospectors and settlers flocked into Ute domain. Peace treaties followed in which the Utes were granted all the land west of the continental divide, but soon whites encroached on this territory and drove the Utes back still farther. Indian retaliation was inevitable. Black soldiers were assigned to quell the justifiable wrath of the outraged Indians.

The Utes began by attacking and burning out those settlers who had violated their territory. Troops were requested to protect the settlers. On September 29, 1879, as they crossed the Milk River, infantry of the 4th Regiment and the 3rd Cavalry under Major Thornburgh were ambushed by hostile Utes.[44] The luckless soldiers were midstream when they were caught in a hail of Indian fire. Many died in the bloody water before they could scramble back to their wagons. Their commander, Major Thornburgh, was among the first fatalities. The survivors hastily dug trenches and piled up wagons and dead horses for protection against the withering fire of the Utes. Behind these scanty fortifications, the infantry held off the Ute attackers, but their

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[43]Ralph I. Andrist, The Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indians (New York: Collier Books, 1964), p. 380.

[44]Utley, Indian Frontier, p. 335.

situation was getting desperate. Couriers were sent for reinforcements. Help arrived in the form of thirty-five hard-riding Buffalo Soldiers. The beleaguered white detachment cheered the arrival of the black cavalry, but, even with these extra men, the soldiers were outnumbered by the Utes. The fight continued for a week. The casualties mounted as the soldiers struggled to avoid annihilation. Henry Johnson, a black sergeant, left the relative safety of the crude entrenchments and went to the river to bring back water for the wounded. Enemy bullets splattered all around him as he fought his way to the river and returned with water. For his gallant action, Sergeant Johnson joined the list of blacks who had earned their nation's highest award, the Medal of Honor.[45] Fortunately, Johnson lived to tell his tale, since the garrison was finally relieved by elements of the 5th Cavalry.

When the final, sad campaign against the Sioux came in 1890, black soldiers were there.[46] A ghost dance religion --which preached a return to old ways, the return of the buffalo and the disappearance of the white man--was sweeping the Indian tribes. It was misinterpreted by nervous whites

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[45]Irvin H. Lee, Negro Medal of Honor Men (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1967). p. 66.

[46]Robert M. Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 113-14.

as an uprising, and troops were called upon to round up various Indian groups. One such band of Sioux, under Chief Big Foot, was captured and was on the way to being returned to the reservation when fighting broke out. This band, surrounded by elements of the 7th Cavalry and batteries of rapid-fire Hotchkiss guns, was virtually annihilated on the morning of December 29, 1890, at a place called Wounded Knee.[47] Some said the 7th Cavalry had taken revenge for the Custer defeat.

The day after the massacre at Wounded Knee, black soldiers fought one of the last actions against hostile Indians. Indian survivors of Wounded Knee and other hostiles set fire to some buildings at nearby Drexel Mission Church. Elements of the 7th Cavalry were sent to punish these recalcitrants but soon found themselves under heavy fire from Sioux warriors. Custer's old regiment was pinned down in a valley by Sioux, who were seeking revenge for Wounded Knee. Black troopers of the 9th Cavalry rode to the rescue, driving off the Sioux braves.[48] This was the last official battle of the Indian campaigns for the regular army. State militia units dealt with the Ute uprising in 1915 and as late as January 8, 1918. Black troopers of the 10th Cavalry were fired upon by

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[47]Andrist, pp. 348-50.

[48]Utley, Frontier Regulars, pp. 406-409.

Yaqui Indians along the Mexican border, but for all intents and purposes this sad chapter in American history ended in 1891.

Black soldiers fought Kiowas, Cheyennes, Sioux and Apache and won. From the burning deserts of the Southwest to the frozen wastes of the Northern Plains, black troopers had battled the enemies of the Republic and the bitter adversaries of racism, poor equipment, and lack of recognition. In spite of all, these men never lost their fighting spirit. The title, Buffalo Soldier, was proudly borne.

Today, all over the West, monuments pay silent tribute to those black soldiers who helped to bring civilization to this last frontier. These memorializations are in the form of forts, battlefields, markers, and monuments. In the older sections of the country, similar commemorations mark the sites of earlier black service in the Civil War, War of 1812, and Revolution. These public acts of remembrance are often unknown or forgotten. They exist, however, all over America, in the form of a state park in California, a monument in South Carolina, a battlefield in Rhode Island, or an historical marker in Texas. With the historical summation of black military service completed, the writer will now give the location, identification, and classification of the various memorials that exist to that service.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

The next logical step after deciding upon the monuments to be surveyed and reaching an understanding of their historical context is to locate and identify the memorials in question. According to a National Park Service manual which discusses the National Register of Historic Places, "most historic . . . resources are initially identified through some kind of survey."[1] Gretchen Klimosky in an article describing the National Register process states that identifying a cultural resource and listing it on the National Register is a beginning point for initiating protection measures.[2] Similarly, monuments to black military history are cultural and historic resources which will now be identified and located as an initial step toward their protection, conservation, and appreciation.

In order to locate information concerning black military history and monuments to that history, the initial

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[1]U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, Division of Interagency Resource Management, Manual for State Historic Preservation Review Boards (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1984), p. 11.

[2]Gretchen Klimoski, "The National Register of Historic Places: The Heart of the National Preservation Movement," paper presented to the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, March 1985.

search began with an historiographic review of the literature. The libraries of Georgetown University, the University of Maryland, Middle Tennessee State University, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives were all searched. A great deal of information was uncovered concerning black military history, including a wealth of information in such primary sources as the War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies[3] and microfilm copies of army reports in the National Archives.[4] A rigorous screening by an archivist competent in the area of black history preceded admission to these last-named resources. While this initial search revealed a great deal of existing material on military history and monuments in general, it uncovered very little information on memorials to blacks, and no information on any survey of that subject.

The periodic literature on the subject was searched through the use of the Union List of Serials in Libraries

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[3]War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901).

[4]The army reports referred to are in The Negro in the Military Service of the United States, 1639-1886, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: General Services Administration, 1963), obtained from the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

in the United States and Canada,[5] Humanities Index,[6] International Index to Periodicals,[7] and the America: History and Life: A Guide to Periodical Literature.[8] Specific journals which deal with black history, such as the Journal of Negro History[9] and the Negro History Bulletin[10] were also consulted for articles which may have been published before the indexing of these periodicals in the various abstract series. Finally, a computer search, completed at the MTSU library with America: History and Life: A Guide to Periodical Literature as a database and using such descriptors as monument, memorial, statue, verified previous findings and revealed some additional information concerning specific monuments to black military history. With this information as background, it was deemed necessary to proceed

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[5]Edna Brown Titus, ed., Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada, 3rd ed., 5 vols. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1965).

[6]Humanities Index, 11 vols. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1974-1985),

[7]International Index to Periodicals, 27 vols. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1907-1974).

[8]America: History and Life: A Guide to Periodical Literature, 21 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Clio Press, 1965-1984).

[9]Journal of Negro History, published quarterly by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Washington, D.C.

[10]Negro History Bulletin, published quarterly by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Washington, D.C.

to unusual and innovative methods in order to locate the desired information.

Historians of the black experience, such as Benjamin Quarles, John Hope Franklin, James McPherson, and Ira Berlin were contacted. Their responses are included in appendix A. These individuals encouraged the search for monuments to black military history and offered some specific guidance. This author then contacted black interest organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Johnson Publishing Company (publishers of Jet and Ebony) with the same general results, interest, and encouragement, but no additional information.

The author attended a National Park Service Training session at the Chickamaugua National Battlefield in September of 1984. This conference dealt with the preservation of outdoor sculptured monuments and was directed toward the training of park service personnel in the care, maintenance, and preservation of these works (see appendix B for complete details). While this technical training was useful, the most informative part of the meeting was presentations made by Hugh Miller, chief historical architect of the National Park Service (NPS); Ed Bearss, chief historian (NPS); and Michael Panhorst of the University of Delaware, who is a consultant for the Park Service and is completing his

doctoral dissertation on the subject of Civil War monuments. Through the good offices of this last-named gentleman, the author was introduced to Wayne Craven of the University of Delaware, a noted authority on sculptured monuments, who was kind enough to make available to this writer the resources of the Index of American Sculpture (see appendix C). Cravens' assistance, as well as the information and advice obtained from Bearss, Miller, and Panhorst, was most useful in the realm of monuments and their conservation but revealed little about specific memorials to black military history.

An appeal was published in Historic Preservation[11] in June of 1984 to locate other possible sources of information by requesting those interested in monuments and their conservation to contact Michael Richman of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The author of this work made and has maintained contact with Richman concerning the proposed National Trust survey of all monuments in the United States. Richman has offered support and encouragement throughout this study.

At the suggestion of James K. Huhta, Director of the Historic Preservation Program, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, the author contacted

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[11]Historic Preservation, published by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Department of Development and Communications, Washington, D.C.

the National Headquarters of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) concerning a rumored monument to the blacks who served in the American Revolution. The DAR was not erecting such a monument, but directed the author to the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation which is attempting to erect a monument (appendix D). This last-named organization accepted an offer of assistance and asked the author to represent Tennessee on the committee.

The preceding efforts had been educational and had ascertained some information concerning monuments to blacks, but the results had been fragmentary. A nationwide search was required to cover the subject thoroughly. A letter was sent in January of 1985 to the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) of every state in the continental United States and the District of Columbia, requesting information on the subject of black military history and monuments within their jurisdictions, with monuments being defined in the broadest sense of the word (see appendix E). Initially, thirty-three states responded. After allowances were made for inquiries being returned or possibly lost, a similar letter was sent in March of 1985 to those SHPOs which had not responded. Eventually, forty-three of forty-nine units (87 percent) replied to the inquiry. Of those responding, twenty-five, or 50 percent of the states in the Union, noted some form of memorialization to black

soldiers (see appendix F), for complete list of responses). In many cases the SHPO referred the inquiry to a State Historical Society, State highway markers program, state library, or interested local historian. As soon as referrals were received, some in February of 1985, this author began correspondence with the appropriate agency or individual. In some cases (Maryland, Kentucky, Virginia, Alabama, Arizona), the inquiry was forwarded or referred to as many as six different organizations or individuals (see Kentucky file in appendix G). In other instances (Minnesota, Texas), a negative response was contradicted by known information from the academic research. Invariably, the responding individuals were courteous, helpful, and interested. In states where no monuments were known to exist (Wyoming, South Dakota, Washington), the responding agencies acknowledged the role of blacks in their state military history and expressed regrets that no memorials were existent. In one state, New Jersey, a survey was conducted by the State Historical Commission. This survey project, entitled "New Jersey Black Historic Places Survey," uncovered no memorials to blacks, but it is noteworthy that the effort was made (see appendix H). In a few states (Tennessee, Indiana), no official agency was able to supply the requested information, but the request was referred to state local historians who were able to supply data.

The search was considered exhaustive, since it included virtually all resources available through traditional historiographic methods plus a search involving agencies, groups, and individuals who would logically have information concerning black military monuments. This is not to say that no monument, memorial, or plaque was overlooked, since an attempt was made to find specific previously unknown information within the entire broad spectrum of American history, but it is felt that the study was a competent first step toward identifying a cultural resource.

Monuments, memorials, plaques, historic sites, museums, or any other man-made or designated artifacts of material or national culture which commemorate black military service will now be identified. It is impossible to consider all those sites where blacks could be commemorated since they involve virtually every battle, campaign, or war in American history. It will be noted, however, when commemoration already exists but is not properly marked, interpreted, or known to the public. Thus, almost any battle in the American Revolution could bear witness to black service if properly marked, but only a few are so interpreted. The site of the Battle of Rhode Island clearly commemorates black service; the form nominating the site states the intention to memorialize black service, so it is in fact a public act in remembrance of that service. The bas-relief at Fort

Griswold, Connecticut, which marks the spot where British Major William Montgomery was killed is only indirectly a memorial to black service. The black soldier depicted in the memorial is not named or identified, and only with knowledge of the historical context can it be understood that here, too, an American soldier died who happened to be black. This memorial is less clearly a public act of commemoration of black service. In a similar view, there are scores if not hundreds of Civil War sites where blacks fought which are not commemorated. Since most of the fighting was in the South, this is perhaps understandable. In some areas there is a clear and recent effort to memorialize black service such as the monument to Robert Smalls in Charleston, South Carolina, or to James H. Harris in Raleigh, North Carolina. These are clearly public acts in memory of blacks in the Civil War. A marker in Tennessee which describes Union successes at the Battle of Nashville but does not mention that the victorious troops were black is not a public commemoration and can be understood only in its historical context.

The Indian campaigns present a similar dichotomy between public acts of commemoration and existent artifacts which pay silent tribute to black service but are not marked, identified, or interpreted to call public attention to that service. Fort Huachuca in Arizona is

clearly a public memorial since its museum emphasizes the role that black troopers played in the history of the fort. A monument at the site of the Battle of Milk Creek in Colorado is not such a public act, since it makes no mention of the thirty-five black soldiers who fought there or that one of them won the Congressional Medal of Honor for his bravery in that action. Understanding the historical context in which these actions took place, as presented in chapters 2 through 4 of this work, is a first step in correcting the obvious deficiencies in some of these memorials.

With that historical context, it is now possible to present the findings of the identification/location survey of memorials to black military service. Those findings will be presented in the chronological order in which they occurred from the Revolution to the close of the Indian campaigns. It will also be noted whether those memorials are clearly public acts of remembrance or if they are simply material evidence of black service which has not been publicly commemorated.

Revolutionary Memorials

Massachusetts leads the nation in commemoration of her black native sons who served the nation during the Revolution as well as in later wars.[12] The Museum of

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[12]Museum of Afro-American History, "Black Heritage Trail," pamphlet (Roxbury, Mass.: Museum of Afro-American

Afro-American History in Boston sponsors a guided tour of sites and homes in the Boston area, some of which are associated with blacks in the Revolution. This "Black Heritage Trail" includes on its tour the home of George Middleton, who was a Revolutionary War veteran and the Abiel Smith School, which was originally founded when a black veteran of the Revolution, Prince Hall, petitioned the Massachusetts legislature for black access to the public school.

These buildings are clearly dedicated to blacks who served in the Revolution. In addition to these historic sites, there exists in Boston a monument commemorating the "Boston Massacre" which many consider to be the first action of the American Revolution.

On the night of March 5, 1770, British troops fired upon and killed some Americans who were taunting them. Beyond that point, little general agreement exists about the "massacre." It appears now that the incident was largely manipulated by the radical Samuel Adams for the purpose of inciting the colonials against the British. Colonials killed in the attack were characterized as martyrs in the cause of freedom; but the British soldiers brought to trial were defended by John Adams and escaped

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History, n.d.). Available from the Museum, Box 5, Roxbury, Mass. 02119. (See appendix I for Massachusetts correspondence).

with only token punishments. There is not even agreement as to the color of one of the "martyrs," Crispus Attucks, who has been traditionally called black but may in fact have been Indian or mulatto.

Controversy came to a head more than a century after the fact when the Massachusetts legislature in 1887 authorized a monument to be built to the martyred American patriots. The older, conservative, social leaders of Boston, with names like Winthrop, Saltonstall, and Adams, protested loudly that the slain patriots were actually ruffians and hoodlums. The ensuing debate revealed deep ethnic, racial, and social divisions. One of the dead at the massacre had been an Irishman and one supposedly a Negro, both members of groups not accepted by "proper" Boston society.

After much rancor and debate, the monument was finally constructed and dedicated on 14 November 1888.[13] (See figs. 14 and 15). The bas-relief engraving of the massacre scene portrays a black man among the patriots. Whatever the truth of the incident, in the popular mind the "Boston Massacre" drew the first bloodshed in the struggle for liberty, and a black man participated. The monument is clearly a public act of remembrance.

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[13] "The Crispus Attucks Monument Controversy of 1887," Negro History Bulletin 40:1 (January-February 1977).

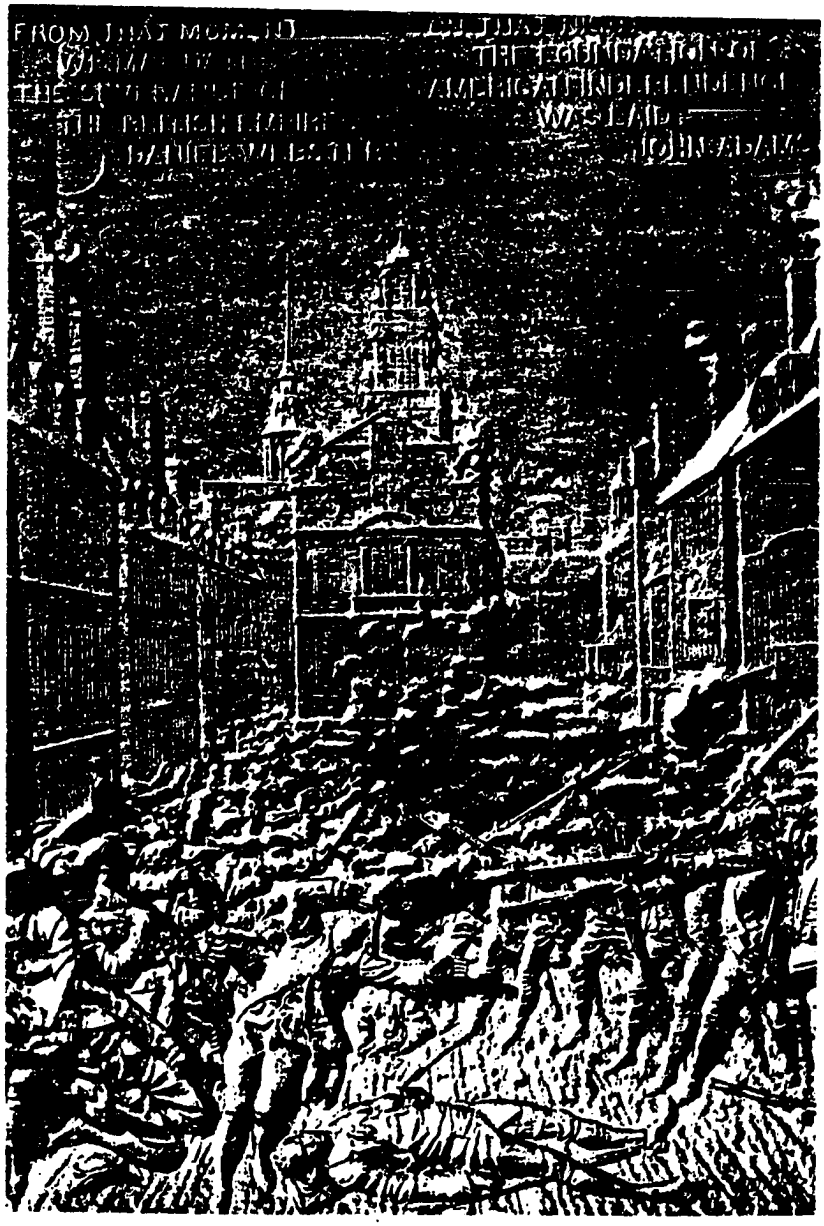

Fig. 14. Bas-relief detail of Boston Massacre Monument with portrayal of Crispus Attucks, who is lying dead in the foreground. (Boston City Council, p. 34.)

Fig. 15. Figure of "Liberty" breaking the chains of British oppression, from the top of the Boston Massacre Monument. (Boston City Council, p. 25.)

Rhode Island, in memory of its many black citizens who fought in the American Revolution, has nominated the site of the Battle of Rhode Island which occurred at Portsmouth to the Natinal Register of Historic Places and that nomination has been accepted by the National Park Service.[14] (See appendix J.) Prior to this national recognition, the NAACP had erected a flagpole and the marker on the site to memorialize black participation in the battle. The National Register Nominating Form notes that this commemoration is "largely ignored," and the proper marking of the site is encouraged. The form also lists Afro-American History as an area of significance and in the detailed statement of significance outlines the services of black troops in that battle:

> The Battle of Rhode Island is unique in the history of the Revolutionary War. This battle was the only engagement fought during the war in which black Americans participated as a distinct racial group. The unit was the First Rhode Island Regiment, an all black unit raised and trained in Rhode Island in the early months of 1778. Since December of 1776 the British had been occupying Newport, depriving Rhode Island of its largest and richest city and seriously curtailing the state's active sea trade. To combat the enemy threat in their midst Rhode Island had to keep five full regiments in the field. Therefore, by 1778 Rhode Island with a white population of only 54,535 was finding it increasingly difficult to meet her quotas for the continental line. It was only a

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[14]U. S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Register of Historic Places (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 668. (Hereafter referred to as National Register.)

matter of time before the state turned to her black population of 3,761 to meet the manpower requirement.

During the February 1778 session of the Rhode Island General Assembly a law was passed to allow "every able bodied negro, mulatto or Indian man slave," to enlisted in the Rhode Island line for the duration of the war. The new enlistee would receive "all bounties, wages, and encourages," as any other soldier, and after passing muster he would be "absolutely FREE, as though he had never been encumbered with any kind of servitude or slavery."

At the end of July 1778, after less than three months training, the Black Regiment joined Major-General John Sullivan's army in Providence. Sullivan hoped that with the cooperation of the French fleet his growing army could capture the British garrison of 6,000 in Newport. On August 6th, the American Army of 10,000 men, the vast majority of which were untrained militia, began the march to Newport.

The Battle of Rhode Island was fought on August 29, 1778. On the night of August 28th Sullivan's army was forced to abandon its seige of British occupied Newport. It had lost the vital support of the French fleet, which after suffering severe storm damage, sailed to Boston to refit. Realizing their danger in the event of the arrival of an expected British relief fleet, Sullivan began a general retreat to the north end of the island so that he would not be trapped.

The American army were ordered in three lines, the first in the area of Lehigh Hill, the second behind Butts Hill, and the third a half mile beyond. In pursuit, the British army advanced northward encountering minor patriot resistance until they arrived on Qucker [sic], Turkey and Almy Hills. Between these hills and Lehigh Hill extended a mile wide valley which was to serve as the battlefield.

General Pigot, the British commander, having been previously unsuccessful in his attack on the American left flank, turned his attention on the American right. From ten in the morning until four in the afternoon on August 29 the British made three assaults on this flank. Each time they were checked by the American defenders of the right flank of which the First Rhode Island Regiment was a part. At the time of the battle the regiment consisted of 138 black Americans who

competently defended a key redoubt. The third and heaviest assault marked the high point of the battle and only the arrival of reinforcements from the rear enabled Greene to blunt this final assault. Now exhausted, both sides contented themselves with cannonading enemy works until dusk. With the arrival of the following day came news of a British fleet standing off Block Island. This necessitated an immediate retreat by the American army. At dark General Sullivan led his forces to the mainland without hindrance and thereby ended the Battle of Rhode Island.

American losses in the engagement were thirty killed, 137 wounded, and 44 missing. The ratio of casualties to numbers involved for both sides was less than five percent, not a very great percentage for a battle of this size. The First Rhode Island Regiment's casualties were one killed and no more than ten wounded; the ratio of casualties to numbers involved was seven percent, slightly more than the army as a whole. It must be noted that the casualties the Black Regiment suffered are low considering their strategic role in the battle. Stationed in and around the redoubt, the Black Regiment was in an excellent defensive position, able to inflict heavy losses while keeping their own to a relative minimum.

After the Battle of Rhode Island the regiment was stationed in East Greenwich, Rhode Island, for a little over a year protecting the west coast of Narragansett Bay as they had donein the months before the battle. Then after the British evacuated Newport the Black Regiment occupied quarters in that city. Here the First Rhode Island Regiment ceased to be composed entirely of black Americans. With the repeal on June 10, 1778, of the law allowing blacks to enlist in Colonel Greene's Regiment the losses to the Regiment through combat and normal attrition could not be made up, and their numbers began to dwindle. The unit was combined with Rhode Island's other continental regiment in January 1780 to make one full strength regiment under the command of Christopher Greene.

In the spring of 1781 after almost three years in continental service, the First Rhode Island Regiment left the state of Rhode Island for the first time. They joined Washington's army in New York and while stationed at Points Bridge on the Groton River a body of two hundred and sixty British cavalry made a surprise night attack on the First Rhode Island Regiment.

In the attack Colonel Greene was killed and forty men from the regiment were killed or captured. From New York the regiment marched with Washington and Rochambeau in their descent on Cornwallis at Yorktown and took an active part in the siege.

In the early winter of 1782-1783 Colonel Olney and his regiment went into winter quarters at Saratoga, New York. While at Saratoga all the black members of the regiment were detached to take part in a special expedition against the British at Fort Oswego. After missing the fort in the dark and the snow they became lost in a large beaver swamp where many froze and those lucky enough to survive limped back to camp crippled for life. This is the only instance so far found of discrimination against the blacks of the regiment, either before or after their incorporation with white troops. On June 13, 1783, the First Rhode Island Regiment was disbanded at Saratoga, New York, without pay and left to straggle home the best they could.

The Battle of Rhode Island was the only battle in which the First Rhode Island Regiment fought as an all black unit. Although the regiment was small in number in comparison to the entire American Army, these 138 black Americans book an active part in the battle. The Black Regiment was by chance positioned on the American right flank, where the heaviest fighting of the battle occurred. Without question they proved themselves a cohesive and effective fighting unit of loyal soldiers.

Unfortunately, accounts of the Battle of Rhode Island did not encourage the formation of similar black units in Rhode Island or the other northern states. In Rhode Island the law against enlisting blacks was never repealed for the slave holding members of the General Assembly were in the majority and the critical situation of early 1778 was alleviated by the Battle of Rhode Island. As the war moved south the states above the Potomac no longer felt threatened to take the radical step of raising all black units.

The First Rhode Island Regiment stands alone in the history of the Revolution as an example of what might have been if black Americans were allowed to fight for their country and in so doing free all men. (See Appendix I, National Register Nomination Form.)

This nomination to the National Register of a site where black soldiers predominated is clearly an act of public remembrance and marks the only Revolutionary War Battlefield that is primarily dedicated to black soldiers (fig. 16).

