Afro-American History Interpretation at Selected National Parks

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AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY INTERPRETATION
AT
SELECTED NATIONAL PARKS

Prepared By

RESEARCH TEAM
Department of History
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September 1978

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INTRODUCTION

Joseph E. Harris

The basic objectives of this project were to evaluate the authenticity of the historical resources which document the heritage of Afro-Americans at specified National Park Service (NPS) sites, to determine the effectiveness of the presentations of that heritage at those sites, to ascertain the quality of the interpretive personnel, to explore ways of improving the relationship between the sites and local Afro-American individuals and groups, and to make recommendations to the National Park Service.

The underlying assumption of this Project continues to be the conviction that professional historians are best qualified to undertake this task of analysis. Toward that end, the Project proceeded in the hands of two Fellows, Leroy Davis (M.A. Candidate in U.S. History) and Cassandra Smith-Parker (Ph.D. Candidate in U.S. History), Professors Arnold Taylor, Charles Johnson, Jr., and Joseph E. Harris as Principal Investigator. This Team was assisted by the following consultants--Professors Benjamin Quarles and Roland McConnell, Dr. Thomas J. Davis, and Ronald Crawford (NPS); Steve Lewis (NPS) and Benjamin Levy (NPS) participated in some of our seminars. In addition, individual members of the Team consulted with a number of authorities at specific sites, as will be revealed in this Report.

The Team began its work with an examination and discussion of general and specific studies on the selected park sites. Seminars were conducted by the Principal Investigator to analyze those studies, raise critical questions, review and propose methodologies, identify
relevant experts, and solidify a plan of action for each site. Each Team member participated in the seminars and later assumed responsibility for specific tasks, including park site assignments.

For Part I of the Project (five sites requiring visitation), Leroy Davis assumed responsibility for Chalmette and Put-in-Bay; Cassandra Smith-Parker chose Harpers Ferry and Fort Davis; Charles Johnson took Petersburg. The twenty-six parks not requiring visitation comprised Part II and were the responsibility of Charles Johnson whose expertise in military history was a special asset. Arnold Taylor served as principal resource person in Afro-American history; he visited sites and advised the Team on a number of areas. The Principal Investigator visited four of the five sites in Part I: Harpers Ferry, Chalmette, Fort Davis, and Put-in-Bay. Thus, the entire Team conducted field research, was fully involved throughout the Project, and has contributed to this Report.

Team members investigated several libraries and archival collections in various parts of the country, including NPS holdings, and individual park site holdings. Park site personnel were interviewed, brochures and exhibits were examined, films and slide programs were studied, oral spot surveys were conducted at sites, and community groups were interviewed.

Team researchers returned from the field to present the results in the seminar where critiques occurred. Each researcher revised and wrote the individual reports which appear in this volume. Although there is some variation in reports, the basic components are covered—introduction, historical content/background, evaluation, bibliography, conclusions and recommendations. There is an appendix; and the
Principal Investigator provides a final section of overall recommendations.

The Team believes that this pilot study has accomplished its basic objectives. However, we also recognize that the study is not definitive; several questions could not be answered because of the unavailability of data and the limitation of time. This was inevitable. In addition, new questions have been raised. The recommendations for new research, however, should cover those concerns.

Our expectation is that this study will serve as a ready and accessible guide for NPS and local park site personnel for expeditious action. We also hope the study will reach non-park personnel, especially other historians and students who would be stimulated to improve on our work and to conduct similar studies of parks and other landmarks commemorating the black American experience, which is an integral part of the United States heritage. The burden and responsibility for accurately presenting that heritage belong to all citizens of this country, but the historian among us bears a special responsibility.
Historical scholarship during the past decade has reaffirmed the role of blacks, either as active participants or as important issues of concern, in the major events and developments of American history. The black presence has been sufficiently central to the American experience to suggest that even in cases where the historical literature is silent on the black role, the burden of proof must rest on those who would argue from that silence that the black presence in the events recorded was negligible or nonexistent.