Another monument to black military history from the Revolutionary War era is located at Old Fort Griswold, New London, Connecticut, and commemorates an incident in the battle of Groton Heights. The incident, depicted in à bas-relief tablet, portrays a British attack on the fort and shows the figure of a black American soldier about to launch a pike at a British officer. The black soldier was Jordan Freeman. The tablet is inscribed "The Death of Major William Montgomery While Leading the British Attack on the Fort at This Point, Sept. 6, 1781."[15] (See fig. 17.) It is not mentioned that Jordan Freeman was killed a few moments later or that he was only one of several black patriots that served the American cause on that day. This, then, is a monument to the service of blacks in this battle, but it is not a clear public act and remembrance of black service is incidental.[16]

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[15]Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), frontispiece.

[16]Letter from David O. White, Museum Director, Museum of Connecticut History, Hartford, Connecticut 06115, dated

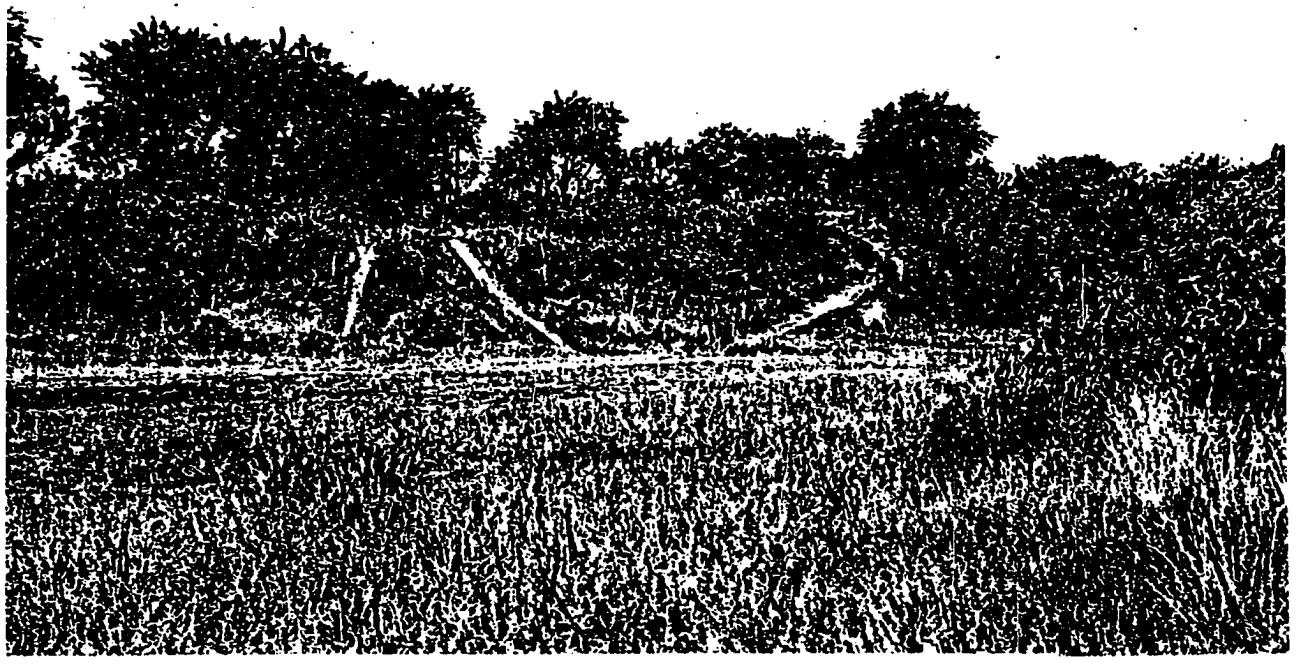

Fig. 16. Site of Battle of Rhode Island. (Photo courtesy of State Historic Preservation Office, Providence, R.I.)

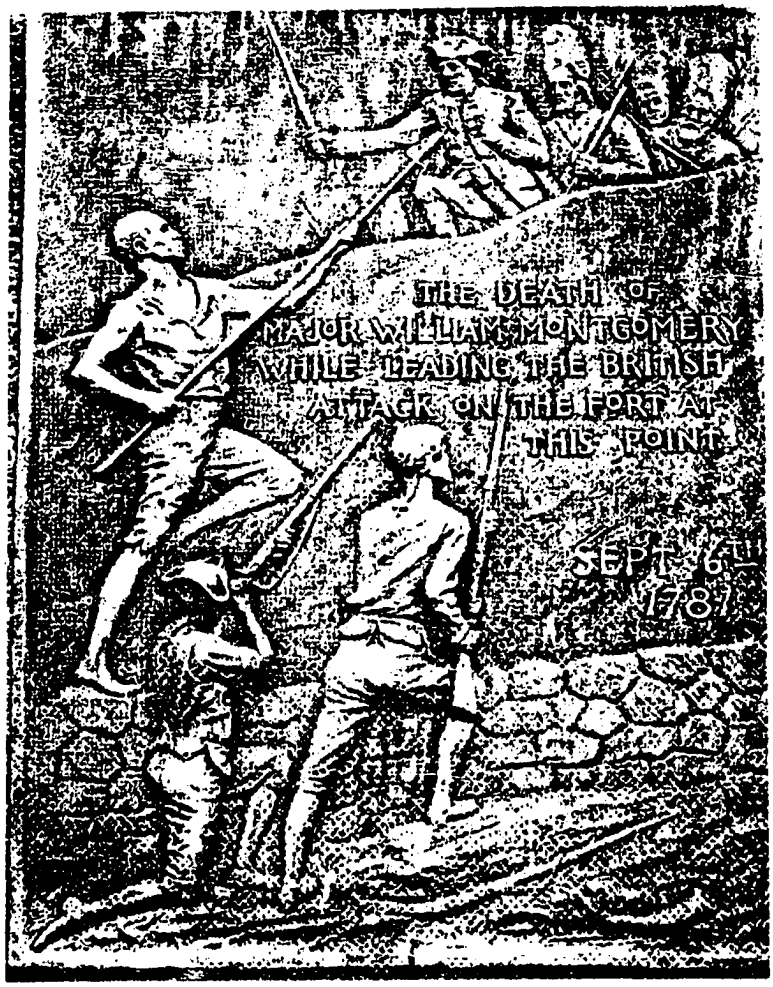

Fig. 17. Bas-relief tablet marking the spot at Fort Griswold, Connecticut, where black patriot Jordan Freeman killed British Maj. William Montgomery. (Quarles, Negro in the American Revolution, frontispiece.)

The city of Raleigh, North Carolina, maintains a park named in honor of a black patriot of the American Revolution. An historic marker in that city located at the corner of South East and Worth streets reads: "John Chavis, early 19th century free Negro preacher and teacher of both races in North Carolina." The memorial park is 200 yards east. In addition to his service in the Revolution, Chavis was an educator of both black and white children. In 1832 he wrote "Tell them that if I am Black I am free born American & a revolutionary soldier & therefore ought not to be thrown intirely [sic] out of the scale of notice."[17] While the city of Raleigh has memorialized John Chavis as a preacher and teacher by this marker and park, it is only through historical context that it is known he was also a Revolutionary soldier.

Many more memorials and monuments could exist to black Revolutionary War service if that service were well known and if popular interest supported such memorialization. However, after the Revolution, military service in the militia was closed to blacks by a law of 1792 and a War

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21 May 1985, indicates that the memorial in question was placed to commemorate the event, but "it seems proper to also consider it a tribute to Freeman."

[17]Letter received from Flora J. Hatley, History Coordinator, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh, N.C., dated 7 March 1985, gives this information from the Historical Highway Marker Program, State of North Carolina (see appendix K.)

Department Order of 1820 stopped the recruitment of blacks for the regular army. Blacks did serve valiantly in the War of 1812 (see chapter 2), but to date no memorials to that service have been discovered. The next significant memorial chronologically is located in Florida from the Seminole War era of 1836.

Florida experienced considerable military activity during the Spanish colonial period; but this period lies beyond the scope of this study. After Florida became a United States territory, but before statehood, its wild, unsettled region provided a refuge for runaway slaves from the bordering states of Georgia and Alabama. So many ex-slaves joined the Indians in this region that the campaigns against the Seminoles are sometimes referred to as the "Negro wars." A slave/Seminole stronghold destroyed by American forces is known as "Negro Fort." The exposed remains of this outpost may be seen today at the Fort Gadsden state historic site.[18] If properly interpreted, this may be viewed as a memorial to American blacks but since they were fighting against the United States, the fort is not primarily a public act of commemoration. However, since monuments exist from the Civil War era which are dedicated to Confederates, it also seems appropriate that this monument be dedicated to another

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[18]Letter from John Scafidi, State Archivist and Chief, Bureau of Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida, 1 April 1985.

"civil war" in which black and red Americans fought against the central government.

The next epic in which blacks participated and to which monuments exist is the American Civil War. Although the war technically brought freedom to blacks, their status after the war was very much that of second-class citizen. Thus, during the very age when memorials were being raised to the war, blacks did not have fair input into the political, social, and economic forces which raised those monuments. Secondly, a defeated South, with its commemoration of its "lost cause," would hardly raise monuments to those black Union soldiers who contributed to that loss. It has been only in modern times with changes in black social, political, and economic power that some Southern states have begun to recognize black participation in the war. In spite of these qualifications, there still exists considerable memorialization of black service in the American Civil War.

Civil War Memorials

In the area of Civil War commemoration, Massachusetts again seems to lead the nation in remembering the services of black Americans. The "Black Heritage Trail," already mentioned in regard to the Revolution, includes several sites directly memorializing black military history of the Civil War era. The Abiel Smith School, which a black

Revolutionary veteran helped to found, was later used as a meeting place for black veterans of the Civil War. The John J. Smith house commemorates a black abolitionist who served as a recruiting officer for the all-black 5th Cavalry during the Civil War. Another house on the tour was the home of black abolitionist Lewis Hayden, who served during the Civil War as a recruiting agent for Massachusetts' famous black 54th Infantry Regiment. A monument to that regiment and its colonel, Robert Gould Shaw, is located on Boston Commons. (See figs. 18 and 19.) The monument by Augustus Saint-Gaudens was dedicated on May 31, 1897. The bas-relief depicting Shaw and his regiment is done in a setting designed by the famous architectural firm of McKim, Mead, and White.[19] Both the historic sites and the monuments are public acts by which the people and state of Massachusetts have remembered the services of black Americans in the Civil War.

The Maryland State Historic Preservation Office referred the inquiry of the author of this paper to the Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture. Jeanette Fox-Fausz of that commission was most diligent in her search to locate memorials to black military history. Her initial response stated she would conduct her research and then make

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[19]Museum of Afro-American History.

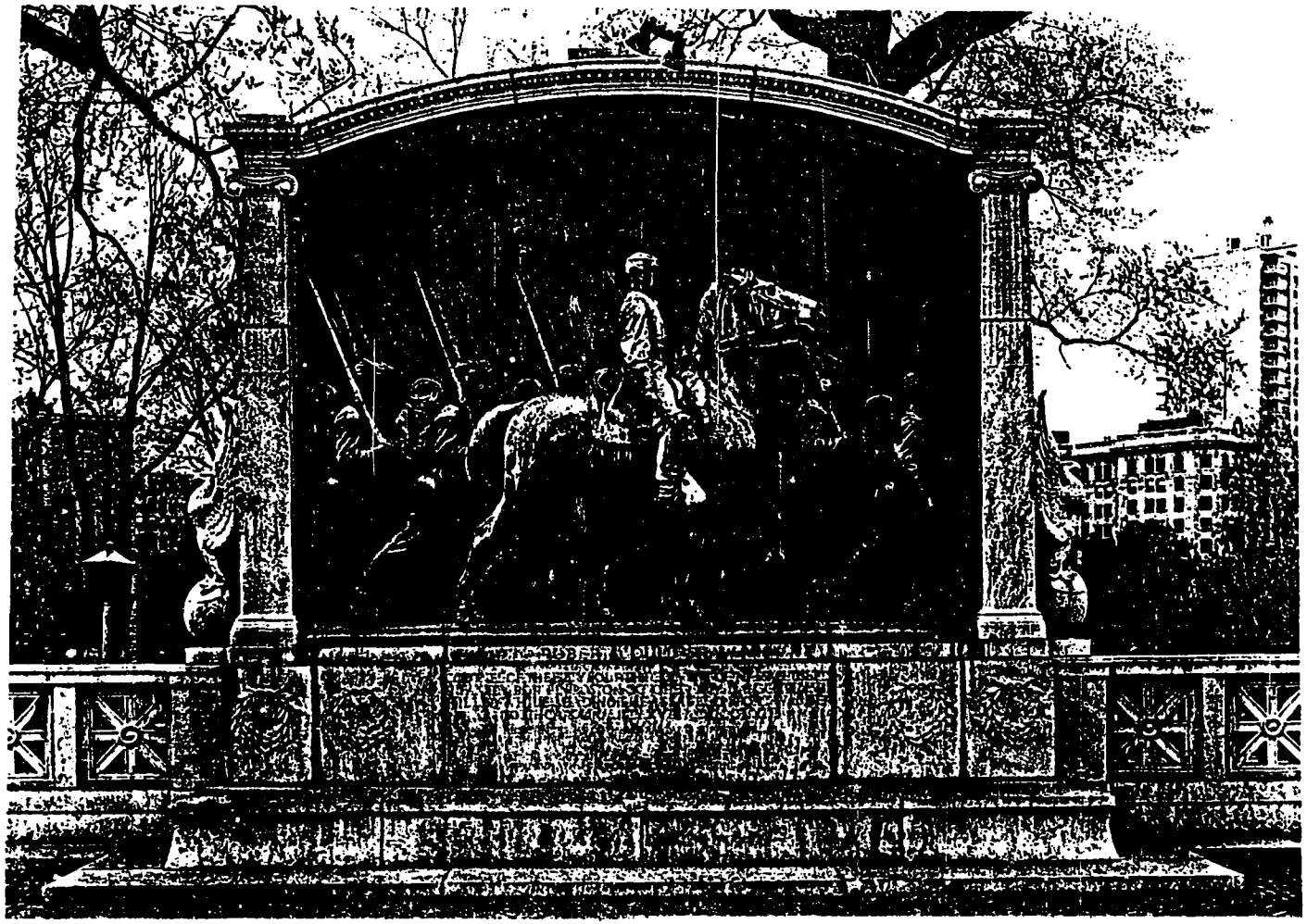

Fig. 18. Monument in Boston dedicated to Robert Gould Shaw and the black 54th Massachusetts Infantry. (Photo by Richard Benson in Kirstein and Benson, n.p.)

Fig. 19. Detail of Shaw monument, portraying black soldier. (Kirstein and Benson, n.p.)

the results known to the author. Part of her findings reflect conscious public acts to commemorate black military history, and others only incidentally remember that service (appendix L).

Fox-Fausz identified a bronze statue located in Defenders Square in Baltimore, which depicts a black soldier and is "dedicated to the memory of the Negro Heroes of the United States."[20] This sculptured monument was created by James Lewis, was erected in 1971, and probably reflects changing attitudes toward black history. While the monument is dedicated to black service in all wars, it is, in part, a public act commemorating black service in the Civil War.

Black abolitionist Frederick Douglass is commemorated by a statue on the campus of predominantly black Morgan State University in Baltimore, and two historic markers designate his birth and early life in Dorchester County. These memorials are public acts in memory of a man whose fame partially rests on Civil War exploits as a recruiter of black troops and whose sons served in the Union army.

Finally, an historical marker designates the site of the Kennedy farm in rural Frederick County near Sandy Hook, in Western Maryland from which John Brown launched his raid

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[20]Letter from Jeanette Fox-Fausz, Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture, Annapolis, Maryland, dated 11 April 1985 (see appendix L).

on Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia) in 1859. Many of Brown's armed followers were black and the primary object of their raid was to "liberate" slaves in Virginia. This Maryland location, therefore, relates directly to black military history of the Civil War era, although black participation is incidental and not primarily commemorated.

A short distance from the Kennedy farm and the Maryland historical marker is a West Virginia state historic marker at Harpers Ferry. This historic marker at Washington and Jackson streets designates the site of John Brown's Fort. In the battle at this fort, an old fire engine house, the first of Brown's raiders to be killed was a black man.[21] (See appendix M).

The state of North Carolina has commemorated the Union service of one of its black citizens, James H. Harris (1832-1891), who became prominent in North Carolina Reconstruction politics. His marker, erected April 10, 1975, reads: "Union colonel; legislator; member of 1868 convention; a founder of Union League & Republican Party in N.C."[22] The marker is located at the intersection of Davis and Person

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[21]Letter from Harold Newman, Department of Culture and History, State of West Virginia, Charleston, W.Va., 4 June 1985, identifies marker but does not indicate that this is a public act to commemorate a black man as much as to mark the site of John Brown's Fort.

[22]Telephone interview with Mrs. Jan Burris, Researcher, Division of Archives and History, State of North Carolina, Raleigh, N.C., 9 October 1985.

streets in Raleigh, Wake County. The home stands one block west. Harris was commissioned by Indiana to raise the 28th Regiment of U.S. Colored Troops (1863) and to recruit volunteers (1864) for the Civil War.[23] He returned to North Carolina after the Civil War and became a prominent citizen and statesman. Clearly, when the former Confederate State of North Carolina erects a marker noting the Union wartime service of a black citizen, this is a public act of commemoration.

The South Carolina Department of Archives and History made note of several markers and one building dedicated to the service of black South Carolinians in World War I. It is significant and praiseworthy that South Carolina dedicated these memorials. More relevant to this study, however, is the fact that in 1980 the city of Beaufort erected a marker and sculptured bust to Robert Smalls, whose career included Civil War Union naval service. The marker is inscribed as follows:

> ROBERT SMALLS. Born a slave in Beaufort in 1839, Robert Smalls lived to serve as a Congressman of the United States. In 1862 he commandeered and delivered to Union forces the Confederate gunboat "Planter," on which he was a crewman. His career as a freedman included service as a delegate to the 1868 and 1895 State Constitutional Conventions, election to the S.C. House and Senate, and 9 years

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[23]Only a few blacks attained officer rank, colonel being the highest by a Negro officer.

in Congress. He died in 1915 and is buried here.
Erected by Beaufort County Council, 1980.
(See appendix N for South Carolina file.)

This is a public act of the city of Beaufort to commemorate a black achievement during the Civil War. (See figs. 20 and 21). The form describing the monument was prepared by Norman McCorkle, representing Charles E. Lee, Director of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, and was approved by that agency. Thus the state of South Carolina approved the monument. The date of that approval, 1980, is noteworthy, and reflects changing attitudes and political realities in the South. A generation earlier no monument to blacks would have been approved, but by 1980 both the city of Beaufort and the state of South Carolina were willing and able to support such a monument (see appendix N).

Civil War monuments exist in Kentucky and that state illustrates one of the problems in collecting information concerning black history and memorials. In securing data for this study, the author met with excellent cooperation from agencies contacted, including referral to many other agencies, museums, and individuals. The Kentucky Military History Museum was aware of a Civil War cemetery monument to black Kentucky soldiers in Frankfort. The museum maintains an exhibit entitled "Slave to Soldier" which portrays the role of Kentucky black soldiers in the Civil War.

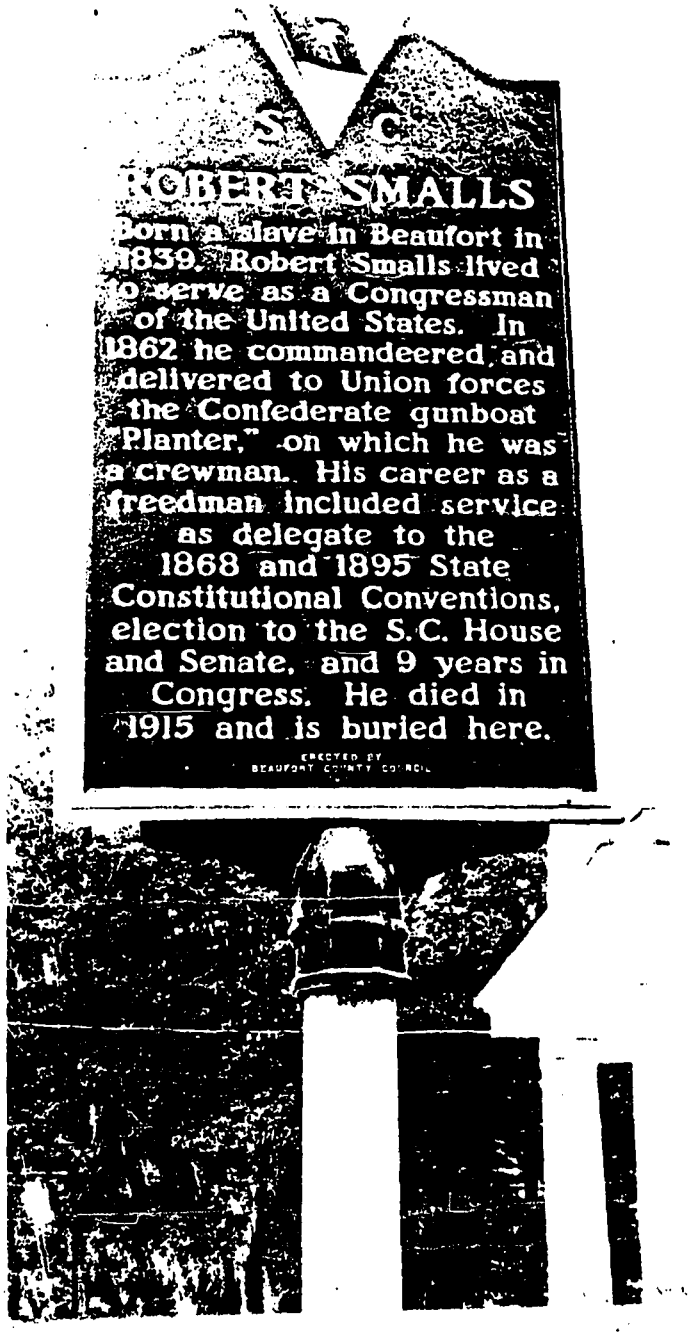

Fig. 20. Historic marker dedicated to Robert Smalls, Beaufort, S.C. (Courtesy of State Historic Preservation Office, Charleston, S.C.)

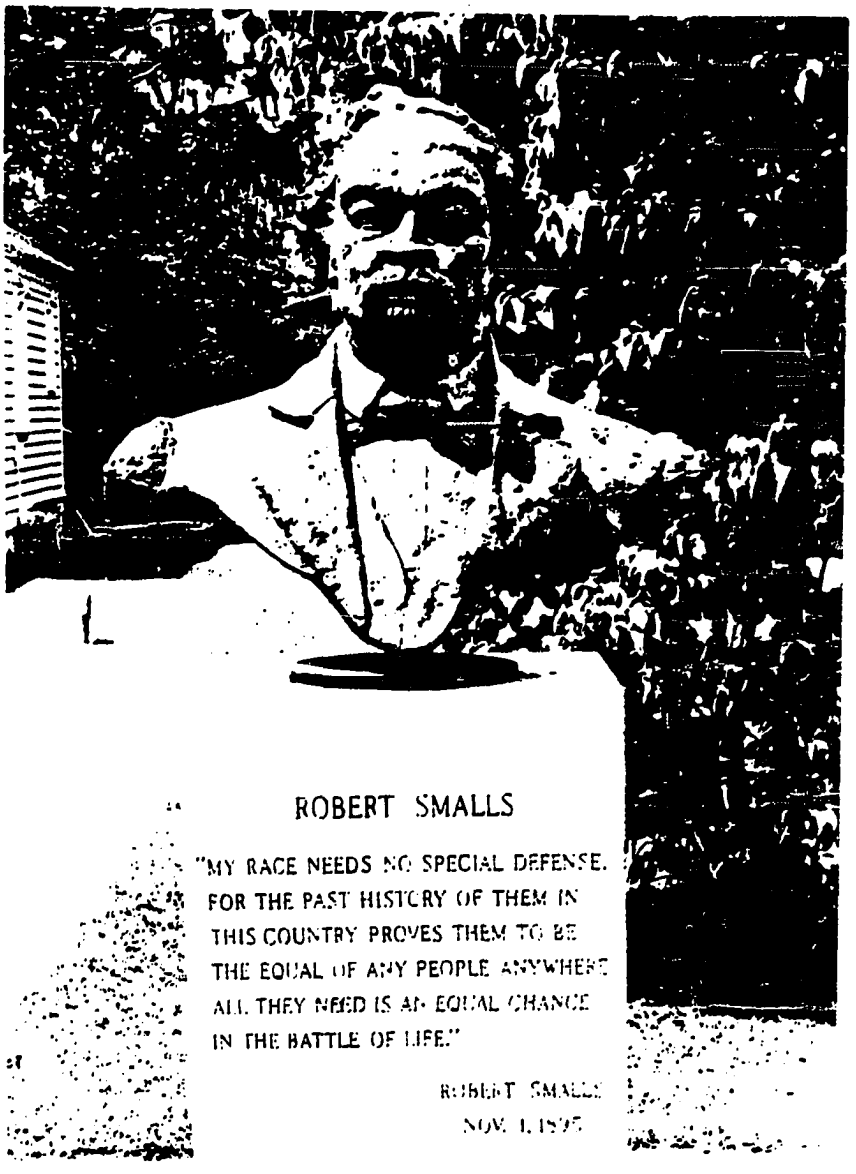

Fig. 21. Bust of Robert Smalls at Beaufort, S.C. (Courtesy of State Historic Preservation Office, Charleston, S.C.)

The museum also helped by referring the writer's inquiry to the Kentucky Historical Society which maintains the state highway markers program. The highway markers program noted two state historical markers relating to black military history. Both of these markers relate to later black military history and will be discussed subsequently, but both the museum exhibit and statue would have been overlooked if only one agency had been contacted. For satisfactory coverage, it proved necessary to contact the Kentucky Historical Society, the State Highway Markers Program, and the State Historic Preservation Officer as well as the Kentucky Military History Museum.

Tennessee's commendation of black military history may best illustrate the need for historical context in understanding the role of blacks in the Civil War. Black Union soldiers are interred at Nashville, Knoxville, Memphis, Murfreesboro, and Chattanooga in national military cemeteries and are thus memorialized. At the battle sites where they served, however, the fact that they were black is not mentioned. An historic plaque marking the site of Overton Hill during the Battle of Nashville describes the attack by Union forces but fails to mention that the attackers were black soldiers.[24] Only by understanding

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[24]Letter from Bobby L. Lovett, Tennessee State University, Nashville, Tennessee, 3 April 1985 (see appendix O).

the details of the battle (see chapter 3 of this study) can one be aware that this historic plaque actually commemorates black troops. This then is a commemoration which is not clearly intended to honor black soldiers and does so only indirectly.

The only Civil War battlefield which is entirely dedicated to the memory of black troops is that at Port Hudson, Louisiana. The site is a national historic landmark and is administered by the Louisiana Office of State Parks. The nomination form for the National Register of Historic Places contains the statement under Areas of Significance that the reason for the nomination is Afro-American history. The Statement of Significance describes black service at Port Hudson in some detail:

> Two regiments of the Louisiana Native Guards of Free Colored, the 1st the 3rd, participated in a Union assault on Port Hudson, a Confederate stronghold on the lower Mississippi, in 1863. These black troops had evoked considerable discussion and speculation in the North, in Banks' Military Department, in Washington, and throughout military circles as to their value as fighting troops. The question, "Will the Negro fight?" had yet to be answered so far as many onlookers were concerned. The black troops were aware of this challenge and welcomed the decision to use them in a severe test where they could demonstrate their fighting ability.
>
> The 1st Regiment of the Louisiana Native Guards was comprised of free black men who were the elite black population of New Orleans and nearby areas. They had an average net worth of $25,000 per man. Many of them were well above the average in intelligence and followed skilled occupations. The outfit had

been authorized and its officers commissioned by Confederate Governor Moore of Louisiana in 1861. When New Orleans capitulated to the Federal Government, 26 April 1863, the organization offered its services to General Benjamin Butler who recognized it, commissioned its officers, and encouraged the organization of other similar units into what was called the Corps d'Afrique. All of the line officers of the organization were black men of substance and influence in the community, many of literary and educational achievement.

One of the most popular and efficient officers of this regiment was Captain Andre Cailloux, a black man. A splendid horseman, excellent sportsman, finely eduated in Paris and highly polished, he was a leader of the highest quality. Cailloux, a well-to-do man who could certainly have avoided the risks of battle had he chosen to, encouraged his troops for the final attack despite a shattered arm. He died running ahead of them, crying "Follow me," in French and then in English. Cailloux was honored with a public funeral on 11 July 1863. After a eulogy at St. Rose of Lima Church in New Orleans, a lengthy procession of some thirty-seven black societies and the band of the Forty-Seventh Massachusetts Regiment, Cailloux's remains were interred with military honors in the Bienville Cemetery. In New Orleans the American flag remained at half mast in his honor for thirty days.

Sergeant Planciancois was at Port Hudson with the 1st Regiment too. When given the charge to defend the colors, Planciancois replied, "Colonel, I will bring back these colors to you in honor, or report to God the reason why."

The 3rd Regiment consisted mainly of ex-slaves enrolled and organized in New Orleans, 24 November 1862. The black officers who had been largely responsible for raising the troops were forced to resign when they entered Union service in the Corps d"Afrique and were replaced with white officers.

The third black organization at Port Hudson was the 1st Regiment of Engineers of the Corps d"Afrique. This unit was organized on 28 April 1863 at Camp Parapet, Carrollton, Louisiana. On 24 May, upon order of Major Houston, Chief Engineer, Department

of the Gulf, it proceeded to Port Hudson, General Bank's Headquarters, where it arrived on the 26th of May. The following day it received orders from Banks to report to General Weitzel, commanding the right wing.

The 1st and 3rd Regiments of black troops, having received orders the night preceding, that they would attack the enemy on the extreme right of the national line, assumed battle stance early on the morning of 27 May 1863. Numbering 1,080 men, they formed into four lines, the first two were led by Lieutenant Colonel Bassett and the second two by Lieutenant Colonel Finnegas with Colonel Nelson placed in command as Brigadier General.

After artillery preparation and while the guns fired, Banks planned to attack the enemy simultaneously with his whole line. But plans mis-carried, timing and communications were off, and the assault became piece-meal with severe fighting developing on the right, especially the extreme right where the black columns were posted.

The black men moved forward in quick time, soon followed by double time. The alignment was perfect and the movement was executed smartly as they entered the woods immediately in front of them. Emerging from the obstacle-ridden woods, they continued their charge towards the works in full face of the batteries. The first fire of the enemy, grape, canister, shell and musketry which increased in momentum and concentration as the blacks advanced, killed and wounded a number of them. Wavering momentarily, the blacks, encouraged by Colonel Bassett and the black officers who moved among the men urging them forward with their fearless examples, closed ranks and continued the charge. Every advancing step took its toll in casualties, yet the blacks fought and bled their way through the sheets of fire until they were within fifty paces of the enemy line when they were halted by an unexpected impassable stream, eight feet deep and twenty to forty feet wide, made by the backflow of the river.

Suffering severe losses and stopped by the stream, the troops retired under a continuous fire, regrouped and charged again reaching the ditch some fifty feet from the enemy guns. Again they met sheets of enemy fire. In spite of this a number of volunteers from

> the decimated Companies E and G, 3rd Native Guards, attempted with their officers to swim across the flooded ditch while covered by the fire of Bassett and Finnegas which temporarily drove the enemy from their outer works. Although some reached the other side and momentarily faced the enemy it was largely in vain as the water was too much. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The role of the black soldiers at Port Hudson is of national historical importance because blacks fought valiantly under black leadership despite extremely heavy losses from their ranks including the loss of their very popular leader, Captain Callioux; and because free blacks who could have isolated themselves from the struggle of their slave brothers chose instead to sacrifice the security and comfort of their position to fight for the example of their people.[25]

The battlefield at Port Hudson is honored both by its inclusion on the National Register and its designation as a National Historic Landmark. It is also maintained by the Louisiana Office of State Parks (see appendix P). All of these public acts commemorate the heroism of black soldiers in that battle.

The battle of Honey Springs on July 17, 1863, has been described as the Gettysburg of the Civil War in Indian territory since it was a high water mark of a Confederate offensive drive in that area. At this battle the first Kansas colored volunteer infantry fought desperately, since the members believed they would be given no quarter if captured. They were not captured, and they helped to win the

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[25]National Register Nomination Form, Battle of Port Hudson, Louisiana, December 1973.

battle for the Union. The site is today owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society and is partially a monument to blacks who fought there, since they are mentioned in the Statement of Significance of the National Register Nomination Form accepted by the National Park Service.[26] (See Oklahoma correspondence in appendix Q.)

California has nominated an entire town as an historic district in commemoration of a black military leader and the Allensworth Historic District has been accepted for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.[27] The town of Allensworth is named for Allen Allensworth, who served in the Union Navy during the Civil War and was later chaplain to some of the all-black regiments during the Indian wars, Spanish American War, and Philippine Insurrection. (See figure 22.) In 1972, the National Park Service approved the Allensworth Historic District for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

Colonel Allensworth was an educator and developer who, in addition to his distinguished military service, sought to establish the town of Allensworth as a refuge for blacks from the de jure segregation of the South and the de facto segregation of the North. California's progressive attitude toward minorities is worth noting. The plan developed for

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[26] National Register, p. 610.

[27] Ibid., p. 77.

Fig. 22. Col. Allen Allensworth. (Greene, p. 126.)

the Colonel Allensworth State Historic Park indicates the park is designed for the "purpose of portraying to all Californians and all Americans an example of the achievements and contributions black Americans have made to the history and development of California and the nation."[27] Under the section entitled "Significance" on the National Register Nomination Form, the entry reads that the "primary purpose of developing . . . [this] state historic park . . . is to assist the general public in developing healthy attitudes towards people of different backgrounds and cultures." The attitude expressed is exemplary and both the park plan and National Register nominations are public acts in honor of a black American soldier.

As evidenced by the historical background presented in chapter 4, black soldiers played a vital part in the campaigns in the West collectively known as the Indian Wars. Because of the relatively unchanged nature of the West, plus the efforts of historians and preservationists to conserve and restore the material artifacts of that period, a great deal of tangible evidence exists which reflects black service on this last frontier. A part of

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[28]Department of Parks and Recreation, "Colonel Allensworth State Historic Park: General Development Plan and Resource Management Plan" (San Francisco, Calif.: Department of Parks and Recreation, 1976). Appendix R provides a complete copy of that plan plus the National Register Nomination Form.

that service is publicly commemorated, but much of it is forgotten or existent only indirectly as memorials to black soldiers.

Indian War Memorialization

The most extensive memorialization to a black soldier of the Indian War period is that dedicated to Col. Charles Young (fig. 23.) Colonel Young had a distinguished career in the Indian, Spanish-American, and Philippine wars. In spite of his military and intellectual attainments, however, he remained the subject of prejudice and discrimination.

At the outbreak of World War I, when the army found him medically unfit for service, Colonel Young rode horseback from Wilberforce, Ohio, to Washington, D. C., to prove his fitness. The services of Colonel Young are publicly acknowledged and remembered in three different states. Kentucky has an historic marker designating his birthplace, Ohio has nominated his home in Wilberforce to the National Register of Historic Places, and Nebraska has remembered his Indian Wars service with a museum, portrait, and building named in his honor at Fort Robinson. The marker in Kentucky reads:

> Charles Young Birthplace, 1864-1922
> (2 mi. W. of Wedonia, Ky 24, Mason Co.)
>
> Third Negro to graduate from West Point Military Academy. Colonel, United States Army. Distinguished

Fig. 23. Col. Charles A. Young. (Greene, p. 159.)

for his service in Haiti and Liberia as a military organizer, map maker and road builder.[29]

Ohio commemorated Col. Charles Young by nominating his home in Wilberforce, Ohio, to the National Register of Historic Places and that nomination has been accepted for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.[30] The nomination form spells out in some detail the varied accomplishments of Col. Charles Young in the Statement of Significance:

> Colonel Charles Young (1864-1922), the third black to graduate from the United States Military Academy at West Point, was the highest ranking black officer in World War I. He was also the only black to graduate from the Academy between 1877, when the first two black cadets, Henry O. Flipper and John Alexander, were commissioned, and 1936, when now retired Air Force Lieuteant General Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., received his gold bars. Upon graduation from West Point, Young started his career in the 10th Cavalry, was briefly seconded to the 25th Infantry, and on 31 October 1889 was permanently reassigned to the 9th Cavalry.
>
> In 1894 Young became the second black to receive a federal appointment to a military department when he was assigned to Professor of Science and Military Tactics at Wilberforce University in Ohio. While at Wilberforce, Young taught French and Mathematics in addition to his military courses

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[29] State Highway Markers Program, List of Kentucky State Highway Markers, Louisville, Kentucky, 1984. (Xeroxed copy.)

[30] National Register, p. 578.

> and coached the drama and glee clubs. He served with marked success until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898.[31]

The third state to memorialize the services of this black officer is Nebraska. Colonel Young is officially and publicly commemorated at Fort Robinson State Park. The visitors center at this restored site is named in honor of Colonel Young, and the colonel's portrait hangs in the museum (fig. 24) at this post where Young served as a cavalry officer. Along with the memorials of Kentucky and Ohio, the findings of memorialization in Nebraska make Young the most commemorated of all black soldiers (see appendix S).

The State Historic Preservation Office of Nebraska referred the inquiry of this writer to the State Archivist, who noted that "I was unable to confirm the existence of any such monuments or memorials in this state."[32] Fortunately the archivist was most helpful in referring the writer to other sources such as the Nebraska Historical Society and the State Park System, which confirmed considerable evidence of memorials and recognition of black service in that state,

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[31]Excerpt from National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form sent to the writer by the State Historic Preservation Officer, Columbus, Ohio, 5 March 1985.

[32]Letter from James E. Potter, State Archivist of Nebraska, Nebraska State Archives, Lincoln, Nebraska, 28 March 1985.

Fig. 24. Fort Robinson, Nebraska, Post Headquarters. Now a museum where black soldiers are commemorated. (Ferris, p. 211.)

specifically at Fort Robinson. In addition to the recognition given by Nebraska to Colonel Young, the museum at Fort Robinson depicts the services of the average black trooper through displays of artifacts, photographs, and interpretative explanations. A post cemetery contains the graves of black soldiers of the Indian wars and an historic marker near the cemetery identifies the graves of Emanuel Stance and George Jordan, both of whom were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor during the Indian campaigns. Thus the public acts in remembrance of black Indian war soldiers in Nebraska include a museum, interpretations at the fort, a portrait of a black officer, a building named in honor of that officer, and the graves and historic markers indicating the burial sites of two black Medal of Honors winners (see appendix T).

Black troops also served at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. The Minnesota Historical Society carefully restored Fort Snelling as a state park (figs. 25 and 26). The old stone fort at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers was a United States Army site from 1823 until 1946 and was occupied during part of that period by black troops of the 24th Infantry.[33] This important site was the northernmost outpost of the permanent Indian frontier and

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[33]National Park Service, Soldier and Brave (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), illustration on p. 12.

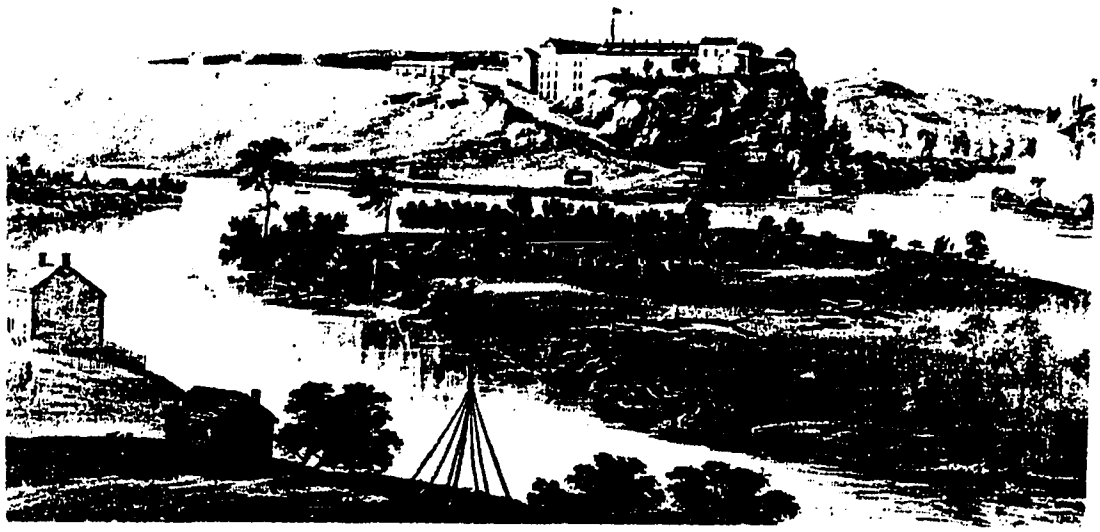

Fig. 25. Fort Snelling, Minnesota, in 1844. (Ferris, p. 170.)

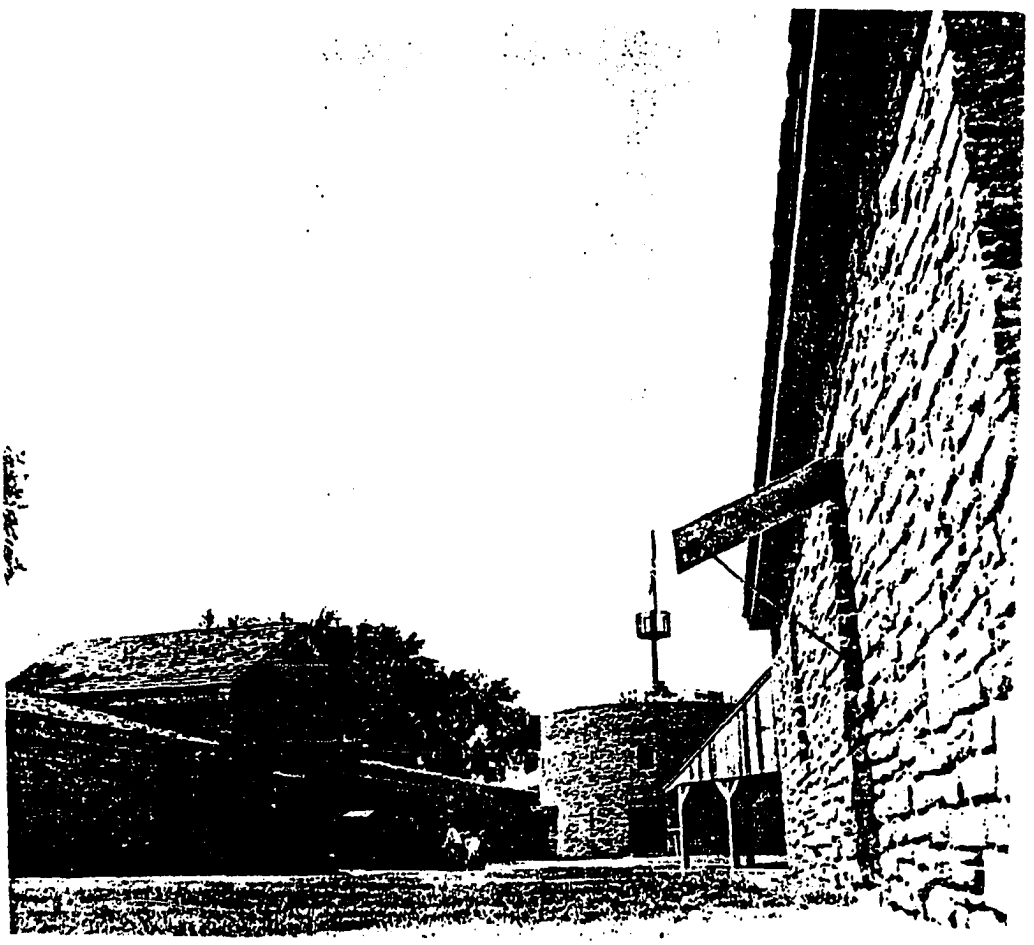

Fig. 26. Restored Fort Snelling, Minnesota, today. (Ferris, p. 171.)

guarded the region between the Great Lakes and the Missouri River. In response to the writer's query about memorializations to black troops, the Minnesota Historical Society replied there were none in Minnesota (see appendix U). More accurately, there is one in the form of Fort Snelling, but it requires historical background and proper interpretation to bring to public awareness the fact that black soldiers too served at this important frontier post.

Fort Sill, Oklahoma (fig. 27), an active U. S. Army base, has been nominated and accepted to the National Register of Historic Places partially in memory of the "Buffalo Soldiers" who built this post (see chapter 4). In the Statement of Significance, not only are the Buffalo soldiers and the Tenth Cavalry cited, but also Col. Benjamin Grierson, commander of the Black Regiment, and Lt. Henry O. Flipper, first black graduate of West Point who once served at the post. The statement reads in part:

> On January 8, 1869, General Sheridan personally held the first construction stake for the future post. The plan for the post was also the personal brainchild of Sheridan. The camp was first called Camp Wichita and Camp Medicie Bluff because it was located near the cliff formation which was the sacred Indian burial grounds. The name of the fortification was changed on July 2, 1869, to Fort Sill to honor Sheridan's West Point classmate General Joshua Sill, who had been killed while leading the charge of one of General Sheridan's brigades at the Battle of Stones River, during the Civil War.
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> Construction of the fort was under the direction of Lieutenant R. H. Pratt, who later founded the Carlisle Indian School. The work on the stone fort was

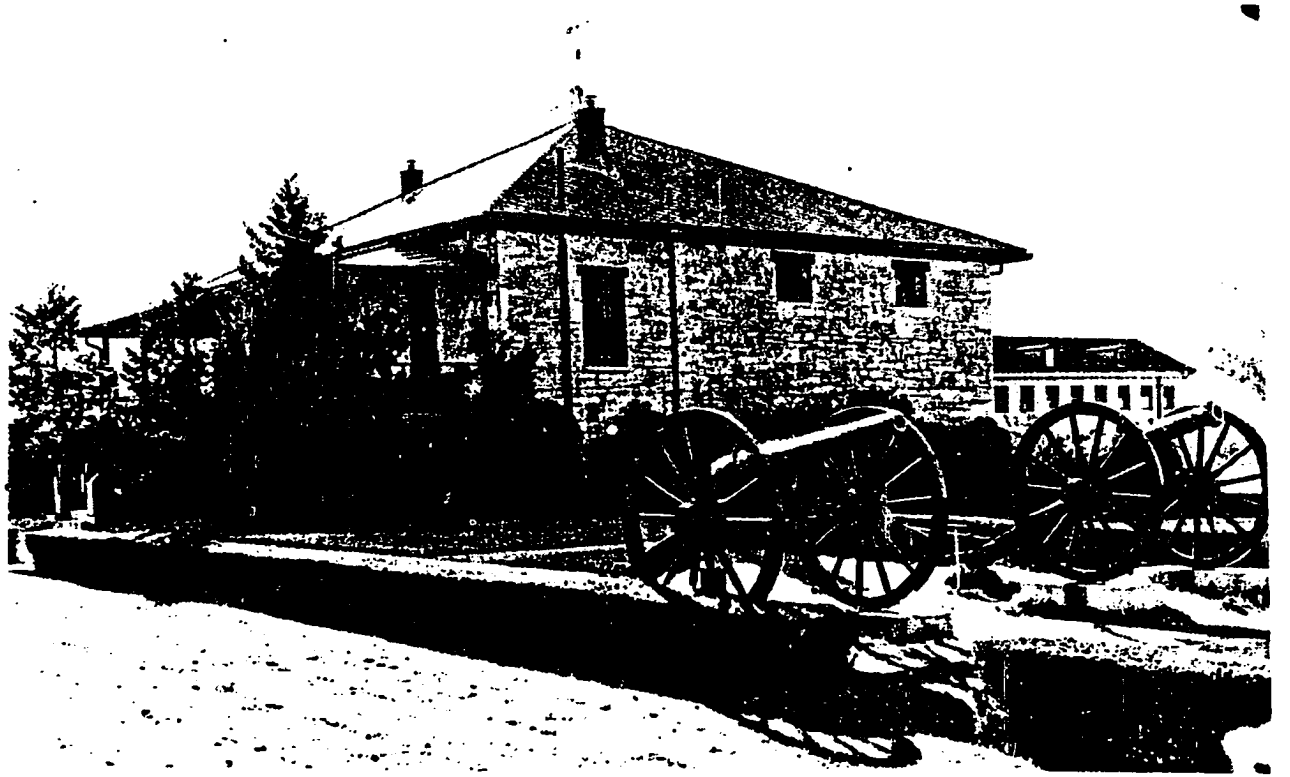

Fig. 27. Fort Sill, Oklahoma, the Old Guard House. (Ferris, p. 271.)

all accomplished by the Black soldiers of the Tenth Cavalry. Fort Sill stands as a lasting memorial to the efforts of these "Buffalo Soldiers." The earliest buildings were constructed at almost no cost to the federal government. Materials were taken from local quarries and all labor was done by soldiers. The completion of the first set of buildings took seven years because of the frequent interruption by bands of Indians as well as white outlaws who pillaged the Oklahome-Texas border area.

By 1870, President Grant had instituted his Peace Policy. This program shifted the responsibility for the safety of the Indians to the Department of the Interior. Indian agencies and representatives were sent to the west. The first Indian agent at Fort Sill was Lawrie Tatum, a Quaker, convinced of the theory of "conquests through kindness." During this time, repressive actions against Indians were halted unless requested by the agent. Also, troops stated in Texas they were forbidden to take action in the Indian territory.

As had been Indian custom, braves had to show their status as warriors by feats of courage in war. During the summer, raids were frequent on the Texas frontier. Because of the vast distances and the fleetness of the Indian ponies, troops from Texas and Fort Sill had little success in protecting this area. Finally in 1871 General Sherman lifted the sanctuary status of the Indian territory. At this same time, news was received of the massacre of a wagon-train at Fort Richardson, Texas. General Randal S. Mackenzie and his 4th Cavalry were given the task of bringing the raiding parties back to Fort Sill. Upon arriving at the fort, General Sherman found the war-party there. A conference was held on the porch of the Grierson House. At this meeting Sherman almost lost his life. The house then became known as Sherman House. This conference organized the peace chiefs. However, there were still some thousand hostiles remaining.

The subsequent years saw the activities of the Red River campaign which through constant pursuit gave the Indians no rest. Upon the conclusion of the campaign, Fort Sill became the center for registration of Indians in the Southern District of the Oklahoma Territory as well as the newly arriving white settlers. Fort Sill continued as a major guard station and held such famous prisoners of war as the legendary Geronimo.

By the turn of the century Fort Sill had doubled in size and in 1902 the 29th Battery of Field Artillery arrived at the fort. This began the role of Fort Sill as an artillery school which has lasted until today.

Importantly related to the history of Fort Sill is Henry Ossian Flipper, the first Black man to graduate from the United States Military Academy at West Point, who in spite of virtual social isolation, completed his course of study and graduated on June 14, 1877. Flipper was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Tenth Cavalry Regiment on June 15, 1877, and was assigned to Fort Sill, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, on January 1, 1878.