In many of the developments commemorated by the National Historic Sites of the National Park Service the role of blacks was similar to that of other Americans; in a number of these same developments, however, the black presence has also been unique to the black experience in American society. When American history is perceived and celebrated in terms of the lives and activities of ordinary people, rather than those of the political and social elites, then the black presence partakes of the character of that of the American people in general and should be appreciated as such. When, for example, historians balance their treatment of America's wars with accounts of the deeds of the common soldier as well as those of the military and political leaders, when they discuss not only campaign strategy and combat tactics but also the day-to-day activities...
involved in preparations for battle and care for the wounded, then blacks are likely to appear in these accounts in a variety of significant roles. In this connection, while it is important, for example, to acknowledge the contributions of the "Free Men of Color" in the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812, it is also important to note the probably more significant contribution to the outcome of the battle of black slaves who built fortifications for the American forces.

When the home front is considered, then the fact that blacks, both slave and free, have been an integral part of the American labor force of both skilled and unskilled laborers, should lead readily to the acknowledgement of their role throughout American history in the manufacture of arms, armaments, and munitions of war, and in the construction of forts and the manning of maritime vessels during times of peace and war. When it is recalled, for example, that blacks and Indians comprised from two-thirds to three-fourths of the crews of New England whaling vessels during the early nineteenth century and that black slaves were a mainstay of the South's fishing industry during the antebellum period, it should occasion no surprise to observe that blacks would be significantly represented among the nameless sailors who manned the vessels in Matthew Perry's squadron on the Great Lakes during the War of 1812. Moreover, the knowledge that some 200,000 slaves were employed in industrial pursuits, including iron manufacturing and coal and iron mining, in the South during the 1850s and that during the Civil War years substantial numbers of blacks were employed in the Confederate naval and ordinance works and related occupations in Virginia, places
a heavy purden of proof on scholars who contend that very few blacks were employed in the ordinance works at Harpers Ferry in the ante-bellum period. Obviously, more historical research is needed on this issue.

Among the unique aspects of the black experience that may be found in the events commemorated by the National Historic Sites is the fact that in virtually every war in which the United States has been involved, the black participants have had to wage a two-front war—a battle against the common enemy and a battle against personal and institutional racism. During the American Revolution and the War of 1812, for example, many blacks, because of their status as slaves in American society, fled to the British lines in search of freedom, and some actively aided the British. The experience of the black soldier on the Western frontier in the latter half of the nineteenth century, while similar in many of its routine aspects to that of all soldiers in that area, was sufficiently unique to make him cognizant of the profound irony implicit in the group's utilization of one oppressed group to suppress another, the American Indian. Examples of this theme may be multiplied.

Since racial prejudice and exploitation is a theme that many find unpalatable, it obviously must be handled with great sensitivity in any Park Service presentation. Yet, there are other aspects of that theme whose portrayal should offend no one. The site at Harpers Ferry, for example, offers an opportunity not only to examine the participation of blacks in the larger society, but also to portray the internal functioning—the cultural, social, institutional, and economic life—of a specific black community over time. To a lesser
extent, when the participation of blacks in the Battle of New Orleans is related to the characteristics of the black community in New Orleans at the time, the site at Chalmette offers similar opportunities. The historical evolution of the black community is a theme that can be developed with respect to a number of other sites studied by the Howard University Team and with respect to other National Historic Sites as well. The growing historical literature on specific black communities throughout the United States should facilitate such an endeavor.

The Fort Davis site, like other military posts in the United States, not only represents events of military significance, but great political and social developments as well. The history of the site, of course, is an integral part of the history of the Westward Movement. Consequently, another theme that needs to be further developed is the role of blacks as soldiers, civilians, and settlers, in the expansion of the American nation and people across the North American continent. Here again the growing historical literature on blacks in the West offers resources for exploitation by the National Park Service and the individual park sites that commemorate both the military and civilian presence in the West. The fact that some of the black soldiers stationed at Fort Davis eventually became assimilated into the Mexican-American community suggests that a sub-theme that needs to be explored is the relationship between the soldiers and the various segments of the civilian population with whom they came in contact.

Finally, the tremendous scholarly advances in recent years in the history of slavery provide opportunities for a more creative and
diverse utilization of the slavery theme. While there is still a need to show the slave in a variety of roles as an integral element in the economy and society of the white South, it is now desirable and feasible to present the lives of and activities of slaves as they functioned in their own semi-autonomous social and cultural milieu.