While at Fort Sill, Flipper was responsible for the construction of a drainage system that became known as "Flipper's Ditch." Although the fort was situated on a high plateau at the junction of two streams, its water supply was unhealthy and a series of shallow ponds extended from Fort Sill to Red River, a distance of more than forty miles. These ponds filled with water during the rainy season and remained stagnant most of the year. There was much malaria in the camp and many soldiers died of it. In his book, Negro Frontiersman, Flipper described the construction of the ditch as follows:

> One time when the ponds were dry and before the rains set in, General Davidson detailed me to dig a ditch and drain them. He gave me a full Troop of Cavalry and I went down, made my surveys and estimates and came back and reported to him. He then ordered a Troop of Cavalry to report to me every Sunday morning, relieving the one that had worked the week before. I finished the ditch and the Commanding Officer and other officers went down to look it over. We got down in the ditch and the General told me I had it running up hill and that the grade was wrong. It certainly looked that way, but I knew I was right. You stand on a level street and you look along it and it seems to rise and grow narrower, although you know it is of uniform width and level. However, I put the instrument on it and convinced him it was all right. When the rains came, the water flowed away perfectly and there never were any more ponds. The health of the Post improved wonderfully. I have been told the ditch is still there and is known as "Flipper's Ditch."

> Flipper remained at Fort Sill until 1880 although he had short intervening details to Forts Elliott, Concho, Davis, and Quitman in Texas. He was his regiment's first Black officer. His duties as Post Signal Officer and Post Adjutant involved surveying, handling mail, building roads, telegraph wires, scouting on the Staked Plains, and service in the campaign against the Indian Chief Victorio in addition to his construction of the Post drainingage system.
>
> On August 13, 1881, Colonel William Shafter, Commanding Officer, wrote to the Adjutant General that he had not received funds supposed to have been mailed by Flipper. Lieutenant Flipper was arrested and his quarters searched. However, Flipper maintained that the funds had been stolen and that he had entrusted the mail to a civilian employee. On August 29, 1881, Colonel Shafter wrote to the General that Lieutenant Flipper had made good on all the money he was responsible for. He was held for General Court Martial and charged with embezzling public funds and conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman. Flipper was tried on November 4, 1881, and was found not guilty of embezzlement, but guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman. As a result, he was dismissed from the U.S. Army on June 30, 1882.[34]

Visitors today may view the preserved fort and museum which properly interpret the role of black soldiers in the West. This interpretation of the material evidence of that service plus the National Register nomination certainly are both public remembrances of black military history. (See appendix Q.)

Fort Davis, Texas, was a key military location protecting the Texas frontier and the difficult Mexican border area. Black soldiers of the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the

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[34]Excerpted from the National Register Form nominating Fort Sill, Oklahoma, courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

24th and 25th Infantry served at this post during the Indian wars and fought battles nearby against Victorio and his Apache warriors. The fort has been completely restored by the National Park Service (fig. 28). Visitors today may see officers' quarters, barracks, a hospital, and powder magazine of the Indian war era. In the interpretation of this park, heavy emphasis is placed on the role of black soldiers in the fort's history, and thus it is a public recognition of black military service in the West. At nearby Van Horn, Texas, two historic markers describe the battles of Tinaja de las Palmas and Rattlesnake Springs, where black troops defeated the Apaches during the Victorio war.[35] A Texas State historic marker which points to a battle in which blacks fought is definitely a public act of commemoration.

Black soldiers served in Arizona during the Indian campaigns and are memorialized today in a post museum at Fort Huachuca, Arizona (see appendix V). This post, still an active army base, maintains the museum which deals in part with the services of the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry, all of which were stationed at the base at one time. An excerpt from a chapter entitled "The Buffalc Soldiers," in the book Fort Huachuca by Cornelius C. Smith, Jr., details that service:

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[35]Robert G. Ferris, National Park Service, Soldier and Brave (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1971), pp. 194-95.

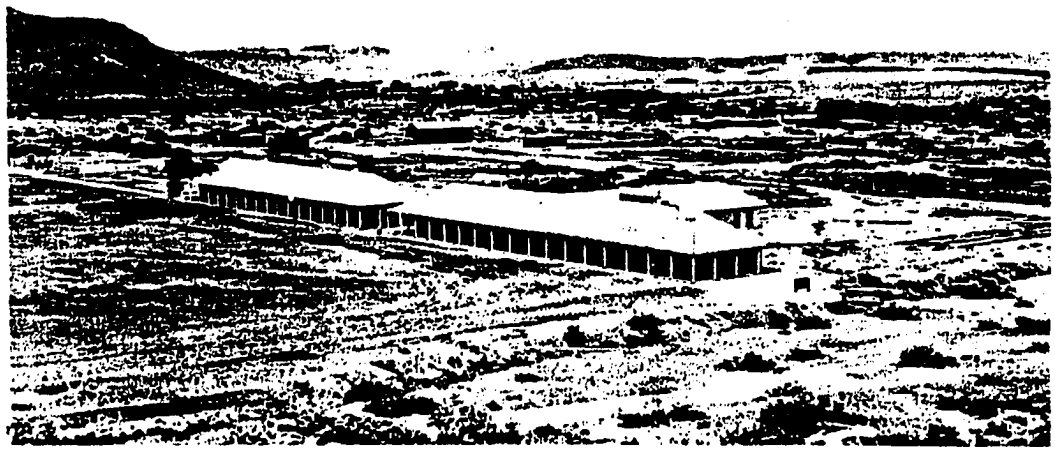

Fig. 28. Fort Davis, Texas, today, as restored by the National Park Service. (Ferris, p. 326.)

If any one post of the United States Army might lay claim to being home station for the Buffalo Soldiers, that post would be Fort Huachuca. Both all-black cavalry regiments served there, both all-black infantry regiments, and, during World War II, both all-black infantry divisions. In large measure black soldiers have contributed to Fort Huachuca's illustrious history and are worthy of special recognition in these pages.

On July 28, 1866, the Army Reorganization Act created six regiments of black soldiers: the 9th and 10th regiments of cavalry, and the 38th, 39th, 40th and 41st infantry regiments. In 1869 the 38th and 41st were consolidated to form the 24th Infantry Regiment, and the 39th and 40th were brought together to organize the 25th Infantry. More of that will be discussed later. Over the years these organizations were called Buffalo Soldiers, and veterans of the regiments will proudly alude [sic] to the sobriquet. Strictly speaking, the term ought to apply only to those black soldiers who fought in the Indian Wars, since it was the Indians who coined the term "Buffalo Soldiers." So proudly was the name carried, though, that the infantrymen adopted what the horse soldiers had worn.

Derivation of the name has two sources. Some attribute it to the Indian's likening the short, curly hair of the black men to buffalo hide; others say that when the American bison was wounded or cornered it fought ferociously, displaying uncommon stamina and courage, identical characteristics of the black trooper in battle. Whatever the reason for the name, the Buffalo Soldier has come down in American military history as one of the proudest individuals of all.

At one time or another, each of the four black regiments mentioned above served at Fort Huachuca, and three of them upon several occasions. Portions of the 9th Cavalry served at the old post in 1899, 1900 and 1912. Elements of the 24th Infantry served there from 1892 to 1896, with the entire regiment present in 1892. The 24th came back in 1942 as a part of the 93rd Infantry Division. Elements of the 25th Infantry were at Huachuca in 1898 and 1899, and from 1928 to 1931; the entire regiment served at Huachuca from 1932 until 1942 and became a part of

> the 92d Infantry Division in 1943. The 10th Cavalry served at Fort Huachuca longer than any other U.S. Army organization: 18 years, from 1913 until 1931.[36]

The museum on the base today places heavy emphasis on its interpretation of the tale of black soldiers in its history and is thus a public act honoring the service of black soldiers.

One battle site from the Indian wars which bears witness to black service is located in Colorado. In 1879, U. S. cavalry forces fought a fierce battle with Ute Indians at Milk Creek in Colorado. In this action, thirty-five black cavalrymen attempted to rescue a beleaguered white garrison, and a black sergeant, Henry Johnson, earned the Congressional Medal of Honor for bravery. Today a nearby museum bears little witness to the participation of black soldiers, and the granite marker at the site of the battle makes no mention of the fact that here a black soldier earned his country's highest medal. Without historical background (the battle is outlined in chapter 4 of this study), one would not even know that blacks fought at Milk Creek. Although material evidence of commemoration exists,

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[36]This is from a xeroxed copy of the article, "Buffalo Soldiers," in the book Fort Huachuca by Cornelius C. Smith, Jr.; the book is available at the Fort Huachuca Museum, P.O. Box 766, Fort Huachuca, Arizona 85615, $6.95. The xerox copy was provided by the Post Museum, Department of the Army, Fort Huachuca, Arizona.

it is not interpreted in remembrance of the black troops that fought in that battle (see appendix W).

As mentioned in the introduction, monuments may take many forms, i.e., marble shafts, forts, parks, historic markers, or any other man-made or natural object designated to commemorate an individual or event. Beckwourth Pass between Nevada and California falls into this latter category of a natural monument and is perhaps unique in this regard.

James Beckwourth was a mountain man, fur trapper, and army scout. He lived with the Indians for half a century. Known to his red brothers as "Medicine Calf," Beckwourth was a black man. In the course of his adventures, Beckwourth travelled throughout the West. He visited Fort Atkinson in Nebraska, where today the Nebraska Historical Society conducts archeological digs. He also participated unwillingly in the Sand Creek massacre in Colorado in 1864. At that time, Colonel Chivington impressed Beckwourth into service as a guide to lead the Colorado cavalry to the banks of Sand Creek, where they wiped out a peaceful Cheyenne/ Arapaho village.[37]

After white militiamen butchered Indian women and children, Beckwourth testified against them. During the

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[37]Dee Alexander Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 85.

massacre, Beckwourth rescued a half-breed prisoner by the name of Charlie Bent. The events at Sand Creek are marked today by a stone memorial located ironically nine miles from Chivington, Colorado. Beckwourth is memorialized by a pass named in his honor which he discovered between Nevada and California. Although Beckwourth Pass honors a black American, it is not clear if the pass is marked or designated so that, without historical background, today's traveller on Route 70 north of Reno may not be aware that the pass commemorates a black frontiersman and scout.[38] While the pass is named in honor of a black man who served in the Indian wars, the absence of an historical marker precludes the site from being fully considered as a memorial to black military service.

In a similar vein, the Montana Historical Society responded that no monuments or memorials existed in that state to black military service.[39] But, enclosed with the letter from the historical society was a copy of a National Register Nomination Form for Fort Missoula, Montana. Part of the reason that the fort was being nominated was that black soldiers had served at this site.

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[38]Letter from Ronald M. James, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Nevada Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, Carson City, Nevada, 18 March 1985 (see appendix X).

[39]Letter from Patricia Bick, Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana, 16 April 1985.

Among other noteworthy activities, Fort Missoula was the home for the all-black 25th Infantry Regiment from 1888 to 1898. During this period an unusual experiment occurred in testing the military use of the bicycle. The 25th Infantry Bicycle Corps was established, and its services included a 1,900-mile trek on bicycles from Fort Missoula to St. Louis, Missouri. In spite of this accomplishment, the army never adopted the bicycle for general use.

Fort Missoula today contains several buildings which existed during the time the 25th Infantry served there; and if properly interpreted, they could serve as a monument to black military service. A complete description of the fort appears in the National Register Nomination Form (see appendix Y). Although no statue to blacks may exist in Montana, a listing on the National Register with its description of black military service is clearly a public act in honor of that service.

The history of the Indian campaigns is replete with instances of black military service, and many monuments and memorials exist from Fort Davis, Texas, to Beckwourth Pass, Nevada; Fort Huachuca, Arizona; and Fort Sill, Oklahoma. A great many more cultural resources in the form of forts, battlefields, and monuments exist, which, if properly interpreted and identified, would bear witness to the service of black soldiers in the West.

In conclusion, the various states of the United States contain a great many more monuments to black military history than would at first be imagined. This study has revealed that monuments exist in at least twenty-four states and probably total over one hundred separate acts of public commemoration if each fort, battlefield, historic marker, or sculptured monument is considered separately (see appendix Z). While this number represents many more than anticipated, there is still a negative discrepancy between the numbers of black soldiers who served their country and the numbers of monuments to that service. A comparison of the statistics for the Civil War and Indian campaigns should be enlightening. Approximately 179,000 blacks served in the Union Army during the Civil War. This figure constitutes about ten percent of the total numbers of soldiers who served the United States in that era. A generous estimate of the number of markers and memorials to blacks in the Civil War would not exceed twenty. Yet monuments and memorials to the Civil War number in the thousands. Therefore, blacks who represented ten percent of the Union armies are commemorated with less than one percent of the monuments. In a similar vein, the two black regiments which saw the most service in the Indian campaigns--the 9th and 10th Cavalry--constituted approximately twenty percent of the U. S. Cavalry in the West

during the period 1866-1891. The ten monuments or memorials to black soldiers of that era represent a figure of no more than three percent of the hundreds of memorials to the Indian war soldiers. That is not to say that evidence of black service does not exist. If properly interpreted, many more sites could be added to the list, since there are forts, battlefields, historic buildings, cemeteries, and natural objects which could all be identified with black military history.

Political, economic, and social gains made by black Americans since the "Second American Revolution," the Civil Rights era of the 1960s, along with an increased public awareness of black history would indicate that historic sites associated with black history could be added to the list of commemorated historic sites.

The Afro-American Bicentennial Commission in 1976 identified only three national historic landmarks as pertaining to black history. There is no reason for this figure to remain so low. It would be a new dawning of American history if the grave of an Indian campaign Medal of Honor winner, a bust dedicated to a Civil War naval hero, and a battlefield where a particular regiment fought are remembered secondarily as places where blacks fought and died, and primarily as places where American heroes served their country.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The historical context within which to study monuments to black military history is provided in chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this paper while the findings of a nationwide survey to locate and identify those monuments are given in chapter 5. Several issues relating to what this study has revealed about the status of historic preservation surveys in the United States are discussed in this chapter along with the problems related to the interpretation of survey data, the scientific nature of identifying physical problems, and the use of a survey form to record information about monuments.

Monuments are a cultural resource and may be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places as individual sites or as a thematic grouping. The National Register Nomination Form calls for information concerning the background, significance, and description of any nomination. Since it is an all-encompassing form which is used for all National Register nominations (historic homes, ships, railroad stations, battlefields, and districts), the very breadth of the subject matter covered by the form precludes specific information concerning monuments. In order to fill that void, it was necessary to develop

a survey form directed toward gathering information on monuments.

The author of this work devised such a survey form to record information concerning monuments located on the Civil War battlefield at Shiloh, Tennessee. This form was developed as part of a team project in a graduate seminar in Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University (MTSU), Murfreesboro, Tennessee. The information gathered through the use of this form was used to compile a report for the National Park Service.[1] In order to conduct a satisfactory survey, it was first necessary to determine what information needed to be gathered.

The general format of the first draft of the survey form was as follows:

Section I	Type of Monument (Battle, organization, funerary)
Section II	Location of Monument (National Battlefield, State Park, Municipality)
Section III	Construction Material of Monument (Marble, Granite, Bronze)
Section IV	History (Date Erected, Inscription)
Section V	Style of Monument (Obelisk, Plaque, Sarcophagus)

[1]Mark Hay, Jerry Maxwell, John McGlone, Brenda Ott, Becky Smith, and Mark Sturtevant, "Shiloh Historic Monument Survey Report," public service research project (Murfreesboro, Tenn.: Historic Preservation Program, Middle Tennessee State University, 1984).

Section VI	Condition of Monument (General and Specific Problems)
Section VII	Addendum for Other Details

The form was intended not only for the survey of Shiloh National Battlefield Park but as a general survey form for any monument or groups of monuments. This initial form was circulated to several professors and twenty graduate students in historic preservation, and a park service battlefield superintendent for their review and comment. Their many responses and suggestions proved helpful in modifying and improving the form. The revised format follows:

Section I	Name of Monument
Section II	Location of Monument
Section III	Theme of Monument
Section IV	Form of Monument
Section V	Construction Material
Section VI	Condition of Monument
Section VII	Dimensions of Monument
Section VIII	History of Monument
Addendum	Comments, Photographs, Grid Paper

The revised survey form called for more detailed responses from the surveyor. It was thought, therefore, that the form would provide the specific information required to record data about the monuments, to identify problems, and to make recommendations addressing those problems.

The form was then field tested at Stones River National Military Park in Murfreesboro, Tennessee. First, it was observed that monuments there often fell into more than one category in a particular section; that is, they could be war memorials, to a particular unit, in the form of a statue, and located in a cemetery. A monument located in the cemetery at Stones River National Battlefield and dedicated to the United States Regulars who died in the battle is in the form of a shaft surmounted by a cast bronze eagle. This could be construed as an organizational monument, a war memorial, a unit, or even a funerary monument. The revised form directed surveyors to check the primary theme of the monument.

A second problem encountered dealt with defining a monument. Any object purposefully designed to commemorate an individual or event obviously fell into the category of monument, but what of a cannon barrel or a pyramid of cannon balls unnamed and unmarked? It was decided to survey <u>all</u> evidence of memorialization and to determine value or purpose later. The only types of memorial not included because of their sheer numbers were individual funerary monuments and tombstones.[2]

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[2]This exclusion was also followed in the survey of monuments to black military history in this study. The National Park Service, which holds jurisdiction over some

Finally, identifying actual physical problems of monuments represented a major concern during field testing. An amateur could identify an obvious problem such as the absence of a major part, but the nature of the problem became less clear when dealing with more technical matters. The effects of normal weathering are not unlike those of acid rain. Slight fissures or cracks may not appear to be a serious problem to a beginner, but these cracks can admit moisture which may cause more serious problems of expansion and contraction during later freezing. To resolve this difficulty, an addendum of definitions was added for identification purposes (see appendix Z). The survey form (see appendix AA) was successful in gathering information concerning more than 150 monuments at Shiloh and provided the data for a 462-page report on that project.

In the process of developing the survey form, it soon became apparent that many organizations and individuals are concerned with the care and conservation of monuments. Wayne Craven of The University of Delaware has compiled a card index of American sculpture which includes some 4,000 photographs of outdoor monuments and memorials. On the other hand, the proposed National Trust survey of monuments represents the most far-reaching

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ten percent of the monuments in the country, is in the process of documenting monuments and training its field employees working in the area of monument conservation.

monuments survey project. The Trust proposes to survey and record all monuments in the United States.

The number of monuments at battlefields, historic sites, town squares, and cemeteries gives an indication of the enormity of this task. According to the National Trust, there are approximately 20,000 monuments in the United States. It also appears that now is a most auspicious time to conduct such a survey, given the popular interest generated in restoring and conserving the Statue of Liberty. That popular interest is evidenced by television commercials, newspaper and magazine articles, and financial appeals. Surveying all of the nation's monuments will demand coordination between various individuals and institutions. A standard survey form is a necessary prerequisite to guarantee adequate and standardized data collection.

A national historic preservation priority definitely seems to be developing concerning the preservation of those historic symbols known as monuments. The National Trust for Historic Preservation, as mentioned earlier, has taken a leadership role in the drive to identify and survey monuments nationwide, evidenced by an undated letter sent to National Trust members in the summer of 1984. The letter, signed by Alan S. Boyd, Chairman of the Public Monuments Conservation Program, requests support for this project.

Dear Friend and Member:

I have some important and exciting news to share with you.

Your National Trust is now ready to begin a major, long-planned drive to rescue a special group of uniquely American landmarks--landmarks that have suffered dangerously from neglect even though they are among the proudest symbols of our heritage!

And because of your interest and membership in the Trust, I want you to know the thought-provoking story behind this nationwide campaign before we announce it publicly.

But first, to understand fully its urgency and significance, please consider for a moment the current outpouring of public concern over the sadly deteriorated state of the Statue of Liberty.

Mr. Boyd mentions the National Trust's "Public Monument Conservation Program" and the fact that it will require a great deal of public support. Attention is drawn to the amount of popular support American citizens have given to the restoration of the Statue of Liberty. It is so well known that generous donations have been made to insure its protection and restoration. It is the only significant monument in this country to benefit from such a campaign.

The National Trust effort is to provide for the protection of all monuments. In addition to financial support this requires a great amount of public education to conserve these cultural resources.

Mr. Boyd adds:

> Certainly, you don't have to be a professional conservator to realize that if the massive structure of the Statue of Liberty has been so seriously imperiled by exposure to today's corrosive elements, other far more fragile monuments to our heritage have been no less endangered.
>
> I'm not referring only to those specially revered sculptures like "The Minuteman" at Concord, the Ulysses S. Grant memorial at the U.S. Capitol or the "Iwo Jima" memorial in Arlington, Virginia, either.

While recognizing that the major well-known monuments will definitely benefit from this campaign, the principal benefactor will be the many and varied less well-known statues that exist all over the country. These too need to be saved from the ravages of time, atmospheric pollutants, and weathering. Many of these monuments are fine examples of period art, particularly those constructed durng the period known as the "Golden Age of American Sculpture" from 1881 to 1922. These dates mark the unveiling of Saint-Gaudens' "David Farragut Memorial" in New York in 1881 and the dedication of Daniel Chester French's "Abraham Lincoln" in Washington, D. C., in 1922. Mr. Boyd's letter continues:

> It is also important to note that a prime purpose of such monuments was to ensure that Americans remained reverently respectful of their noble heritage. As one popular periodical put it in 1898:
>
> > "We must adorn ... our parks and squares with monuments to the nation's great which will inspire in the American heart a true appreciation of patriotism and artistic beauty."

> Why then have the magnificent and lovingly created outdoor sculptures of this period been largely ignored for so long--even in the face of corrosive environmental pollution?

Several reasons given by Mr. Boyd for the neglect of monuments include the fact that monuments have aesthetic value and are not profitable to rehabilitate. Thus, financing is more readily available to restore older buildings than works of art. Another difficulty which works against the conservation of monuments is the fact that no central body of expertise exists as to the best methods to employ to conserve these national treasures.

> On the one hand, we will have to awaken our fellow citizens to the vital historic importance of these irreplaceable monuments--joining with and assisting local preservation groups in inaugurating programs for saving commemorative public sculpture in their own locales.
>
> On the other, we will need to draw upon our historical knowledge gained from Daniel Chester French's nationally revered memorials since our acquisition of his Chesterwood studio, and combine it with that of other conservators working with public statuary in order to provide a central "clearinghouse" where the specifics about all of our nation's outdoor monuments--as well as the proven processes for preserving them--can be made readily accessible.
>
> Clearly, the Trust's "Public Monument Conservation Program" must be an all-encompassing campaign. Hence, it will be as devoted to ensuring the protection of modern outdoor landmarks such as St. Louis' Gateway Arch as it is to the rescue of our more venerable historic monuments.

This appeal concludes that the major factor in preserving these monuments will be financial support from the general public, which he summarizes as follows:

> There are fifteen to twenty thousand outdoor sculptures in America, in various states of deterioration, which desperately need care. Yet, the restoration of Daniel Chester French's "Spirit of Life" in Saratoga Springs, New York, for just one example, cost over $15,000.
>
> In view of the vast extent of these undertakings, I'm sure you can appreciate that the launching of our new "Public Monument Conservation Program" will place an exceptional strain on the Trust's resources.
>
> For while public support in its various forms will soon relieve us of much of the burden, the initial costs of this urgently needed campaign must be shouldered by our organization and our members.
>
> Hence, I am asking you to help your National Trust ensure the successful initiation of this vital new program--and to assist with our many established preservation activities--by giving your support in the form of a special contribution.
>
> Any amount you send will, of course, be genuinely appreciated and quickly acknowledged. However, a gift of at least $25 will win you a special vote of thanks because of the unusually heavy demands now confronting us.
>
> In addition, I must also ask that you not delay in getting your check off to us. You see, a sizable number of our historic outdoor monuments have already deteriorated to a point where only the most immediate attention can save them.
>
> So your gift of $25 or more now could well be the most important contribution you will ever make to the preservation of our priceless national heritage.

In addition to this campaign there is other evidence of a developing national priority. In the 1980s, journals and magazines in the fields of conservation and historic preservation began to publish articles with increasing frequency on the subject. These included History News,

Historic Preservation, and the Cultural Resources Management Bulletin (CRM). The last-named is published by the Associate Director, Cultural Resources, National Park Service (NPS) and illustrates that agency's long-standing interest and leadership in the field. Since its very inception in 1916, the National Park Service has been concerned with the preservation of American heritage resources. However, by the 1950s, according to the Park Service, outdoor sculptured monuments were being ignored or neglected. This unfortunate trend was soon reversed, as the observance of the Civil War Centennial (1961-65) and the fiftieth anniversary of the Park Service (1966) focused attention on the heritage of this country. Increased visitation to park sites, particularly battlefields, and subsequent funding increases brought about renewed concerns for the preservation of monuments at those sites. By 1978 an NPS directive mandated a policy of preserving monuments as cultural resources. The basic guidelines for operation are contained in "The Management Policies of the National Park Service." Cultural resource management is addressed in Chapter V of that work, and Directive 28 and a technical supplement have expanded upon the principles outlined therein. These supplements are a reference for managers, planners, and cultural resource personnel, and cite the legal basis for cultural resource management. Monuments are regarded as

structures by the National Park Service and recommendations have been developed to include them in NPS planning, implementation, stabilization, and reconstruction. the principles are applied. An addendum to Directive 28 is now (in 1985) under consideration. When adopted, this addition may be regarded as providing the very latest information available on the philosophy, techniques, and methods of preserving monuments.

The National Park Service, in its long-range planning goals known as Resource Protection and Planning Process (RP3), sets standards which will include preservation of monuments. RP3 was devised to develop a systematic management framework which would aid in identifying and organizing important information regard a state's cultural resources. RP3 is designed to identify, evaluate, and protect these resources in addition to producing a consistent and reliable decision-making process regarding their protection and inclusion in the planning process. The objectives of RP3 are to make preservation decision making a normal function with State Historic Preservation Offices; to reduce potential administrative conflicts, to reduce federal and increase state and local responsibility in preservation policy and to provide a method for public participation in the use, protection, and planning of their own resources. Since monuments are definitely a cultural resource, public

and private education is required so that monuments will be included in any such planning.[3]

In order to implement the RP3, the Secretary of the Interior has promulgated five standards for preservation planning. Two of these are most applicable to the preservation of historic symbols and monuments and are of particular interest to this study. Standard one states that "development of historic contexts is the foundation for decisions about identification, evaluation, and treatment of historic properties."[4] The NPS description of the RP3 process concludes that the study unit using existing information to create historical context is the pivotal concept of RP3. The author of this study included black military history in order to provide historical background, using this same rationale. Standard IIA of these guidelines is met by "evaluating existing information in order to identify probable number, condition, and location of properties associated with the context."[5] That information was included in chapter 5 of this study in the survey and identification of monuments to black military history.

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[3]U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, RP3 Update (Washington, D.C.: Interagency Resource Division, 1983), p. 1.

[4]Secretary of Interior's Standards for Preservation Planning (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 7.

[5]Ibid., p. 8.

Monuments are a cultural resource as surely as archeological sites, historic homes, or battlefields, and they definitely need to be included in any local, state, or federal planning.

Finally, the subject of future preservation of monuments would not be complete without at least a mention of that panacea for all of the problems of society today, the computer. Obviously, the information contained in the present study can be stored, retrieved, and expanded upon through traditional methods of library use and dissertation abstracts. The information gathered herein represents only a small fraction of the nation's monuments; and when that larger perspective is considered, the use of computers is definitely required.

The use of computers is currently the most exciting aspect of historic preservation, according to Barbara Wyatt, Chief, Survey and Planning Section, Historic Preservation Division of the State Historic Preservation Society of Wisconsin, in her article, "The Computerization of Historic Preservation." She states that the work of a typical preservation office may be divided into office management and management of a site inventory.

Beyond the obvious clerical, word processing, accounting, and management functions of any office, the computer can also be used to automate site inventories. The amount

of information entered for each site depends upon two factors: use of the system and memory of the computer. Selection of an optimal system requires the consultant services of a computer professional. Unfortunately, the selection of a proper system has been autonomous from agency to agency within the historic preservation field, resulting in a lack of coordination and standardization. The task of selecting a consultant, often at public expense, is thus repeated over and over with no guarantee of a standardized data base. Cooperation and coordination among preservation offices is often hindered by lack of computer literacy, lack of funding for computers, and a lack of a standardized data element dictionary. This lack of standardization is compounded by the variety of data base management systems which include the file management system, the relational data base management system, and the hierarchical data base management system.

Some of these problems have been addressed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in their literature and in their 1984 annual meeting, and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers has recently formed a computerization subcommittee. The National Park Service is establishing an on-line computer resource in the form of a cultural resources bibliography (CR Bib). It is hoped that these efforts will overcome limitations which

could prevent the full utilization of the computer in the field of historic preservation. When present limitations are overcome, a future standardized national data base for historic preservation should include information on monuments. This effort to establish a data base for historic symbols will include a file for the entire field of monuments with various subdivided records of major categories or types of monuments such as outdoor sculptured works, historic markers, or plaques. Subfields within these records might identify the location of monuments, the nature of their commemoration, dates, or any other pertinent information deemed necessary.

In addition to national and state efforts at computer use in the field of historic preservation, there are also efforts being made at the regional and university level. In 1984 the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee authorized creation of a Centers of Excellence Program for Higher Education. The Tennessee Higher Education Commission designated the Historic Preservation Program at Middle Tennessee State University as a Center of Excellence within the state public university system. This Center of Excellence is in the process of establishing a computer-based national clearing house of information on heritage-related topics, activities, programs, and publications. Besides the clearing house function, which is

only one of its major initiatives, the Center will also undertake advanced research in the use of the computer in the field of historic preservation, including the development of specific software in the field.

Physical Problems of Monuments

After monuments are placed in an historical context and surveyed, a third concern arises, that of identifying problems which exist with specific monuments. Little training is needed for an individual to distinguish between a monument that is clean, well-preserved, and undamaged and one that is stained, vandalized, pitted, or cracked. The problem lies in discovering what caused the damage and how best to restore, repair, or conserve the memorial. The surveyor in the field can, with proper guidance, note the existence of problems and even learn to identify such specific technical problems as efflorescence, spalling, or exfoliation.

Recognizing a condition that needs correcting is a significant step toward resolving a problem. At this point, the services of a scientist/conservator are not only appropriate; they are, indeed, required. The following excerpt concerned with simply the problems found in stonework illustrates the technical nature of the problem. Multidisciplined cooperation is a necessity.

> The phenomena of monument decay and stone deterioration embrace those factors which operate to alter the appearance, strength, coherence, dimensions, or

> chemical behavior of the material, either as individual elements, or as parts of structures. These factors include: (1) Chemical attack . . . (2) Mechanical disruption . . . (3) Disfigurement . . . (rust) . . . (4) Abrasion . . . (5) Disfigurement . . . from biological activities of microorganisms . . . (6) Exfoliation . . . (7) Damages . . . from ill-advised efforts at repair . . . (8) Disfigurement due to . . . soot, dirt, grease, paints, etc.
>
> The types of stone encountered in artistic and historic works, as well as in more prosaic building construction, cover the gamut of available materials, ranging from porous, friable tuffs (e.g., Goreme in Turkey) and zeolites (e.g., Castel dell Ovo in Naples) to dense, hard basalts and quartzites. The kinds of environments to which stones are subjected are similarly varied, ranging from desert to marine to rain forest; from rural to urban; from tropical to frigid. Hence, the dominant form of stone decay in a particular place depends upon the physical and chemical nature of the stone that is involved, and upon the kind of external or in situ insults to which it is subjected.
>
> The first stage in attempting the conservation of stone must be a diagnosis of the "disease"--which may be rampant and visually evident, or dormant and capable of breaking out at any time the local conditions change. Just as there are no universal panaceas for human diseases, there are none for the problems afflicting different types of stones in different locations, and having gone through different histories.[6]

The foregoing material regarding stone is highly technical in nature and is only one example of the scientific nature of conservation of materials that may be part of a statue or monument. A major journal which can provide information is Technology and Conservation of Art, Architecture, and Antiques. In a similar vein, the Technical Preservation Services Division of the National Park Service

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[6]Giovanni G. Amoroso and Vasco Fassina, Stone Decay and Conservation (New York: Elsevier, 1983), pp. vii-viii.

can supply technical information which includes the historic uses of brass, copper, and bronze in American statuary and buildings. Michael Panhorst writes concerning the preservation of bronze sculpture:

> The host of corrosion problems besetting bronze pose problems more vexing than vandalism. Sculpture conservators and metallurgists concur that undesirable changes to the artificial, chemically induced patinas originally applied at the foundry occur principally by exposing bronze to sulfur and nitrogen compounds in a damp environment, but these same specialists disagree about the best methods to arrest corrosion and repair damage. Solutions range from washing with soft natural bristle brushes, and de-ionized soap and water, followed by several coats of wax to the stripping of all corrosion products (usually with glass bead peening), repatination, encapsulation with an acrylic lacquer (Incralac) and the application of wax. Alternatives include peening with soft abrasives (ground corn cob or walnut shell) and mechanical scrubbing with bronze wool and brass brushes. Some conservators advocate the use of Benzotriazole (BTA) as a corrosion inhibitor. All agree on the use of either beeswax, carnauba or a microcrystalline wax as a sacrificial coating which must be renewed at least annually, to protect the cleaned, renovated or restored bronze.[7]

This certainly is not the realm of the well-intentioned amateur. Clearly the historian/preservationist is not trained to deal with the scientific nature of the subject. A state museum or the Smithsonian Institute as well as the Technical Preservation Services Division of the National Park Service, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the American Conservation Institute may also be of great

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[7]Michael W. Panhorst, "The Appreciation and Preservation of Monumental Bronze Sculpture," CRM Bulletin 7, No. 2 (July 1984): 3.

assistance in this area. Also, through its consultant service program, the American Association for State and Local History can provide names of individuals and firms with expertise in this area. It is well worth the effort spent to locate a competent scientific conservator during this last stage of preserving monuments.

Monuments are cultural artifacts by which people remember their past. The heroes, sites, battlefields, or groups commemorated may be viewed as statements of the values which that particular nation or civilization wishes to enshrine. A negative correlation may be found in the absence of a certain type of monument and the logical presumption of such an absence is that the event is not viewed as noteworthy. Although the United States has made great gains in the fields of human rights legislation, economic opportunity and social justice, there still exists a negative discrepancy between the services of minority groups to this country and the monuments which exist to that service. No one will be entirely free until the national remembrance of things past includes monuments to women who served in the American Revolution, native Americans who served under Andrew Jackson in the War of 1812, or blacks who answered their country's call from Lexington and Concord to the jungles of Southeast Asia.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CORRESPONDENCE FROM PROMINENT HISTORIANS OF BLACK EXPERIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
COLLEGE PARK 20742
301-454-3783

January 30, 1985

Professor John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Professor McGlone:

I am afraid I don't know very much about monuments to black soldiers--even in the broadest sense. Indeed, I would be most interested in your findings.

Sorry I could not be of greater assistance. Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Ira Berlin

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
6727 COLLEGE STATION

POSTAL CODE 27708
TELEPHONE 919—684—3626

June 20, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

I very much appreciate your sharing with me a copy of the letter you sent out requesting information on monuments and memorials to blacks in U.S. military history. I look forward to reading your dissertation when it is completed.

In his History of Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, George W. Williams proposed an elaborate monument to black soldiers who served during the Civil War. Later, he had his friend Senator George F. Hoar introduce a bill in Congress to finance the erection of the monument. Although it was discussed in both houses, it failed to pass. I discuss this matter at length in my biography of Williams, to be published in September.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope Franklin

John Hope Franklin
James B. Duke Professor of History

JHF:mf

Princeton University DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
129 DICKINSON HALL
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08544

January 7, 1985

Professor John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Professor McGlone:

Thanks very much for your compliments about Ordeal by Fire. I really appreciate such comments from knowledgable readers.

I wish I could offer you some good suggestions about monuments to black soldiers and sailors. The only one I can definitely remember seeing myself is the Shaw monument in Boston. There is a large monument to Union soldiers and sailors in Union Square in downtown Cleveland--I have seen it, but can't recall definitely whether it includes blacks. I have been to nearly all of the Civil War battlefield parks, but cant recall a monument to black soldiers at any of them. The three battlefields with the most monuments--Gettysburg, Antietam, and Vicksburg--commemorate battles or sieges in which no black soldiers were present. Since Frederick Douglass lived in Rochester during the war and played a role in recruiting for the Massachusetts 54th and 55th, in which two of his sons served, there might well be something there. Another possibility would be Kansas--perhaps Lawrence--since one of the first black regiments was recruited there.

Why don't you write to Ira Berlin, head of the Freedmen and Southern Society Project, Dept. of History, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. As you probably know, this is the major ongoing project publishing several volumes on the role of blacks in the Civil War and early Reconstruction years. The first volume (and only one so far) published is on THE BLACK MILITARY EXPERIENCE. Berlin and his staff know more about the sources in this area than anybody else, and one of his staff may have some expertise on monuments.

Good luck,

Sincerely yours,

James M. McPherson

James M. McPherson

March 26, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

In seeking information about monuments to blacks you might write to Robert A. DeForrest, 427 Whittier Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20012. Ten years ago he and his brother, Vincent, were the moving spirits behind behind the founding and operations of The Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation, one of whose major goals was to identify, publicize and seek financial support for black historic sites worthy of landmark status.

With best wishes in the good work, I am

Sincerely,

Benjamin Quarles

Benjamin Quarles

APPENDIX B

OUTLINE OF NATIONAL PARK SERVICE TRAINING SESSION

CHICKAMAUGA NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK

SEPTEMBER, 1984

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE
SOUTHEAST CULTURAL RESOURCES PRESERVATION CENTER
Training Program

"Preservation Treatments for Bronze Statuary, Plaqueing, and Architectural Features in Southeast National Military Parks"

Location of Training:

Chickamauga & Chattanooga National Military Park

Dates of Training:

10 - 13 September 1984

Training Subjects:

1. Historic and architectural assessment of Civil War Monuments
2. Preservation of bronze statuary, plaques, and architectural features
3. Ferrous and cuprous stain removal from masonry surfaces
4. Masonry repairs

Training Objectives:

Develop appropiate skills on trainees on:

1. Appreciation of Civil War Monuments as historic and architectural structures
2. Identification of deterioration processes
3. Assessment of conditions
4. Identification of appropiate treatments
5. Supervision of appropiate treatments

Means to Achieve Training Objectives:

1. General lecturing on Training Objectives
2. Intensive hands-on field training by lecturers (where appropiate)

3. Execution of Preservation Center's PAS 84-01 titled Generic Guidelines for the Preservation in situ of Bronze Statuary, Plaqueing, and Other Bronze Architectural Features in the Southeast Region (19 July 1984).

Training Schedule:

10 September 1984

A.M.: Arrival and registration of trainees

P.M.: Presentation of training course

Messrs. Robert Baker
Jack Ogle
William Harris
Ms. Ann Belkov

Historic Significance of Civil War Monuments in the Southeast

Mr. Ed Bearss

Architectural Significance of Civil War Monuments in the Southeast

Mr. Michael Panhurst

11 September 1984

A.M.: Execution of Preservation Center's PAS 84-01

Mr. Robert Johnson

Discussion of Treatment

Mr. Hugh Miller

P.M.: Execution of Preservation Center's PAS 84-01 and Other Preservation Alternatives

Mr. Robert Johnson

Discussion of Treatment

Mr. Hugh Miller

12 September 1984

A.M.: Execution of Preservation Center's PAS 84-01: Preventive Cyclic Maintenance

Mr. Robert Johnson

Discussion of Treatment

Mr. Hugh Miller

P.M.: Repair of Anchoring Systems

Mr. Robert Johnson

Discussion of Treatment

Mr. Hugh Miller

13 September 1984

A.M.: Ferrous and Cuprous Stain Removal from Masonry Surfaces

Ms. Frances Gale

P.M.: Masonry Repairs and Masonry Conservation

Mr. Norman Weiss

* * *

Lecturers

Mr. Ed Bearss, Chief Historian
National Park Service
WASO

Ms. Frances Gale, Director of Technical Research
Center for Historic Preservation Research
Division of Historic Preservation
Graduate School of Architecture
Columbia University
New York, N.Y.

Mr. Robert Johnson, Director and Metals Conservator
Whistles in the Woods Museum
Rossville, Ga.

Mr. Hugh Miller, Chief Historical Architect
National Park Service
WASO

Mr. Michael Panhurst, Consultant
National Park Service
Preservation Assistance Division
WASO

Mr. Norman Weiss, Assistant Professor
Center for Historic Preservation Research
and Division of Historic Preservation
Graduate School of Architecture
Columbia University
New York, N.Y.

Lecturing Schedule:

1. lectures by Messrs. Bearss, Panhurst, Weiss, and Ms. Gale will be 45 minutes: discussion, slide presentation and, when appropiate, field work
2. lectures by Messrs. Johnson and Miller will be field work primarily

BNM for
NPS/SERO/SCRPC
22 August 1984

APPENDIX C

INFORMATION ON THE INDEX OF AMERICAN SCULPTURE

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE
19711

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY
PHONE: 302-738-8415

November 15, 1984

Mr. John C. McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

We would be happy to have you use the Index of American Sculpture here at the University of Delaware. It might be best if you would write or call ahead of time so we can be sure to arrange a time when someone can be here to assist you. I regret to say the Index is short on staff, there being just myself and a graduate student running the place, so we have to ask that people do their own searching here. The Index is organized in two files, one a photographic file, the other a 3 x 5 card index of works; both are arranged alphabetically by sculptor. It is an old-fashioned system that grew out of my own research materials as I was writing Sculpture in America many years ago. We have continued to add to it substantially, but we have no cross listings, such as Black Military History. Plans are now afoot to have the Index put on a computer and operated out of a division of the Smithsonian in Washington. But it will be some time before that would provide the kind of cross listing that would be useful to you. As I say, you are most welcome, and our files will be open to you. My phone number is 302-451-2865.

Sincerely yours,

Wayne Craven

Wayne Craven
H. F. du Pont Winterthur
Professor of Art History

APPENDIX D

CORRESPONDENCE WITH NATIONAL SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Office of the President General
National Society Daughters Of The American Revolution
Administration Building, 1776 D Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006 - 5392

June 26, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

The address for the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation is:

P. O. Box 33652
Washington, DC 20033

Mrs. Walter J. Niedzielak
Asst. Administrative Secretary

National Society Daughters Of The American Revolution
Administration Building, 1776 D Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Office Of The President General

June 17, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

This will acknowledge your communication of June 12, received while the President General is on an official DAR trip.

In Mrs. King's absence, I am taking the liberty of bringing to your attention the fact that the proposed monument to the black patriots of the American Revolution is not a DAR project.

The Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation is seeking to establish such a memorial, and has invited the President General, NSDAR, to serve as a member of their Advisory Board.

The National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, however, is preparing a book listing black soldiers and patriots.

We are forwarding a copy of your letter to Mr. James Dent Walker, Consultant, Lineage Research Committee, NSDAR, so he may contact you regarding the information you have offered to share with NSDAR. We are sure you will hear from him shortly.

Your letter will be brought to Mrs. King's attention upon her return to Washington next month.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Walter J. Niedzielak
Asst. Administrative Secretary

cc - Mr. James Dent Walker
Consultant, Lineage Research Committee, NSDAR

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE OF LETTER SENT TO STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICES

MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE 37132

January 30, 1985

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to request your advice or assistance in locating any monuments, statues, historic plaques or other memorialization to Black Military History within your state. I am completing a doctorate in historic preservation and the subject of my dissertation is Black Military History, the monuments which exist to that history, and the preservation of those monuments.

I have finished the military history and general preservation sections. I am now in the process of locating and surveying any memorials to Black Military service from colonial time through the nineteenth century. Your help or referral to other interested parties would be most appreciated.

I am,

Sincerely,

John McGlone

John McGlone

APPENDIX F

SUMMARY GRAPH OF RESPONSES FROM STATES CONCERNING MEMORIALS TO BLACKS

SUMMARY GRAPH OF RESPONSES

Names of States	Memorialization to Black Military History: Yes	No	No Infor.	Nature of Memorial	Source of Information	Comments
Alabama		X			Alabama Hist. Comm.	Commission unaware but supportive; referred to Tuskegee
Arizona	X			Museum, fort	Museum Director	SHPO referred letter to Ft. Huachuca
Arkansas		X		None	State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO)	Regrets
California	X			State Park, Listed on Nat'l. Register	Dept. of Parks and Recreation	
Colorado	X			Museum, Mill Creek Battle Monument	Museum Director	Wrote to Postmaster at known historic site
Connecticut	X			Fort, plaque	Conn. Historical Commission	Referred to Museum of Conn. History and Ft. Griswold
Delaware		X			SHPO	
District of Columbia		X			Historical Society	

Names of States	Memorialization to Black Military History: Yes	No	No Infor.	Nature of Memorial	Source of Information	Comments
Florida	X			Negro fort	Fla. State Archivist	Referred to Historian at Florida A & M
Georgia		X			SHPO	
Idaho			X		No response	
Illinois		X			SHPO	
Indiana		X			SHPO	
Iowa			X		No response	
Kansas	X			Fort	Academic search	
Kentucky	X			Cemetery monument, marker, N.R. sites	Ky. Hist. Society Ky. Mil. Hist. Museum	Excellent cooperation; referred to many sources
Louisiana	X			NHL, Battlefield	SHPO	
Maine		X		None	Hist. Pres. Comm.	Regrets
Maryland	X			Statue in Baltimore; history plaques	Md. Comm. on Afro-Amer. Hist.	Excellent help; wrote back later

Names of States	Memorialization to Black Military History: Yes	No	No Infor.	Nature of Memorial	Source of Information	Comments
Massachusetts	X			Statues, historic sites	State Library, Academic search	
Michigan		X			SHPO	Book on blacks in Mich. but non-military
Minnesota	X			Fort	Academic research and SHPO	Hist. Soc. did not make note of Ft. Snelling
Mississippi	X			Museum, City Memorial	Dept. of Archives and History	Noteworthy (Ensign Brown) but 20th C.
Missouri		X		None	Mo. Dept. of Natural Resources	50,000 file checked on cultural resources
Montana	X			NR Fort	SHPO	Very helpful
Nebraska	X			Fort, museum	Nebr. State Hist. Society	Letter forwarded from SHPO
Nevada	X			Natural Pass	Conservation and Natural Resources	Much help; two letters in reply
New Hampshire		X			SHPO and State Historical Society	

Names of States	Memorialization to Black Military History: Yes	No	No Infor.	Nature of Memorial	Source of Information	Comments
New Jersey		X		None	Historical Comm.	"NJ Black Historic Places Survey" conducted by Comm.
New Mexico			X		No response	
New York		X			New York State Museum	SHPO responded with NR sites but not military, referred to museum
North Carolina	X			Historic markers		
North Dakota	X			Fort	State Hist. Soc.	Negative response; non-inclusive definition of men
Ohio	X			House on NR of black hero	SHPO	
Oklahoma	X				SHPO	
Oregon		X			SHPO	
Pennsylvania		X			SHPO	Extensive list of markers to blacks, but not military

Names of States	Memorialization to Black Military History: Yes	No	No Infor.	Nature of Memorial	Source of Information	Comments
Rhode Island	X			Battlefield, markers, NR	SHPO	Referred to Black Heritage Society
South Carolina	X			Historic markers	Dept. of Archives and History	Referral to several agencies
South Dakota		X		None	Historic Pres. Center	Letter referred from them to Education and Cultural Affairs
Tennessee	X			National Cemetery, historic plaque	Tenn. St. Univ.	Letter referred from SHPO to Tenn. St. U.
Texas	X			Ft. Davis, Van Horn	Academic search	Academic search
Utah	X			Fort, plaque,	Utah State Hist. Society Library	Referred to Fort Douglas Museum
Vermont		X		None	Vt. Hist. Society	One liner returned on bottom of my letter
Virginia		X		None	Va. State Library	My letter referred from SHPO

Names of States	Memorialization to Black Military History: Yes	No	No Infor.	Nature of Memorial	Source of Information	Comments
Washington		X		None	Ofc. of Archeology & Historic Pres.	Letter referred to Wash. State Library (List of markers)
West Virginia	X			Historic marker	SHPO	
Wisconsin		X		None	SHPO	
Wyoming		X		None	Wyo. Recreation Comm.	SHPO, Monuments and Markers Historian

APPENDIX G

CORRESPONDENCE: KENTUCKY

Governor Martha Layne Collins
Chancellor

James C. Ware
President

Robert B. Kinnaird
Director

KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OLD STATE HOUSE
P.O. BOX H
FRANKFORT, KY 40602 - 2108
502-564-3016

March 29, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Your recent letter requesting information about memorials to black military service has been referred to me. The subject index of UPDATE: GUIDE TO KENTUCKY HISTORICAL HIGHWAY MARKERS has a listing for black history, and, under that heading, we find two historical highway markers that mention the military service of blacks. They are Marker #124, Charles Young Birthplace, and #1419, Whitney M. Young, Jr. Enclosed are copies of the texts on those markers.

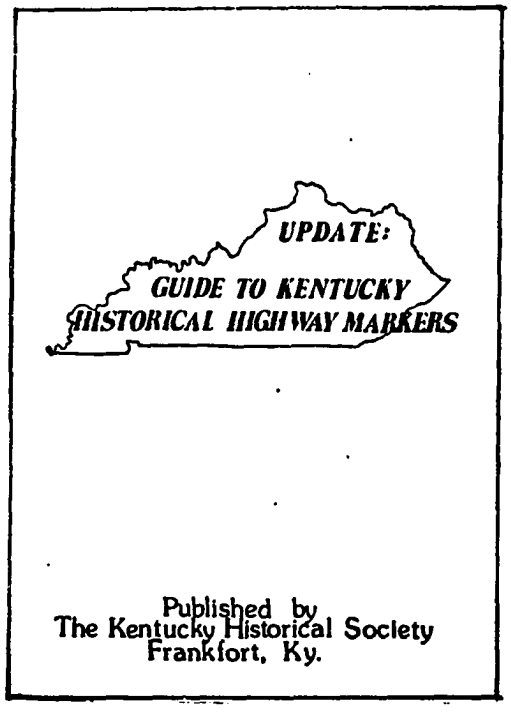
This is the best information we have. However, there could be other blacks mentioned on markers that did not get included in the index. Attached is a form for ordering UPDATE: GUIDE TO KENTUCKY HISTORICAL HIGHWAY MARKERS that gives the texts on the historical markers, if you are interested in purchasing a copy of it.

We hope this information will be of some help to you.

Sincerely,

Dianne Wells

Dianne Wells, Manager
Kentucky Highway Marker Program



The Kentucky Historical Highway Marker Program announces publication of UPDATE: GUIDE TO KENTUCKY HISTORICAL HIGHWAY MARKERS which combines the first GUIDE (1969), SUPPLEMENT (1973), and additional texts through May 1983. As a guide to the highway markers, and thus to the history of the Commonwealth, this book is designed for the travelers of Kentucky's roads, whether their travel be actual or "armchair." For motorists, this newest guide will allow the convenience of reading the markers' texts without stopping at each site. Markers, with titles and inscriptions, are listed numerically. Two indexes - subject and county - facilitate the guide's use.

Approximately 1420 markers are contained in this updated guide, and will provide on-the-spot capsule accounts of the personages, events, and places which have contributed to the rich and varied yesterdays that are Kentucky's history.

This 577-page book is 5½" x 8½" and can be carried in your automobile, or would be a nice addition to anyone's library. KHS members and friends are encouraged to take advantage of this newest publication offer. (The address for ordering is: Kentucky Historical Society, Old Capitol Annex, P. O. Box H, Frankfort, KY 40602-2108.)

UPDATE: GUIDE TO KENTUCKY HISTORICAL HIGHWAY MARKERS

$6.50 to members. $9.00 to non-members. Please add $1.00 per copy for shipping. Checks should be made payable to the Kentucky Historical Society.

Please send me _____copy/copies of the new guide.

Name_____ Member ( ): Non-Member ( )

Street and Number_____

City and State_____ Zip_____

NOW AVAILABLE---

A HISTORICAL MARKER INDEX that lists the Kentucky and the United States routes and the historical highway markers along those roads. The routes are numerically arranged, and the markers along each highway are grouped by counties. This book sells for $1.50 prepaid and can be very helpful to tourists as well as to history buffs. For example, if you are especially interested in historical markers along US 60, it is easy to find that highway in the index and then see the listing of markers in the various counties.

This 5 1/2" x 8 1/2" book contains 77 pages and coordinates with the recently published UPDATE: GUIDE TO KENTUCKY HISTORICAL HIGHWAY MARKERS to give complete information about Kentucky historical markers and their locations. (The address for ordering the HISTORICAL MARKER INDEX is: Kentucky Historical Society, Old Capitol Annex, P. O. Box H, Frankfort, Kentucky 40602-2108.)

HISTORICAL MARKER INDEX

Please send me ____ copy/copies of the HISTORICAL MARKER INDEX by highways. The cost per copy is $1.50 prepaid. Checks should be made payable to the Kentucky Historical Society.

Name_____

Street and Number_____

City and State_____Zip_____

KENTUCKY HERITAGE COUNCIL
The State Historic Preservation Office

March 8, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

The Kentucky Heritage Council does not maintain an inventory of monuments, statues and plaques; thus, we are unable to respond to your inquiry. You may be able to get information relative to your topic from the Kentucky Historical Society, Old Capitol, Broadway Street, Frankfort, Kentucky 40601 or Dr. Henry Cheaney, Department of History, Kentucky State University, Frankfort (40601).

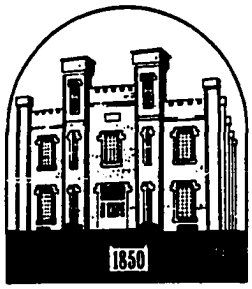
Sincerely,

Robert M. Polsgrove

Robert M. Polsgrove
Historic Sites Program Manager
Kentucky Heritage Council

RMP:bsc

12th Floor, Capital Plaza Tower Frankfort, Kentucky 40601 Telephone (502) 564-7005



Old State Arsenal
East Main Street, P.O. Box H
Frankfort, Kentucky 40602-2108
Phone: (502) 564-3265

KENTUCKY MILITARY HISTORY MUSEUM
Kentucky Historical Society - Kentucky National Guard

March 27, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:
I am personally aware of only one monument to Black military history in Kentucky. This is a monument in the Greenwood Cemetery on East Main Street here in Frankfort to Kentucky's Black soldiers in the Civil War.

Here at the museum we do have a small exhibit about the role of Black Kentuckians in the Civil War, which is entitled "Slave to Soldier." The exhibit is made up of photographic and documentary material.

I do not know if this is relevant to your project, but the name of Brooke Field, the airbase at Fort Knox, Kentucky, commemorates a Black soldier killed in the early days of the Phillipines campaign in World War Two. You might want to contact the Patton Museum at Fort Knox for further information about this or other memorials in their part of the state.

The Kentucky Historical Society maintains several hundred historical highway markers across the state. Some of these may be appropriate for your study. Therefore, I am forwarding your letter to the manager of that program, Miss Diane Wells. You should hear from her shortly.

I sincerely hope that this information is useful to your worthwhile project.

Sincerely;

Nicky Hughes
Curator

122 DRENNON SPRINGS
(1 mi. N. of New Castle, US 421, Henry Co.)

Discovered and used by Indians for medicinal properties. Claimed by Jacob Drennon and Matthew Bracken, July 26, 1773. On April 1, 1785, Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, issued to George Rogers Clark a patent for 400 acres including the springs. Site of the famous Drennon Springs Hotel and the Western Military Academy 1851.

123 CORNER IN CELEBRITIES
(Wapping & Washington Sts., Frankfort, Franklin Co.)

Homes of Thomas S. Todd, John M. Harlan, George M. Bibb, John J. Crittenden, John Brown, James Brown, Thomas Metcalfe, Robert P. Letcher, George G. Vest, Benjamin G. Brown, James Harlan, Charles S. Morehead, Thomas S. Crittenden, John C. Watson, Hugh Rodman.

124 CHARLES YOUNG BIRTHPLACE, 1864-1922
(2 mi. W. of Wedonia, KY 24, Mason Co.)

Third Negro to graduate from West Point Military Academy. Colonel, United States Army. Distinguished for his service in Haiti and Liberia as a military organizer, map maker and road builder.

125 COLONEL GEORGE NICHOLAS
(Episcopal Cemetery, E. 3rd, Lexington, Fayette Co.)

Grave of George Nicholas 1754-1799. Revolutionary soldier, Virginia House of Delegates, Father of Kentucky Constitution, First Kentucky Attorney General, Professor of Law at Transylvania University.

127 GOVERNOR JAMES CLARK
(Colby Rd., Winchester, KY 627, Clark Co.)

Home and monument of James Clark 1779-1839. Governor of Kentucky, 1836-1839. Member of Congress; Judge, Court of Appeals. As Circuit Judge he rendered his famous decision which set off the old and the new court fight in 1821.

APPENDIX H

CORRESPONDENCE: NEW JERSEY

State of New Jersey
DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

DIVISION OF PARKS AND FORESTRY
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO:
CN 404
TRENTON, N.J. 08625

March 6, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State Univ.
Department of History
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Your letter of January 30, 1985, has reached my desk for reply. Since the information you require is not available in this office, it has been suggested that I forward your letter to Dr. Giles Wright of the New Jersey Historical Commission, which is located at 113 West State St., Trenton, New Jersey 08625

Dr. Wright is involved with the Afro American History Program within the Commission. I'm sure he will respond to the best of his ability.

I certainly wish you well in your studies, I'm sorry I could not be of assistance to you myself.

Sincerely,

Loretta Malloy
Information Office

lm
c: Dr. G. Wright

New Jersey Is An Equal Opportunity Employer

New Jersey Historical Commission

Department of State
113 West State Street, CN 305 • Trenton, New Jersey 08625 • (609) 292-6062

March 29, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Sir:

I am responding to your letter of January 30 to the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection. It does not appear that there are any memorials in New Jersey (e.g., monuments, statues, plaques) that pertain to Afro-American military history. I base this on research carried out recently under a Commission project entitled "New Jersey Black Historic Places Survey." Since this survey unearthed no memorials of the nature sought by you, I am assuming there are none.

I am sorry for the delay in responding to your letter and I wish you well in your research.

Sincerely,

Giles R. Wright
Director
Afro-American History Program

GRW/ap

APPENDIX I

CORRESPONDENCE: MASSACHUSETTS

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Office of the Secretary of State
Michael Joseph Connolly, Secretary

Albert H. Whitaker, Jr.
Archivist of the Commonwealth

April 23, 1985

John McClone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McClone,

This is in response to your letter dated January 30, which was received by the State Archives from the Massachusetts Historical Commission. Unfortunately, the Archives does not maintain a list of monuments commemorating black military service for the State of Massachusetts. I am familiar only with the Saint - Gaudens monument dedicated to Robert Gould Shaw and the men of the 54th Regiment. Information of this monument is included in the enclosed brochure on Boston's Black Heritage Trail.

I hope this information is useful for your research.

Sincerely,

Martha Clark

Martha Clark
Reference Sueprvisor

Archives Division, State House, Boston, MA 02133 (617) 727-2816

APPENDIX J

CORRESPONDENCE: RHODE ISLAND

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS

HISTORICAL PRESERVATION COMMISSION
Old State House
150 Benefit Street
Providence, R.I. 02903
(401) 277-2678

March 26, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

The Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation no longer exists. Its records (and some of its members) now belong to the Black Heritage Society of Rhode Island, 1 Hilton Street, Providence (401-751-3490). The Director at BHS is Ms. Rowena Stewart, who suggested I refer your questions to her.

I'm glad our material was helpful. Good luck with your dissertation.

Sincerely,

Pamela Kennedy

Pamela Kennedy
National Register Coordinator

/aa

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS

HISTORICAL PRESERVATION COMMISSION
Old State House
150 Benefit Street
Providence, R.I. 02903
(401) 277-2678

March 4, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
MiddleTennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Enclosed is a copy of the nomination of the Site of the Battle of Rhode Island to the National Register of Historic Places, as per your request of January 30, 1985.

Sincerely,

P. Kennedy

Pamela Kennedy
National Register Coordinator

/aa
Enclosure

APPENDIX K

CORRESPONDENCE: NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources
109 East Jones Street • Raleigh, North Carolina 27611

James G. Martin, Governor

Patric Dorsey, Secretary

7 March 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennesse State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Your inquiry of monuments or historic plaques to blacks who served in the military was forwarded to me for a reply.

To my knowledge the state of North Carolina has not erected any monuments to the service of blacks in the military from the colonial period to the nineteenth century. However, we do have a North Carolina Historical Highway Marker program which erects highway markers at designated sites to individuals or places of historical significance.

I am aware of three markers which have been erected for blacks who served in the military. Those individuals, the script from the markers, the locatiion of the markers, and a brief statement are included on the attached sheet.

One publication you may want to review is Jeffrey J. Crow, The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina (Raleigh: N.C. Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1977). You may order this publication from the Historical Publications Section. I have enclosed their brochure which includes an order form.

If the Division of Archives and History can be of any further assistance to you in your research, please feel free to write.

I wish you success in your scholarly endeavors.

Sincerely,

Flora J. Hatley
Black History Coordinator

cc: Dr. William S. Price, Jr.

APPENDIX L

CORRESPONDENCE: MARYLAND

Maryland Commission
on Afro-American History and Culture

Administrative Offices **The Banneker-Douglass Museum**
84 Franklin Street
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
301—269-2893

July 1, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Please forgive me for not getting back to you sooner concerning your request for a photograph of the Baltimore monument dedicated to the black soldier. I had intended to make arrangements with our staff designer/photographer to take the photo for you, but unfortunately he has resigned within the last few weeks and we are currently in the process of finding a replacement. I have, however, contacted a Baltimore newspaper and they are searching their files for a photograph of the monument. I should hear from them within the next day or so and I will make arrangements for them to send you a copy and for us to obtain one also (we could definately use one for our files).

I hope this delay hasn't caused you any difficulty. I will be in touch as soon as possible to let you know whether or not a photograph is on the way.

Best of luck on your application to the St. Mary's City Commission. I live in St. Mary's City and commute to Annapolis, so I know the area well and I am sure that you would very much enjoy being a part of the Commission's work there.

Again, sorry for the delay.

Sincerely,

Jeanette Fox Fausz
Historical Researcher

Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture

Administrative Offices
84 Franklin Street
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
301—269-2893

The Banneker-Douglass Museum

April 11, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

I recently ran across some information that may be of help to you in completing your doctorate. Although I had written you that I could find no information on black military monuments in Maryland, I found that there was one that I had overlooked. A bronze statue does exist in Defender's Square, Baltimore. The statue depicts a black soldier and is "dedicated to the memory of the Negro heroes of the United States." It was placed there in 1971. The statue was done by Dr. James Lewis.

I hope this information is of some help to you. Sorry I didn't get it to you sooner.

Sincerely,

Jeanette Fox Fausz

Jeanette Fox Fausz
Historical Researcher

Maryland Commission
on Afro-American History and Culture

Administrative Offices **The Banneker-Douglass Museum**
84 Franklin Street
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
301—269-2893

March 21, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Your letter of inquiry concerning historic markers relating to black military history within Maryland has been passed on to me. I am currently waiting to receive information on this topic and will get back to you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Jeanette Fox Fausz
Historical Researcher

Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture

Administrative Offices
84 Franklin Street
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
301-269-2893

The Banneker-Douglass Museum

April 2, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

I have been able to complete some investigating for you on your topic of "black military monuments." After contacting several individuals and doing some research in local libraries I can find no mention of any memorials directly related to black military events or individuals within our state. The only information that I came across was concerning John Brown's Raid. According to the Maryland Historical Society there is a roadside marker in Washington County (Chesnut Grove Road) which marks the site of the Kennedy Farm, from which John Brown led his raiders (many of whom were black) to Harper's Ferry in 1859. The marker was placed there by the State Road Commission. Also, of course, there are several monuments to Frederick Douglass within the state. Two are in Dorchester County (at his birthplace and also in the town of Cambridge, Maryland) and one on the campus of Morgan State University (a statue). None of these, however, focus upon Douglass military involvement in the Civil War recruiting black soldiers.

It may be possible to obtain further information from the Maryland Historical Society, although I think they would have little more to offer. They maintain files on all of the State roadside markers including text. I was able to obtain a listing of all of them from the Society (without text). From what I looked through the Kennedy Farm and Douglass markers appeared to be the only ones that would be of interest to you. The Historical Society stated that they would not have the time to look through each file, but that they would allow someone to come there and look for the information on their own. I doubt if there would be more to find.

The study of Afro-American history in Maryland is still in the early stages—especially in the realm of military history. I hope this information is of some help to you in completing your doctorate. Please let me know if I can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely,

Jeanette Fox Fausz

Jeanette Fox Fausz
Historical Researcher

APPENDIX M

CORRESPONDENCE: WEST VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE AND HISTORY

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA
ARCH A. MOORE, JR., GOVERNOR

NORMAN L. FAGAN, COMMISSIONER

June 4, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

I located two sources on monuments or memorials within West Virginia that may relate to black military history.

A pamphlet published in 1963 by American Oil Company called American Travelers Guide to Negro Monuments which list Harpers Ferry National Monument.

John Brown on October 16, 1859, with eighteen men, including five Negroes, seized the armory of the United States arsenal and took possession of the village.

A Negro was the first of John Brown's men to die.

A highway marker located in Jefferson County, West Virginia, called John Brown's Fort, is on U.S. 340 on Washington and Jackson Streets in Harpers Ferry.

Sincerely,

Harold L. Newman

Harold L. Newman
Researcher

HLN:mms

THE CULTURAL CENTER / CAPITOL COMPLEX / CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA / 25305 / 304•348•0220

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE AND HISTORY

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA
ARCH A. MOORE, JR., GOVERNOR

NORMAN L. FAGAN, COMMISSIONER

May 30, 1985

Mr. John McGlove
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlove:

I trust the enclosures will prove useful in your research project on military memorials honoring Black Americans.

Call should you need additional information (304-348-0240). I will have a photo made if you require one.

Sincerely,

Rodney Collins

Rodney Collins
Architectural Historian
Historic Preservation Unit

RC:dh

Enclosures

THE CULTURAL CENTER / CAPITOL COMPLEX / CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA / 25305 / 304•348•0220

APPENDIX N

CORRESPONDENCE: SOUTH CAROLINA

SOUTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
Post Office Box 11,669
Capitol Station
Columbia, South Carolina 29211

3/19/85
Date
AJH
Ref.

REPLY TO QUERY SHEET

The South Carolina Archives gladly furnishes information from the public records in its custody but it can not answer questions which involve consultation of records in other depositories or which require extensive research in its own collections.

(*) A brief report on relevant material follows:

While there are several markers and one building commemorating black service in World War I, there is only one historical marker of possible relevance in your time period. The marker is dedicated to Robert Smalls. Please see the enclosed material for more details.

( ) The Archives is returning your check/cash/money order. Unsolicited checks received with mail queries delay response time. Please do not send any money until a cost estimate is received. We appreciate your cooperation. A reply will follow.

( ) The Archives staff can not check microfilmed records unless an adequate reference is provided. Likewise, the Archives staff can not check census records.

( ) Many S. C. Counties lost all or part of their records in the nineteenth century, primarily during the Civil War. Relevant for your query are the following records of the following counties:

( ) Please write the National Archives for the following:

( ) Many research questions can be answered by consulting J. H. Easterby, Guide to the Study and Reading of South Carolina (available from the Reprint Co., Spartanburg, S. C.) or John H. Moore, Research Materials in South Carolina (Columbia, University of S. C. Press, 1967).

( ) The South Carolina Archives is the official repository for the public records of the State of South Carolina and as such does not collect private manuscripts, genealogies or newspapers. Please consult:

( ) The Archives does not participate in inter-library loan.

( ) The Archives acknowledges receipt of your letter. However, your query requires considerable research; so, there will be a delay in replying.

COUNTY COUNCIL OF BEAUFORT COUNTY
ARTHUR HORNE COUNTY OFFICE BUILDING
POST OFFICE DRAWER 1228
BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA 29901 (803) 525-7100

May 29, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
c/o Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Your letter to the City of Beaufort was referred to me.

Under separate cover, the Beaufort Gazette is sending you a photo of the Robert Smalls sculpture.

I would like to mention the following points, of which you are doubtedlessly aware:

1. *The role of blacks as armed soldiers in the military defense of South Carolina during the Yemassee Indian War of 1715.*

2. *The existence of a hall and auxiliary bodies of the Grand Army of the Republic in Beaufort.*

3. *The many grave stones in the National Cemetery in Beaufort marked U.S.C.T.*

4. *The almost certainty that Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, commanding officer of the 54th Mass. Vol. Infantry Regiment, is buried as "Unknown" in the above Beaufort National Cemetery, not at Fort Wagner, as is popularly assumed to be the case.*

5. *The site of Camp Saxton, where the South Carolina Volunteers camped, on the grounds of the U.S. Naval Hospital, near the ruins of Fort Frederick.*

6. *The payment of Confederate pensions to blacks in South Carolina.*

Mr. John McGlone
May 29, 1985
Page Two

Please let me know if I can be of help to you in this most interesting endeavor.

Sincerely,

Gerhard Spieler

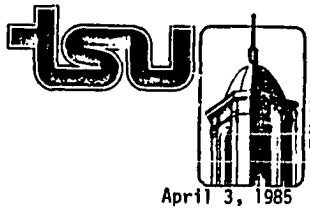
Gerhard Spieler
Administrative Assistant

GS:ch

cc: Jack E. Miller

APPENDIX O

CORRESPONDENCE: TENNESSEE



School of Arts and Sciences
Tennessee State University
3500 John A. Merritt Blvd.
Nashville, TN 37203

April 3, 1985

Office of the Dean

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
History Department
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Mrs. Linda Wynn of the Tennessee Historical Commission asked me to assist in your request for advice on locating monuments, statues, historic plaques or other memorialization to Black Military History in Tennessee in the pursuit of your D. A. Degree.

Relative to Civil War history, most blacks were in the Union Army. This portion of (Union) history has been grossly neglected in pro-Confederate Tennessee. Therefore, you will find few, if any, monuments or plaques dedicated to Negro Union Troops. You may, however, use your discretion about what constitutes a monument: (1) Negro Yankees are interred in the national cemeteries at Murfreesboro, Nashville, Knoxville, Memphis, and Chattanooga. (2) A historical plaque for Overton Hill does not mention blacks; but, the troops who assaulted the hill in the Battle of Nashville (1864) were Negroes. (3) The Hadley Park entrance in Nashville is dedicated to blacks in World War I, I believe. Also, (4) The Cameron School in Nashville is named for a black WW II veteran. (5) I think (check it) the Clayborn Low-Income Housing Project in Memphis is named for a Korean War black veteran. And, you may find a building or two such as the branch post office on Mississippi Boulevard in Memphis named for some former military black persons such as Lt. Lee.

Sincerely,

Dr. Bobby L. Lovett
Acting Associate Dean

Professor of History

BLL: s

pc: Mrs. Linda Wynn
Tennessee Historical Commission

APPENDIX P

CORRESPONDENCE: LOUISIANA

Edwin W. Edwards
Governor
Noelle LeBlanc
Secretary

State of Louisiana

Department Of Culture, Recreation And Tourism
Office Of Cultural Development
Robert B. DeBlieux
Assistant Secretary

May 15, 1985

Division Of Archaeology
Kathleen Byrd, Director
Division Of The Arts
Albert B. Hsu, Director
Division Of Historic Preservation
Ann Reilly Jones, Director
Folklife Program
Nicholas R. Spitzer,
Program Manager

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Re: Role of Blacks in U. S. Military History

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning the above. The only thing that comes to mind is Port Hudson Battlefield Park (copy of National Register nomination enclosed). This National Historic Landmark battlefield is administered by the Louisiana Office of State Parks.

I hope we have been of assistance.

Sincerely,

Donna Fricker

Donna Fricker
Historian

DF/bc

Enclosure

P.O. BOX 44247 BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA 70804 (504) 922-0358

APPENDIX Q

CORRESPONDENCE: OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma Historical Society
STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE
Wiley Post Historical Building
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105
405/521-2491

May 23, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

We have received your request concerning your doctorial discertation. Two outstanding historic properties in Oklahoma are associated with the participation of Blacks in the military. Enclosed is a copy of the National Register nomination form for both. Honey Springs Battlefield is currently owned by our agency. Flipper's Ditch is included within the Fort Sill National Historic Landmark District.

We hope this information will be of help to you. Should there be further questions, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

Melvena Heisch

Melvena Heisch
Deputy State Historic
Preservation Officer

MH:kt

Enclosures

APPENDIX R

CORRESPONDENCE: CALIFORNIA

STATE OF CALIFORNIA · THE RESOURCES AGENCY GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN, Governor
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION
P.O. BOX 2390
SACRAMENTO 95811
(916) 322-0605

March 13, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Thank you for your letter of January 30, 1985 requesting information on Black military history in California. The State of California has memorialized the town of Allensworth as a state historic park in a tribute to an important Black military leader and social reformer.

Allen Allensworth, a former slave, joined the United States Navy in 1863 and then, in 1866, secured an appointment in the United States Army as a chaplain. Allensworth retired in 1906 with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Enclosed is an extract of the General Development Plan for Colonel Allensworth State Historic Park prepared under the guidance of the Department of Parks and Recreation for the "purpose of portraying to all Californians and all Americans an example of the achievements and contributions Black Americans have made to the history and development of California and the nation." A complete copy of the General Development Plan may be purchased from the California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Publications, P.O. Box 2390, Sacramento, CA 95811.

On February 23, 1972, the National Park Service in Washington, D.C. approved the Allensworth Historic District as a property on the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register is the official federal inventory of the nation's cultural properties worthy of preservation. A copy of the National Register application for Allensworth is also enclosed for your examination.

Sincerely,

Eugene Itogawa

Eugene Itogawa
Historian
Office of Historic Preservation

Enclosures

D-2711H

APPENDIX S

EXCERPT FROM NOMINATION FORM OF COL. CHARLES YOUNG HOME TO NATIONAL REGISTER

Excerpt from National Register Form nominating home of Col. Charles Young, Wilberforce, Ohio, to National Register of Historic Places.

NHL

Form 10-300 (Rev. 6-72)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY – NOMINATION FORM

(Type all entries - complete applicable sections)

STATE: OHIO
COUNTY: GREENE
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY DATE 7/74

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME

COMMON: Colonel Charles Young House

AND/OR HISTORIC:

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER: Columbus Pike between Clifton and Stevenson Roads

CITY OR TOWN: Wilberforce | CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT: 7th

STATE: Ohio | CODE | COUNTY: Greene | CODE

3. CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP		STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
☐ District ☒ Building ☐ Site ☐ Structure ☐ Object	☐ Public ☒ Private ☐ Both	Public Acquisition: ☐ In Process ☐ Being Considered	☒ Occupied ☐ Unoccupied ☐ Preservation work in progress	Yes: ☐ Restricted ☐ Unrestricted ☒ No

PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

☐ Agricultural ☐ Government ☐ Park ☐ Transportation ☐ Comments
☐ Commercial ☐ Industrial ☒ Private Residence ☐ Other (Specify)
☐ Educational ☐ Military ☐ Religious
☐ Entertainment ☐ Museum ☐ Scientific

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME: Chester A. Allen and Marilyn E. Ware Allen (granddaughter of Colonel Young)

STREET AND NUMBER: 1314 14th Street

CITY OR TOWN: Portsmouth 45662 | STATE: Ohio | CODE

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC: Greene County Court House

STREET AND NUMBER: Main and Detroit Streets

CITY OR TOWN: Xenia | STATE: Ohio | CODE

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY: Military Survey 4340-442

DATE OF SURVEY: 1875-1896 ☒ Federal ☐ State ☐ County ☐ Local

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: Greene County Court House

STREET AND NUMBER: Main and Detroit Streets

CITY OR TOWN: Xenia | STATE: Ohio | CODE

STATE: OHIO
COUNTY: GREENE
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER
DATE

7. DESCRIPTION

CONDITION	(Check One) ☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☒ Fair ☐ Deteriorated ☐ Ruins ☐ Unexposed
	(Check One) ☒ Altered ☐ Unaltered — (Check One) ☐ Moved ☐ Original Site

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (If known) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The two-story Young house is a brick structure located approximately fifty feet from the north side of Highway 42, approximately two-thirds of the way from Xenia to Wilberforce, Ohio. The house has been painted white and has a stately appearance without being overly decorative or pretentious. The original house site was over a cellar with a stone wall foundation. Both the cellar and the foundation are in need of repair. The house has load bearing, exterior brick walls with wood floor joists.

The original building was T-shaped, but a rectangular addition has been added on the north, which is the rear, side of the building. On the west side of the building a wood framed arbor supported by three concrete columns is still intact. Under the arbor is a paved patio and in the center of this patio is located a decorative water fountain. With the rectangular addition at the rear of the original house the arbor patio is surrounded on three sides by building, thus giving this area a sheltered or partially enclosed feeling. If the fountain and arbor were repaired this would be a beautiful setting. The house is trimmed with a heavy and rather ornate cornice work which is renaissance in character.

The roof in the center of the front facade of the house contains a gable which has a semi-circular stained glass window. There are five sets of openings across the front of the house on each level and the placement of all windows and trim is very symmetrical. There is a porch which extends the entire length of the front and wraps around onto the west elevation. A waist high masonry wall has been built around the porch and this wall is in need of repair. Parts of the wall lean outward and a portion of the back side on the wall at the east end is missing. The brick work on the house particularly the southeast corner needs attention.

A one-story porch roof shades almost all the south or front elevation on the house. The outside edge of the porch is supported by two columns and back edge of the porch roof rests on two semi-recessed columns which occur on the face of the building. The roof over the porch has in the center, a gabled section which reflects the gable on the house roof above. In the center of this porch gable is a circular decorative medallion. The cornice on the porch roof like on the main roof is decorative and almost renaissance in character. The rectangular windows which are symmetrically placed across the front of the house on the main floor level have a rectangular stained glass section over each window. On the west side of the house two flat roofed dormers pertrude, but on the east side only one dormer is shown. The rectangular addition which has been added onto the rear of the house is also two stories, has identical roof pitches, but its exterior surface is stucco in lieu of brick as was on the original house.

It is difficult to summarize to a particular style of architecture for it appears that the house is ecletic in that it has some predominate features from many of the styles of great houses in the past.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

8. SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD (Check One or More as Appropriate)

- ☐ Pre-Columbian
- ☐ 15th Century
- ☐ 16th Century
- ☐ 17th Century
- ☐ 18th Century
- ☒ 19th Century
- ☒ 20th Century

SPECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicable and Known) 1864-1922

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

- Aboriginal
  - ☐ Prehistoric
  - ☐ Historic
- ☐ Agriculture
- ☐ Architecture
- ☐ Art
- ☐ Commerce
- ☐ Communications
- ☐ Conservation
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Industry
- ☐ Invention
- ☐ Landscape Architecture
- ☐ Literature
- ☒ Military
- ☐ Music
- ☒ Political
- ☐ Religion/Philosophy
- ☐ Science
- ☐ Sculpture
- ☐ Social/Humanitarian
- ☐ Theater
- ☐ Transportation
- ☐ Urban Planning
- ☒ Other (Specify) Afro-American History

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Colonel Charles Young (1864-1922), the third black to graduate from the United States Military Academy at West Point, was the highest ranking black officer in World War I. He was also the only black to graduate from the Academy between 1877, when the first two black cadets, Henry O. Flipper and John Alexander, were commissioned, and 1936, when now retired Air Force Lieutenant General Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. received his gold bars. Upon graduation from West Point, Young started his career in the 10th Cavalry, was breifly seconded to the 25th Infantry, and on 31 October 1889 was permanently reassigned to the 9th Cavalry.

In 1894 Young became the second black to receive a federal appointment to a military department when he was assigned to Professor of Science and Military Tactics at Wilberforce University in Ohio. While at Wilberforce, Young taught French and Mathematcis in addition to his military courses and coached the drama and glee clubs. He served with marked success until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898. At that time, although he had requested that he be given permission to join his regiment, he was given the command of the 9th Ohio Volunteer Infantry (Colored) for a brief period. His troops did not serve in Cuba as he wished them too, despite the fact that he drilled them to peak efficiency and bore down on physical training, fitness and discipline.

Several regular enlisted men from Ohio who served under Young during the Spanish-American War, later became officers and served with distinction in World War I. The 9th Ohio Volunteers' first camp was Camp Alger, Virginia. It was here that a group of white soldiers refused to salute Young because of his color. Young took off his coat and made them salute it, showing respect for the rank if not for him.

Young was honorably mustered out of the Volunteer Service in January of 1899 and rejoined his troop, the 9th Cavalry, at Fort Du Chesne. Following eighteen months of distinguished service in the Phillipines, Young commanded Troop "I" at San Francisco in 1902, and then was appointed acting Superintendent of the Sequoia and General Grant National Parks, California. (Patrolling and administering the National Parks was an Army responsibility until the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916.) An officer inspecting troops in the park reported:

> The drill of Captain Young's "I" Company (9th Cav.) was excellent His troop is without doubt the best instructed of any of the four

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

Form 10-300a
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
OHIO	
COUNTY	
GREENE	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

8. SIGNIFICANCE - Page Two

troops on duty in the parks, and he is entitled to credit for keeping it up to the proper standard of instruction while attending to his many duties as Park Superintendent.

The Board of Trade of Visalia, California, was so impressed with Young's performance that they passed a resolution extending a vote of thanks to him for outstanding service.

Following his service in the West, Young was appointed as the United States military attache to Haiti by Theodore Roosevelt. He was the first of his race to be so appointed. He was also the first foreign military attache ever assigned by any country to the Republic of Haiti. American black ministers were no novelty in Haiti since 1869 when Ebenezer Don Carlos Bassett, America's first black diplomat, appointed by President Grant, presented his credentials, but "Capitaine Young" in his dashing uniforms, with his knowledge of French, and soon of Creole, won all hearts. When presented at the National Palace to President Nord-Alexis, the local newspapers described Young as a "beau noir" whose charming manners captivated all who met him. During his service in Haiti from 1904 to 1907, Young was responsible for what the American Minister William F. Powell described as, "the best and most accurate map [of Haiti] that has ever been charted." Young also found time to compile, translate and write the following works:

The Handbook of Creole as Spoken in Haiti. (An excellent French-English-Creole dictionary),
Island of Haiti by L. Gentil Tippenhauer. (A translation from the German) and,
Military Morale of Nations and Races. (An original study).

Young later served as military attache and adviser to the Liberian Frontier Force, and as commander of the 2nd squadron of the 10th Cavalry in Mexico.

Expecting active service with the outbreak of World War I, Colonel Young was instead found medically unfit for active service by army doctors and forced to retire from service. Rather than accept this verdict, Colonel Young rode 500 miles from his home in Ohio to Washington, D.C., to personally appeal for a reversal of the Army's decision. Less than a week before the armistice, the Army recalled Young. He was reassigned to Liberia. He died in Nigeria in 1922 on his way to a reunion with his family in Paris. Young was buried by the British, with full military honors, in Ikoyi Cemetery, Lagos. Later, on the insistence of his widow, his body was returned to the United States. Full military honors were again rendered when the body was escorted aboard the S.S. Hesseltine for the journey home. Three buglers of the West African Frontier Force and a detachment of Nigerian soldiers preceded the coffin. The buglers sounded "Last Post" and the colors were at half-mast as the coffin was set

Form 10-300a
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
OHIO	
COUNTY	
GREENE	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

8. SIGNIFICANCE - Page Three

aboard the ship. Upon the arrival of the flag-draped casket in New York, a procession from the armory of the Colonel Charles Young Post 398, American Legion, led mourners to a memorial service in the great hall of New York College. Assistant Secretary of State Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. was the principal speaker. From New York, Young's body was taken to Washington, D.C. where a large crowd waited at Union Station to escort it in honor to Arlington Cemetery. Washington's "colored schools" were given a holiday and crowds lined the streets as the cortege made its way along Pennsylvania Avenue to M Street and across Key Bridge to Fort Myer; the casket on a horse-drawn caisson was followed by Young's favorite horse, riderless and boots reversed. Services were held in Arlington's marble ampitheatre. Major O. J. W. Scott, Army Chaplain, and friend of Young's from his Wilberforce days, delivered the funeral oration.

In addition to his achievements as a military officer, Young was also a linguist and an accomplished musician. He knew German, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and Greek and voraciously read literature in the original. Young played the piano, violin, and cornet, and composed pieces for them, including a cradle song, an African suite, and a Caribbean suite. He composed music for lyrics his friend Paul Laurence Dunbar had written. Colonel Young also arranged hymns and composed serenades for his church choir's performances.

Colonel Charles Young is of national historical significance because he was the highest-ranking black officer in World War I; he was the first black military attache in American history; he was the second black federally appointed to a military department; and he was nationally known and admired by black people who identified with his triumphs and felt his defeats as though they were their own. It was largely through public outcry following his dismissal from the Army, that the Army later reinstated him.

GPO 921-724

APPENDIX T

CORRESPONDENCE: NEBRASKA

Phone (402) 471-3270

1500 R STREET, BOX 82554
LINCOLN, NEBRASKA 68501

March 28, 1985

John McGlone
Dept. of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Your letter of January 30th regarding memorials to Black Military History has been received. I was unable to confirm the existence of any such monuments or memorials in this state. Units of the 9th and 10th Cavalry did serve at Ft. Robinson and at Ft. Niobrara in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. After 1900, the 25th Infantry was stationed at Ft. Niobrara. Some accounts relating to the experiences of Black soldiers from these units appear in articles in Nebraska History and elsewhere.

You may also wish to contact the Great Plains Black Museum in Omaha at 2213 Lake St., 68111. Mrs. Bertha Calloway is Director.

Sincerely,

James E. Potter
State Archivist

JEP/lm

It is not mentioned that they were Black Soldiers, but the names of Emanuel Stance and George Jordon, Medal of Honor recipients are included in the legend of the Historical Marker at the Fort Robinson cemetery site; and people from the 9th and 10th Cavalry Association were participants in the Fort Robinson Centennial Memorial Day 1974 event at the cemetery site. I also have a 13½ minute motion picture film which is shown frequently during the summer evening film programs and on other occasions. This film is an interview with former 10th Cavalry soldier, Bill Bailey, Edgemont So. Dakota who came from Fort Riley to Fort Robinson Remount Depot to pick up remount horses in the early 1920's; followed by the narration over our Black Soldier photo collection detailing the service of the Black Soldier at Fort Niobrara and Fort Robinson.

Mention of the Black Soldiers at Fort Niobrara is also made in Fall 1984 Nebraska History "Fort Niobrara, 1880-1906; Guardian of the Rosebud Sioux by Thomas Buecker".

Finally, the Nebraska Game and Parks Commission wanted to name the former officers quarters, now used as visitor accomodations, to honor some of the famous officers in the fort's heritage so the names of John Alexander and Charles Young appear in front of two of the quarters.

I trust this information will be of assistance to your project. Incidentally, have you had the opportunity to read *Fort Robinson Nebraska: The History of a Military Community 1874-1916* by Frank N. Schubert, 1977, available through University Microfilms International? It contains lots of information on the Black Soldier.

Cordially,

Vance E. Nelson

Vance E. Nelson
Curator

VEN/dh

APPENDIX U

CORRESPONDENCE: MINNESOTA

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FOUNDED IN 1849
Fort Snelling History Center, St. Paul MN 55111 • (612) 726-1171

March 6, 1985

March 6, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

In answer to your letter, I am aware of no markers for Black Military history in Minnesota. I am sorry I cannot be of further help to you.

Sincerely,

David W. Nystuen
Director of Field Services

DWN:mls

APPENDIX V

CORRESPONDENCE: ARIZONA

ARIZONA
STATE
PARKS

1688 WEST ADAMS STREET
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85007
TELEPHONE 602-255-4174

March 7, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Thank you for your interest in Arizona's history. To our knowledge, the only memorialization to Black military history in this state is located at Fort Huachuca, a National Historic Landmark. Fort Huachuca played an important role in opening up southern Arizona for settlement by providing protection to settlers from the Apache Indians. It is our understanding that there were all Black cavalry units stationed at Fort Huachuca during the latter part of the nineteenth century. For more information concerning this matter, we encourage you to contact both the Arizona Historical Society and the museum facility at Fort Huachuca. Their addresses are as follows:

Post Museum Department of the Army Headquarters - Fort Huachuca Fort Huachuca, AZ 85613	Arizona Historical Society 949 East Second Street Tucson, AZ 85719

Again, thank you for your interest, and good luck with your doctorate work.

Sincerely,

Sarah E Eichinger

Sarah E. Eichinger
Preservation Planner

for Donna J. Schober
State Historic Preservation Officer

SEE:mes

APPENDIX W

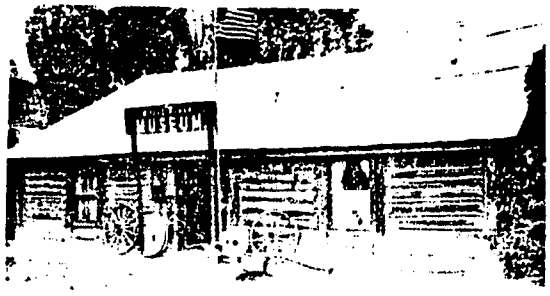
CORRESPONDENCE: COLORADO

Meeker, Colo
April 3, 1985

John McGlone:

Dear Sir: I have searched my books and history here at our museum, and cannot find too much record of the black troops who came in to help at the Milk Creek battle where Major Thornburgh was killed and several of his men. I am having what I can find run off for you. In a book I have on Indian affairs there is this article I am sending. We do have more on the battle at Milk Creek, and there is a monument there with all the names of the dead. Hope you may be able to come visit our area and the Museum. We also have a marker that marks the massacre of Nathan Meeker and his ten men. It is located about five miles west of our town of Meeker on the White River. You could get lots of history of the markers, monuments and the battlefield if you could visit here sometime. Hoping this information helps you.

Sincerely,
Iva Kendall--Curator
Iva Kendall



WELCOME TO MEEKER

Site of America's Last Major Indian Uprising

The town of Meeker was born as a result of the white man's endeavor to control and educate the Ute Indians. The Agency on the White River was put in charge of Nathan C. Meeker and in 1879, the Utes under Chief Colorow rebelled and massacred Nathan C. Meeker . . . killed the civilian men employed at the Agency . . . and took captive Mrs. Meeker, Miss Josephine Meeker, and Mrs. Price and her two children.

Colonel Merritt arrived to find the ruins of the Agency still smoking. He moved on up the valley and established his Camp on the White River, which later became the town of Meeker.

The officer's quarters were built of cottonwood logs and one of the buildings now houses the White River Museum. The soldier's barracks on Main Street were later replaced by the settlers with more permanent buildings. When the Army moved out, the barracks were sold and a ready-made town was named Meeker.

Local sites include the historic Meeker Hotel where Teddy Roosevelt stayed when he hunted mountain lions ... the Bar Bell Ranch where Eleanor Roosevelt visited her son Elliot ... the oil shale on Piceance Creek ... and the Rock School— the one-room school that has been in continuous use since it was built at the turn of the century.

Range Call Rodeo — Colorado's oldest — was started in 1885. It is presented, along with a parade, pageant and barbecue, each Fourth of July.

The White River country has much to offer in history, scenery and recreation. The area is famous for deer and elk hunting ... the finest year-round fishing ... snowmobiling ... and unspoiled wilderness areas.

it was probably more fitting to ignore him. Cherry could give the fellow to understand that the United States Army, not Chief Ouray or this Agent Stanley, was in charge of the Utes. Brady must realize that only the fate of the white women and the Utes' unconditional surrender interested the Colonel. If Chief Jack had any helpful ideas on these matters, he and his henchmen had better surrender to headquarters at once.

Without deigning to look at Brady again, Merritt lay down once more beneath the wagon and closed his eyes. Brady listened to Cherry for some minutes and then crossed Milk Creek through the cottonwoods and went back up the long ridge to report to Jack. Through field glasses, Cherry watched the Indians milling around the white man. Twice a small group of them seemed on the point of coming down the ridge. But in the end they trotted away with Brady toward Yellowjacket Pass.

FOUR DAYS LATER, Merritt's force at Milk Creek was increased to nine hundred by the arrival of Colonel C. C. Gilbert and six companies of the Seventh Infantry from Fort Snelling, Dakota Territory. The incoming men passed the outgoing members of the original Thornburgh force who were being escorted with their dead and wounded to Fort Steele and Fort D. A. Russell by Captain Dodge's Company D.

And on Saturday, October 11, red-whiskered Jim Baker and Eugene Taylor, the Milk Creek trader, led Merritt and his cavalry through Coal Creek Canyon to the Farm That Jack Built and on down White River. Near the old Danforth coal mine in the middle of the canyon, some soldiers followed a trail of blood up the stream bank to the mine where they found the body of a curly-haired white boy, a coat folded under his head and a Winchester cocked and clasped in his hand.

One of his legs had a bullet wound in it and both feet were bound in pieces of buckskin. Apparently he had crawled down

evidently considered his advance with all his troops as an act of war, and when he crossed the reservation line at Milk Creek—a point about 25 miles distant from the agency—and was about to enter a cañon, a body of not less than 100 Indians were discovered, who opened upon the soldiers a deadly fire. Fighting as they went, the command fell back on the wagon train which was coming up in the rear. In this retreat Major Thornburgh and several others were killed. Horses, wagons, and everything available were immediately used for breastworks, while the Indians from the surrounding bluffs kept up a galling fire. In this desperate position the command under Captain Payne held its own until the morning of the 2d of October, when it was re-enforced by Company D, of the Ninth Cavalry, under Captain Dodge. This single company of colored troops, hearing of the fight, made forced marches, without orders, through the enemy's country, to the relief of the survivors.

Meantime, as soon as the news of the battle reached headquarters, several large bodies of troops were ordered to Milk Creek, and on the morning of October 5 Colonel Merritt arrived there with 600 men. He found the total losses to be 12 killed and 43 wounded. The combined forces then proceeded to the agency, where they found only dead bodies and burned buildings.

The news of the fight with Major Thornburg was conveyed by runners to the Indian camp near the agency, and the agent's letter of the 29th to Major Thornburgh had hardly been dispatched when the massacre of the agency employés began. All the men, eight in number, were shot; the wife and daughter of the agent and the wife of one of the employés, with her two children, took refuge in an adobe building and remained there for four hours until the buildings were fired. They then took the opportunity, while the Indians were busily engaged in helping themselves to the annuity goods, to escape to the sage-bush, but during their flight were discovered and fired upon by the Indians, Mrs. Meeker receiving a flesh wound. They were then taken captive and conveyed by the Indians, after a toilsome journey of several hours, to the camp to which three or four days previous the Indian women and children had been removed. Two teamsters who were coming up with Indian goods at the time of the massacre were also killed. The Indian report their loss in the first day of their attack on the troops as 23, and afterwards in their struggle with the employés and the freighters as 14.

While these events were transpiring among the White River Utes, Chief Ouray and his band had started out on a two months' hunt; but, as soon as he learned from an Indian runner of the massacre and the capture of the women, he hastened back to his agency in great anxiety and alarm, and immediately issued the following order:

LOS PINOS INDIAN AGENCY,
October 2, 1879.

To the chief captains, headmen, and Utes at the White River Agency:

You are hereby requested and commanded to cease hostilities against the whites, injuring no innocent persons or any others farther than to protect your own lives and

APPENDIX X

CORRESPONDENCE: NEVADA

RICHARD H. BRYAN
Governor

STATE OF NEVADA

ROLAND D. WESTERGARD
State Historic Preservation Officer

DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES
DIVISION OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND ARCHEOLOGY
201 S. Fall Street
Capitol Complex
Carson City, Nevada 89710
(702) 885-5138

March 18, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Thank you for your letter of January 30, 1985. I am sorry to say that Nevada has no monuments, statues, historic placques or other memorialization to Black Military History. Although blacks have made a distinct contribution to the State, their role in the military here has been less significant.

Beckwourth, a black trapper who was early in crossing the State and who discovered "Beckwourth Pass", was involved in expeditions associated with the Mexican War, but structures associated with this intrepid soul are on the California side of the border. In fact, I do not believe that California has anything to memorialize Beckwourth.

For your interest, I have enclosed a copy of the speech given February 7, 1985, by State Senator Neal, one of our most eloquent spokesmen of the black community. Although it does not address the military, it is a nice summary of the black contribution to Nevada.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

Sincerely,

RONALD M. JAMES, Deputy
State Historic Preservation Officer

de
Enclosure

RICHARD H. BRYAN
Governor

STATE OF NEVADA

ROLAND D. WESTERGARD
State Historic Preservation Officer

DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES
DIVISION OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND ARCHEOLOGY
201 S. Fall Street
Capitol Complex
Carson City, Nevada 89710
(702) 885-5138

March 26, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

I wish I could answer all of your questions. Beckwourth Pass is actually in California, so we do not have complete records on the subject. Highway 70 goes over the Pass which cuts across the Sierra Nevada Range northwest of Reno. I cannot imagine there not being a highway sign which labels the Pass, but you may wish to verify that through the California Highway Department.

The Nevada Historical Society, 1650 North Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada 89503, might have more complete records on Beckwourth and the Pass. You might write to them. You might also look at Russ Elliott's History of Nevada, 1973, p. 387.

Again, I am sorry that I cannot be of more help. Yours sounds like an interesting project. Please contact me if I can be of more help.

Sincerely,

RONALD M. JAMES, Deputy
State Historic Preservation Officer

de

APPENDIX Y

CORRESPONDENCE: MONTANA

AND

EXCERPT FROM NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION FORM

MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE
225 NORTH ROBERTS STREET • (406) 444-4584 • HELENA, MONTANA 59620

April 16, 1985

John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear John,

In response to your inquiry regarding historic places and monuments in Montana that are associated with Black military history, I have rather disappointing news. To my knowledge, no monuments or historic structures exist in the State that can be directly associated with the Black calvary or infantry soldiers that were garrisoned in Montana. You will find a number of Black regiments were stationed here historically, but their presence has not been commemorated to date with monuments or other phyiscal reminders. Fort Shaw, Fort Assiniboine, Fort Harrison, Fort Baker, Fort Custer, and Fort Missoula each were garrisoned with Black soldiers at one time. Perhaps the most well documented activities of Black soliders in the State occured at Fort Missoula, near Missoula, Montana, where the 25th Infantry was stationed from 1888-1898. I am enclosing a copy of the draft nomination to the National Register of Historic Places for the Fort Missoula Historic District for your information. From Fort Missoula, the 25th Infantry set out on a most interesting experiment to explore the military applications of the bicycle. However, as you will see from the nomination, we are not aware of any of the buildings or structures at that complex that are directly associated with the period of 25th Infantry occupation.

Additional information on the history of Black soldiers in Montana may be found in the following books:

Fowler, Arlen L., Black Infantry in the West, 1869-1891, Greenwood Publication Corporation, West Port, CN, 1971.

Katz, William Loren, The Black West, Doubleday, Garden City, NJ, 1971.

Leckie, William H., The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of Negro Calvary in the West, Norman Press, University of Oklahoma, 1967.

Best of luck in your research!

Sincerely,

Patricia Bick

Patricia Bick
Deputy SHPO/Survey and Registration

enc.
cc. Dr. Archibald

NPS Form 10-900
(3/72)

OMB No. 1024-0018
Exp. 10-31-84

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

For NPS use only
received
date entered

National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

See instructions in *How to Complete National Register Forms*
Type all entries—complete applicable sections

1. Name

historic Fort Missoula Historic District

and/or common Fort Missoula

2. Location

street & number Reserve Street and South Avenue — n/a not for publication

city, town Missoula — n/a vicinity of

state Montana — code 030 — county Missoula — code 063

3. Classification

Category	Ownership	Status	Present Use	
X district	X public	X occupied	agriculture	X museum
building(s)	private	unoccupied	commercial	park
structure	both	work in progress	educational	private residence
site	Public Acquisition	Accessible	entertainment	religious
object	in process	X yes: restricted	X government	scientific
	being considered	yes: unrestricted	industrial	transportation
	n/a	no	X military	other:

4. Owner of Property

name See Ownership List - Continuation Sheet

street & number

city, town — vicinity of — state

5. Location of Legal Description

courthouse, registry of deeds, etc. Missoula County Courthouse

street & number 200 West Broadway

city, town Missoula — state Montana

6. Representation in Existing Surveys

title Fort Missoula Historic Resource Survey — has this property been determined eligible? X yes no

date 1983-1984 — federal state county X local

depository for survey records Montana State Historic Preservation Office

8. Significance

Period	Areas of Significance—Check and justify below			
prehistoric	archeology-prehistoric	community planning	landscape architecture	religion
1400-1499	archeology-historic	conservation	law	science
1500-1599	agriculture	economics	literature	sculpture
1600-1699	x architecture	education	military	social
1700-1799	art	engineering	music	humanitarian
x 1800-1899	commerce	exploration settlement	philosophy	theater
x 1900-	communications	industry	x politics government	transportation
		invention		other (specify)

Specific dates 1877-1946 Builder Architect Multiple

Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

Fort Missoula, the only permanent military post in Montana west of the Continental Divide, was established in June, 1877. The strategic intent of the choice of the Fort location was for greater military control of the Indian tribes of western Montana and to assure the protection of white settlers from hostile Indian attack. By 1877, however, reservation lands had been established in western Montana and few major uprisings occurred which involved the soldiers. Fort Missoula's significance rests less with its direct military role in quelling uprisings but rather with the sequence of non-combative military uses of the property over the years by the federal government and the consistent contribution Fort personnel have made to local economic development. Through the years, Fort Missoula has been used as the headquarters for the Black 25th Infantry Regiment, the place from where the potential military applications of the bicycle were explored, a government training school for skilled mechanics to aid in the World War I effort, the largest Civilian Conservation Corps Headquarters in the United States during the 1930's, a detention camp for Italian and likely German seamen as well as Japanese-Americans during World War II, and, for a short time following World War II, Fort Missoula became a medium security prison camp for American soldiers. Fort Missoula was chosen by the Federal government to fulfill these various functions because it was an extant and chronically under-utilized military facility and due to its siting in western Montana. The one-hundred year history of Fort Missoula may be read in the buildings and structures that survive today as well as in the evidences of previous structures whose foundation remains clearly demonstrate previous use, spacing, lay-out, and functional relationships.

CREATION AND CONSTRUCTION

In 1867, Chief Red Cloud's war against the forts along the Bozeman Trail, especially Fort C.F. Smith in Montana Territory and Fort Phil Kearny in Wyoming Territory, caused panic among Montanans. The panic resulted in a deluge of telegrams from acting Gov. Thomas R. Meagher to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton requesting additional federal troops and permission to call out the Montana militia. Neither request was officially granted, but the militia took up arms and roamed about the countryside. They accomplished very little, except to run up a bill for $1,100,000 which was forwarded to the War Department. After a series of investigations, the Territorial government was reimbursed $515,343 in 1872, but no forts were built for the defense of western Montana.

In the spring of 1874, when President Ulysses Grant ordered the removal of the Flathead Indians from the Bitterroot Valley, chief Charlo refused to leave. Fearing the outbreak of hostilities, Governor Benjamin Potts and territorial delegate Martin Maginnis issued a series of petitions to Congress requesting a military post to be located in Missoula, ostensibly to control the area's Indians. Local newspapers, however, stated that the presence of soldiers would "invite immigration ... stimulate the development of resources . . . and would be an advantage to business." Variations of this theme appeared all through 1874 and 1875.

APPENDIX Z

CORRESPONDENCE: OTHER STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICES

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CENTER FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH
120 West Tenth • Topeka, Kansas 66612 • 913/296-3251
KANSAS MUSEUM OF HISTORY
6425 South West Sixth • Topeka, Kansas 66615 • 913/272-8681

June 10, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State Univeristy
Murfreesboro, Tenn. 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Your letter of inquiry has been referred to me. I hope the delay in this response will not preclude its consideration.

It is unfortunate that I cannot provide you with a listing of memorials to Black military service located in Kansas. I simply have no knowledge that any exist, despite the proud heritage of Blacks in the state.

As you probably know, James Lane was recruiting Blacks for Civil War duty before Lincoln agreed to allow them to serve. Black troops in Kansas regiments were certainly among the first in combat and many made the ultimate sacrifice. Tombstones memorialize military service, but on an individual rather than a collective basis.

To the best of my knowledge, the Buffalo Soldiers have not been memorialized by monuments, statues or plaques.

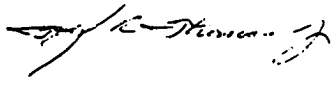
I might suggest, however, that the exhibits currently being developed at the Kansas Museum of History, make clear the participation and valor of Black troops in Civil War service. In a very real sense, the exhibits at the state museum will memorialize Black military service to the state and nation.

I might further add that an organization in Topeka, Exodusters Awareness, Inc., is considering a project to raise funds for the conservation of Black regimental flags in the collections of the Kansas Museum of History. Unfortunately, the museum does not have the funds or expertise to conserve the regimentals of any of the troops, black or white.

June 10, 1985
Mr. John McGlone
Page 2

Your project is a most worthy endeavor. I hope you plan to publish the findings, for your work is definitely related to my dissertation topic, "Cultural Conservation Through the Preservation of Material Culture--the Black American Experience." Good luck with this important work.

Cordially,



Floyd R. Thomas, Jr., Historian
Kansas Museum of History

RFT:thp

United States Capitol Historical Society
200 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 543-8919

13 May 1985

John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tenn. 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone,

I am unaware of any monuments or memorials in the District of Columbia to the service of Blacks in the U.S. military.

I would suggest, if you haven't already, that you contact the Columbia Historical Society, 1307 New Hampshire Ave, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.

Best of luck with your research and disssertation.

Sincerely,

Donald R. Kennon

Donald R. Kennon

Illinois Department of Conservation
life and land together

LINCOLN TOWER PLAZA • 524 SOUTH SECOND STREET • SPRINGFIELD 62706
CHICAGO OFFICE - ROOM 100, 160 NO. LASALLE 60601
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Michael Witte, Director

May 22, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

I am unaware of any "monuments or memorials" of the sort described in your letter of May 6. You might try writing to Dr. Roger D. Bridges at the State Historical Library. His research interest is in black history in Illinois.

Dr. Roger D. Bridges
Director of Research
Illinois State Historical Library
Old State Capitol
Springfield, IL 62706

Best wishes,

Richard S. Taylor
Chief, Technical Services
Historic Sites Division

RST/lw

Department of Natural Resources
PARKS AND HISTORIC SITES DIVISION
270 WASHINGTON STREET, S.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30334
(404) 656-2753

J. LEONARD LEDBETTER
COMMISSIONER

DIRECTOR

May 22, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Dept. of History
Middle Tenn. State University
Murfreesboro, Tenn. 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

I checked the major sources on Georgia history for monuments to black military figures. The closest I could find was one for the burning of the town of Darien in 1863. The marker does not state the facts but Darien was captured and burned by the 54th Massachusetts which was a black regiment.

Georgia does not have a marker on monument for Austin Dabney who served in the Continental Army and received a land grant for his service. We also do not memoralize the first black graduats form West Point who was from Thomasville.

Sorry I could not help more.

Sincerely,

Billy Townsend

Billy Townsend
Interpretive Specialist

BT:bw

New Hampshire Historical Society

18 May 1985

John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

As far as I know, there are no monuments or memorials concerning the service of Blacks in U.S. military history from 1607-1891, anywhere in New Hampshire. The state Historic Preservation Office, which forwarded your letter to us, apparently does not know of any such memorials either.

New Hampshire has historically had an extremely small black population, and I think that is why we have so few memorials to Blacks.

Sincerely,

William Copeley
Associate Librarian

Thirty Park Street Concord New Hampshire 03301 603 225-3381

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM COMMISSION
WILLIAM PENN MEMORIAL MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES BUILDING
BOX 1026
HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA 17108-1026

May 24, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

In response to your letter of May 6, 1985, we are forwarding you a list of markers that the Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission have erected. We have also included the background material for a proposed marker that is currenctly under consideration by the Commission. In addition, we would suggest that you contact the Philadelphia Historical Commission, Room 1313, City Hall Annex, Philadelphia, PA 19107; Historical Society of Montgomery County, 1654 DeKalb Street, Norristown, PA 19401, and the Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum, 7th & Arch Streets, Philadelphia, PA 19106, and enquire into their knowledge of additional memorials.

If we can be of any further assistance, please fee free to contact us again.

Sincerely,

Harry F. Parker

Harry F. Parker
Associate Archivist
Division of Archives & Manuscripts
(717)783-9873

HP/jp

COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY
RICHMOND 23219-3491

DONALD HAYNES
STATE LIBRARIAN

April 9, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

The letter which you sent to the Virginia Historical Landmarks Commission, was forwarded to the Virginia State Library. We have been unable to find any monuments, statues, historic plaques or other memorials to Black military history in the state of Virginia.

We regret that we were unable to assist you further.

Sincerely,

Patricia Sheppard Franz

(Ms.) Patricia Sheppard Franz
Reference Librarian
General Library Branch

bjr

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES DIVISION
Nolan T. Yelich
Director of Administrative Services

LIBRARY DIVISION
William J. Hubbard
Director of Library Services

ARCHIVES AND RECORDS DIVISION
Louis H. Manarin
State Archivist

HISTORICAL PRESERVATION CENTER
University of South Dakota
Vermillion, S.D. 57069
Phone (605) 677-5314

March 29, 1985

John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Please find enclosed a copy of an article which is the only reference I could find to blacks in the military in South Dakota. I am forwarding a copy of your letter to the Historical Resources Center in Pierre for the staff's consideration. This agency handles the marking program, South Dakota History and general state history research.

Sincerely,

Carolyn Torma
Historical Survey Coordinator

CT:kg

The Office of Cultural Preservation of the Department of Education and Cultural Affairs coordinates South Dakota's archaeological research, museums, historical preservation and historical resource in a program designed to preserve our natural and cultural heritage.

HISTORICAL
PRESERVATION
CENTER
University of South Dakota
Vermillion, S.D. 57069
Phone (605) 677-5314

March 29, 1985

John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Please find enclosed a copy of an article which is the only reference I could find to blacks in the military in South Dakota. I am forwarding a copy of your letter to the Historical Resources Center in Pierre for the staff's consideration. This agency handles the marking program, South Dakota History and general state history research.

Sincerely,

Carolyn Torma

Carolyn Torma
Historical Survey Coordinator

CT:kg

The Office of Cultural Preservation of the Department of Education and Cultural Affairs coordinates South Dakota's archaeological research, museums, historical preservation and historical resource in a program designed to preserve our natural and cultural heritage.

THE STATE OF WYOMING

ED HERSCHLER
GOVERNOR

WYOMING RECREATION COMMISSION

122 WEST 25TH CHEYENNE, WYOMING 82002

ALVIN F. BASTRON, P.E
Director
777-7895

March 15, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Thank you very much for your letter regarding historical markers in Wyoming. I am sorry to report to you that we have no markers commemorating Black military history in Wyoming. I know that Black soldiers played a role in battles against Plains Indian tribes in the nineteenth century, but unfortunately we have no markers regarding this subject. While I'm sure this letter has not been of much help to you, please do not hesitate to contact me should you have any additional questions.

Sincerely,

Bruce J. Noble, Jr.

Bruce J. Noble, Jr.
Monuments and Markers Historian
State Historic Preservation Office

BN:th

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
P. O. BOX 571
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39205

3/6/85

John Mc Glone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Your inquiry of 1/30/85 has been received, and we are using this reply form to service you more promptly. Please refer to the items checked below.

( ) We do not find the information which you requested.

( ) We do not have _____ in our collection.

( ) We do not search deed records. We can provide you with a list of researchers who will search these for you for a fee.

( ) We have _____

( ) This library is primarily a reference library and does not participate in inter-library loan.

( ) _____ is not indexed. It is not possible for our limited staff to conduct comprehensive searches of unindexed material. It will be necessary for you to visit the Search Room, engage a professional researcher (a list is enclosed) or contact the proper county official.

( ) We are unable to undertake research on a surname alone.

( ) Limit request to one search per letter.

( ) Prepayment for Photoduplication is required. Make check(s) or money order(s) payable to Photostat Fund - Archives and History. The enclosed quotation form must be returned with payment before order can be processed. There is a $1.00 charge for postage and handling.

( ) Enclosed is a pamphlet, "Research in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History," which describes briefly the material in our collection.

(✓) Enclosed is title page from a book which has information on Black military Heroes. Also enclosed is information on the War Memorial Museum.

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RICHARD H. AUSTIN SECRETARY OF STATE

LANSING
MICHIGAN 48918

MICHIGAN HISTORY DIVISION

ADMINISTRATION, PUBLICATIONS
RESEARCH, AND HISTORIC SITES
208 N. Capitol Avenue
517—373-0510
STATE ARCHIVES
3405 N. Logan Street
517—373-0512
STATE MUSEUM
208 N. Capitol Avenue
517—373-0515

March 15, 1985

John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Patron:

Thank you for your recent inquiry. Due to our limited staff and increasing workload, it is necessary to use form letters whenever possible. This permits a prompt response to all requests for assistance received by the State Archives.

Your inquiry has been handled as follows:

___ Information is enclosed.

✓ We do not have the data/record(s) you seek.

___ Another agency/research facility will send information directly.

✓ We suggest that you contact the agency/research facility indicated on the back of this letter.

___ Your letter addressed to the Adjutant General, has been forwarded to this office for reply.

___ The fee for this service is $_____. We ask that you send a check or money order for this amount made payable to the State of Michigan in the enclosed envelope.

___ See reverse side.

Sincerely,

L. Roy Barnett

Archivist
State Archives

MH-26 Rev. 12/84

___ Archives & Historical Collections, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48824.

___ Archives & Copper Country Historical Collections, Michigan Technological University, Houghton, Michigan 49931.

___ Archives and Regional History Collections, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001.

___ Archives of Labor History & Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit Michigan 48202.

___ Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, 5201 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

___ Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

___ Corporation Division, Michigan Department of Commerce, P.O. Box 30054, Lansing, Michigan 48909.

✓ Genealogy Section, Library of Michigan, P.O. Box 30007, Lansing, Michigan 48909.

___ Great Seal & Trademark Section, Michigan Department of State, Lansing, Michigan 48918.

___ Lands Division, Michigan Department of Natural Resources, Box 30028, Mason Building, Lansing, Michigan 48909.

___ Mackinac Island State Park Division, Michigan Department of Natural Resources, P.O. Box 30028, Lansing, Michigan 48909.

___ Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, 1150 Beal Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105.

___ National Archives & Records Service, 8th & Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20408.

___ Retirement Section, Michigan Department of Military Affairs, 2500 South Washington Avenue, Lansing, Michigan 48913.

___ Travel Bureau, Michigan Department of Commerce, P.O. Box 30226, Lansing, Michigan 48909.

___ Vital Records Section, Michigan Department of Health, P.O. Box 30035, Lansing, Michigan 48909.

✓ Other: I am not aware of any relevant monuments

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY
300 Rio Grande
Salt Lake City, Utah 84101

DATE: April 23, 1985

TO: John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

SUBJECT: Black Military History Monuments

DEAR Mr. McGlone,

In order to provide better service we are replying to your recent request by using the following checklist.

Photoreproductions of most library materials are available by mail at a cost of $.15 per copy. (Copies from microfilm cost $.50 each). Orders exceeding one-hundred pages will be charged $.25 per copy. Postage and handling charges are added to all orders. Minimum charge is $1.00 per order.

Research service is available by mail in response to specific requests. Detailed research or searches through unindexed sources require a personal visit.

____ We have enclosed the information you requested. Please write a check for _____ to the library of the Utah State Historical Society

____ We do have specific information that could be mailed to you for _____ taken from the following sources:

____ Copies of relevant catalog and index cards could be mailed to you for _____.

____ You may possibly obtain further information by writing to the following sources:

x Other: Yes, there are some monuments and plaques to the Black Soldier in Utah. Please contact the Fort Douglas Museum, Bldg. 32, Fort Douglas, Salt Lake City, Utah 84113.

Sincerely,
Jean Ann McMurrin
Jean Ann McMurrin

Reference Librarian

MISSOURI DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES
P.O. Box 176 Jefferson City, Missouri 65102

March 27, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

In response to your letter requesting information regarding the memorialization of Black Military History in Missouri, I'm afraid I can be of little assistance. Our office maintains a Cultural Resource Inventory file that contains information on over 50,000 historic sites and National Register properties throughout the state; however, to my knowledge, there is no information pertaining to your specific request. I can, however, refer you to the following:

Missouri State Historical Society
3 Ellis Library
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Gary R. Kremer
Department of Social Science
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Dr. Dominic Capeci
Department of History
Southwest Missouri State University
Springfield, Missouri 65804

I sincerely wish you good luck on your dissertation, and if possible, upon completion of your survey, would appreciate a copy or listing of the markers and monuments in Missouri for our files.

I hope this is some assistance to you, and please don't hesitate to contact our office if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

DIVISION OF PARKS & HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Joetta Davis-Smith

Joetta Davis-Smith
Cultural Resource Preservationist

JDS:meb

cc: Gary Kremer
Dr. Dominic Capeci

John D. Ashcroft Governor

MAINE HISTORIC PRESERVATION COMMISSION
55 Capitol Street
State House Station 65
Augusta, Maine 04333

Earle G. Shettleworth, Jr.
Director

Telephone:
207-289-2133

February 26, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

In response to your inquiry of January 30, 1985, I regret that Maine does not have any monuments, statues, historic plaques, or other memorialization relating to Black Military History.

Sincerely,

Earle G. Shettleworth, Jr.
State Historic Preservation Officer

EGS/slm

STATE OF INDIANA

INDIANA STATE LIBRARY
140 North Senate Avenue
Indianapolis, IN 46204
(317) 232-3675

Charles Ray Ewick, Director

DIVISIONS:
BLIND AND PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED
CATALOG
DATA SERVICES
EXTENSION
GENEALOGY
INDIANA
REFERENCE AND LOAN

May 28, 1985

John McGlone
% Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Your letter to the Indiana Historical Bureau was forwarded to us at the Indiana Division of the Indiana State Library.

Simply put, I cannot report that there are any monuments or memorials to Black soldiers for service during the years 1607 to 1891 in Indiana.

Let me, however, give you some ideas on how to pursue this further:

According to the Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana for 1861-1865, the 8th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 23rd, 28th, 31st, 58th, 72nd, and 109th Regiments and 4th Heavy Artillery were United States Colored Troops (U.S.C.T.) from Indiana. I was unable to find a history of any of these regiments in our collection.

Donald West of the Indiana Historical Society gave me some names of Black rural settlements in Indiana and the counties in which they were/are situated: Weaver settlement (Grant County), Lost Creek (Vigo), Underwood (Clark), Lyles Station (Gibson), Roberts settlement (Hamilton), Beech settlement (Rush), Cabin Creek and Snow Hill (Randolph). The city of Gary has a predominant Black population. It and/or these rural settlements may have erected a memorial to Black soldiers.

There was formerly a high school in Indianapolis named for Crispus Attucks, a Black man who was killed in the Boston Massacre. However, Attucks was not a soldier, nor was this Massacre part of a war.

There are a couple of books which you may wish to peruse for further ideas:
Thornbrough, Emma Lou. Since Emancipation: A Short History of Indiana Negroes, 1863-1963. Indianapolis: Indiana Division American Negro Emancipation Centennial Authority, 1963.
Lyda, John Wesley. The Negro in the History of Indiana. Coatesville, IN: Hathaway Printery, 1953.

Mr. McGlone
Page 2
May 28, 1985

I have checked our vertical file materials, books, pamphlets, periodicals, indexes to Indianapolis newspapers, dissertations and theses, and special indexes and can turn up nothing more.

Good luck with your dissertation. I found its premise most intriguing.

Sincerely,

Don Maxwell

Don Maxwell
Librarian
Indiana Division

mw

ARKANSAS
HISTORIC
PRESERVATION
PROGRAM

March 28, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Thank you for your inquiry concerning monuments commemorating Black military history in Arkansas.

I am sorry to inform you that the sources I checked to see if any such monuments exist did not know of any. You might wish to further pursue this information by contacting the Arkansas History Commission at #1 Capitol Mall in Little Rock, AR 72201.

Please feel free to contact us again on any preservation related matter.

Sincerely,

Jacalyn Carfagno
Public Information Officer

JC/ss

Suite 200 • Heritage Center • 225 East Markham • Little Rock, Arkansas 72201 • Phone (501) 371-2763
A Division of the Department of Arkansas Natural and Cultural Heritage

STATE OF DELAWARE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS
BUREAU OF MUSEUM AND HISTORIC SITES
102 SOUTH STATE STREET
P.O. BOX 1401
DOVER, DELAWARE 19903
TELEPHONE (302) 736-5316

February 28, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Your letter requesting information about black history has been referred to me. Delaware does not have either monuments or plaques which pertain to your research project.

I would like to suggest that you contact Dr. Harold Hancock in order to obtain historical information. He has been involved with extensive research not only with Delaware military records, but has conducted in-depth research involving Delaware's black history. His address is as follows:

Dr. Harold Hancock
111 West Park Place
Westerville, Ohio 43081

Good luck with your research project.

Sincerely,

Madeline D. Hite

Madeline D. Hite
Curator of Education

MDH/wf

STATE OF DELAWARE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS
BUREAU OF MUSEUM AND HISTORIC SITES
102 SOUTH STATE STREET
P.O. BOX 1401
DOVER, DELAWARE 19903
TELEPHONE (302) 736-5316

June 11, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

To my knowledge, Delaware does not have historic markers or monuments acknowledging the patriotic services specifically of blacks in regard to military history. The general texts commemorate the patriotism and valor of officers and soldiers without regard to race, as exemplified by the enclosed texts.

I would like to suggest, however, that you contact Dr. Harold Hancock in order to obtain information about black involvement with Delaware's military history. He has spent many years conducting research on Delaware's black history and may be of assistance to you. He is an excellant researcher and historian and can be contacted at the following address:

Dr. Harold B. Hancock
111 West Park Place
Westerville, OH 43081

Good luck with your research project.

Sincerely yours,

Madeline D. Hite

Madeline D. Hite
Curator of Education
Bureau of Museums and
Historic Sites

Enclosures

New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation
The Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller Empire State Plaza
Agency Building 1 Albany, New York 12238
518-474-0456

Orin Lehman
Commissioner

March 15, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfveesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Enclosed please find a list of properties in New York State related to black history that have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places to date. Although none of these properties are specifically related to black military history, we would be glad to provide copies of the nomination forms; however, there would be a charge of .25/page to cover the cost of copying.

I might also refer you to the Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York City(103 West 135th Street, New York, New York 10031). They maintain an extensive archive consisting of books, paper, tapes, and records on black history, literature and art. They may be able to assist you further.

Should you ever decide to travel to New York, you would be more than welcome to visit our office in Albany and use our small library and research files.

If I can be of any further assistance, do not hesitate to contact me or Kathleen LaFrank at (518) 474-0479.

Sincerely,

Edith A. Connor

Edith A. Connor

Kathleen LaFrank

Kathleen LaFrank
Program Analyst
Historic Preservation
Field Services Bureau

EAC:dg
Encl.

The following is a list of those New York State sites related to Black history which are listed on the National Register of Historic Places:

Harriet Tubman Home for the Aged, Auburn, Cayuga County
Houses of Hunterfly Road Historic District, Brooklyn, Kings County
John Roosevelt "Jackie" Robinson Residence, Brooklyn, Kings County
Valley Road Historic District, Manhasset Vicinity, Nassau County
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, New York County
New York Amsterdam News Building, New York, New York Co., (National Historic Landmark)
James Weldon Johnson Residence, New York, New York Co., (National Historic Landmark)
Will Marion Cook House, New York, New York County, (National Historic Landmark)
Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington Residence, New York, New York County, (National Historic Landmark)
Claude McKay Residence, New York, New York County, (National Historic Landmark)
Florence Mills House, New York, New York County, (National Historic Landmark)
St. George's Episcopal Church (Harry T. Burleigh), New York, New York County, (National Historic Landmark)
Louis Armstrong House, Corona, Queens County, (National Historic Landmark)
Ralph Bunch House, Kew Gardens, Queens County, (National Historic Landmark)
Villa Lewaro, Irvington, Westchester County, (National Historic Landmark)
Langston Hughes House, New York, New York County

New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation
Bureau of Historic Sites – Peebles Island, Waterford, New York 12188

Orin Lehman
Commissioner

March 7, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

In response to your research inquiry on Black Military History, there are no monuments, plaques, or other memorials within New York State's historic sites system which commemorate the Black's role in our military past.

If you have not already done so, I would suggest you contact the State Education Department (Paul Scudiere, Director, Division for Historical and Anthropological Services, Cultural Education Center, Empire State Plaza, Albany, New York 12230) which administers a local history program and may be able to identify memorials which are pertinent to your research.

I am sorry that we could not be of greater assistance.

Sincerely,

James P. Gold

James P. Gold, Director
Bureau of Historic Sites

JPG/t

Administration, Archeology, Exhibits, Interpretation, Research and Restoration 518-237-8643, 518-237-8644
Collections Care Center 518-237-8090, 518-237-8098

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
CULTURAL EDUCATION CENTER
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12230

NEW YORK STATE MUSEUM

DIVISION OF HISTORICAL AND
ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERVICES

March 18, 1985

John McGlone
Middle Tennessee State University
Department of History
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Dr. Scudiere asked me to respond to your letter of the 30th. I cannot now think of any Black Military memorials within N.Y.S. I will keep your request in mind, however. Of course, you have contacted the 369th Infantry Regt.-NYARNY.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Mulligan, Jr.

Robert E. Mulligan, Jr.
Associate Curator, History

amm

JACOB THOMAS
Director

STATE OF WASHINGTON
OFFICE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION
111 West Twenty-First Avenue KL-11 • Olympia, Washington 98504 • (206) 753-4011

March 19, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning memorials to black military service through the 19th century. While there were some black units stationed at various posts in Washington State, I am not aware of any memorials or monuments established to recognize that service. The regional collection of the Washington State Library has an extensive list of markers, and with a copy of this letter I am referring your request to them. Your project sounds like an interesting one, and good luck in its completion.

Sincerely,

David M. Hansen, Deputy State
Historic Preservation Officer

dw

cc: Nancy Pryor

APPENDIX AA

SURVEY FORM

MONUMENTS SURVEY FORM

HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAM

MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

Instructions:

A. Survey Team _____

B. Project _____

C. Code # _____

In the space below please check appropriate box at the left and add specific comments at the right. This should be a record of the primary purpose or theme of the monument surveyed. You may check more than one box and explain under comments. Your specific comments will be most helpful in identifying, restoring, and preserving the monument.

I. Name of Monument _____
(Common name, unit, organization or individual)

II. Location of Monument _____
(Specific address, park, city, battlefield

III. Theme of Monument — COMMENTS

1. ( ) Battle/War Memorial
2. ( ) Historic Event
3. ( ) Individual
4. ( ) Organization
5. ( ) Event
6. ( ) Other (Specify)

IV. Form of Monument — COMMENTS

7. ( ) Statuary
8. ( ) Plaque/Marker
9. ( ) Obelisk
10. ( ) Sarcophagus
11. ( ) Tombstone
12. ( ) Formal structure
13. ( ) Other (Specify)

V. Construction Material of Monument — COMMENTS

14. ( ) Metal
15. ( ) Stone
16. ( ) Brick
17. ( ) Wood
18. ( ) Concrete
19. ( ) Other (Specify)

VI. Condition of Monument COMMENTS

A. General

20. ( ) Excellent
21. ( ) Good
22. ( ) Fair
23. ( ) Poor

B. Specific Observations

24. ( ) Rusted
25. ( ) Oxidized
26. ( ) Weathered
27. ( ) Acidized (effects of acid rain)
28. ( ) Chipped
29. ( ) Cracked
30. ( ) Discolored
31. ( ) Efflorescence
32. ( ) Spalled
33. ( ) Pitted
34. ( ) Vandalized
35. ( ) Exfoliated
36. ( ) Dislocated (tilting, sinking)
37. ( ) Mortar Deteriorated
38. ( ) Other (specify)

VII. Dimensions of Monument COMMENTS
(If multiple, please describe, i.e., base, shaft, tower)

Heighth _____

Width _____

Depth _____

VIII. History of Monument (Fill-in blanks)

Date erected _____ Date of event commemorated _____

Erected by what organization _____

Commemorated or dedicated to which individual, event or organization

_____

Inscription on monument _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX BB

DEFINITION OF TERMS

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Acidized. The effects of acid rain, intensified areas of rain damage

2. Efflorescence. An encrustation of soluble salts, commonly white, deposited on the surface of stone, brick plaster, or mortar; usually caused by free alkalies leached from mortar or adjacent concrete as moisture moves through it

3. Exfoliation. Peeling, swelling, or scaling of stone or mineral surfaces in thin layers; caused by chemical or physical weathring or by heat

4. Oxidation. Reaction of a chemical compound with oxygen, as in a paint film in which oil reacts with oxygen to form a hard dry film

5. Pitting. The development of small cavities in a surface, owing to phenomena such as corrosion, cavitation, or localized disintegration

6. Spalling. The flaking of brickwork due to frost, chemical action, or movement of the building structure

7. Weathering. Changes in color, texture, strength, chemical composition, or other properties of a natural or artificial material due to the action of the weather

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