While the veritable explosion of scholarly works on the black presence is a commendable development, it carries with it the need for continued professional evaluation of the literature and of the manner in which it is presented. None of the themes has been exhausted as subjects of historical research, and there are many gaps in the literature that still need to be filled. Existing knowledge needs greater refinement. Historians still have their work cut out for them.
Of all of the National Park Service landmarks, Harpers Ferry NHP is perhaps best suited to become a center for the study and presentation of black history. Many of the major issues and themes affecting blacks intersect in this small West Virginia town. Although located in the slave South, Harpers Ferry had a large, active, free black population. It was an important commercial center prior to the Civil War, the site of the John Brown Raid in 1859, an important target during the Civil War and remains a special attraction for blacks and whites. One of the earliest black colleges, Storer College, was established there and led to the development of an educated, prosperous local black community. Harpers Ferry was also associated with the development of the 20th century black civil rights movement and the rise of the NAACP. Ironically, it was the successful efforts of the NAACP that led to the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court decision and the initiation of actions that led to the closing of Storer College. The history of the rise and fall of segregated education is essentially the story of the evolution and transformation of American race relations from 1865 to 1965. As such, it is a story that must be told; and fortunately, the tools necessary to tell the story are available.

METHODOLOGY

The evaluation of Harpers Ferry NHP was conducted in the following manner:
1. Examination of the secondary literature, including books and articles, and the major primary sources.

2. Determination of the major issues.


4. On-site research and evaluation of facilities and programs.

5. Establishment of contact with authorities in the field and follow-up of their suggestions.

6. Attendance at the Storer Alumni Association Meeting and conduct of oral interviews.

7. Meeting twice with local concerned citizens.

8. Conduct of research in the West Virginia Room and Archives and Manuscript Division of the West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, West Virginia.

9. Return to the park to evaluate summer programs.

10. Completion of correspondence and follow-up.

THE BLACK PRESENCE IN HARPERS FERRY, WEST VIRGINIA

The black presence in Jefferson County, West Virginia, has received scant attention from scholars. Harpers Ferry is not in the mainstream of either Virginian, West Virginian, or Maryland history and is omitted from most general studies; and county histories have not dealt specifically with the black presence there. This reporter has done considerable research in the Library of Congress, the relevant journals and the West Virginia Room of the West Virginia University Library but found very little secondary information. Thus, the attached bibliography includes works that touch on the general topic of blacks in West Virginia, including scattered references to Harpers Ferry.

Primary sources have also been very difficult to locate. Scholars
in the field, including Dr. Millard Bushong, noted authority on Jefferson County history, have been contacted and have verified the dearth of information on local black history. The most valuable sources are the census reports, which give demographic clues; advertisements concerning blacks in the local newspapers (Virginia Free Press, Spirit of Jefferson, Shepherdstown Register and the Harpers Ferry Free Press); private papers of slave-holding families and the records of the U.S. General Accounting Office, Record Group 217, National Archives, for information on blacks employed in the armory. While the data is incomplete, it should be suitable for use in the interpretive program and may serve as a guide for further study.

MAJOR ISSUES

1. What was the nature of slavery in Jefferson County, Virginia? Who were the slaves? Where did they live and what kind of work did they perform? What was the impact of their presence in the town?

2. Who were the free blacks? How did they organize and why did they increase in numbers so rapidly? Where did they live and work? Why did they choose to remain in Harpers Ferry and what was their relationship to the slave community?

3. What was the impact of the John Brown Raid on the black community?

4. What was the impact of the Civil War on the black community?

5. What was the composition of the post-Bellum black community and how was it related to Storer College?

6. What was the role of the black entrepreneurs in the rise of the resort industry in Harpers Ferry?

Before the Civil War, Jefferson County was a part of Virginia, a major slave state. Although the census shows twice as many slaves as
any other western county, there were considerably less in Jefferson than in the tidewater areas. Caught between the plantation districts and the more mountainous western counties, Harpers Ferry’s early development as an industrial center only tended to aggravate its dilemma. Some plantation slavery existed in the county but it was apparently limited by the geography of the area. Slaves were used primarily in raising foodstuffs for the local industrial population and in domestic service. It appears that slaves were an important part of the business and commercial sector that developed in support of the armory and arsenal.

By 1840, the free black population in Harpers Ferry, Bolivar and Virginius Island equalled the slave population. This unusual situation is of particular interest not only because of the obvious historical questions (see "major issues"), but we must also ask why did they remain in Harpers Ferry when Washington, D.C., a haven for free blacks, was so close?

After the Civil War, our attention is focused on the history of Storer College. However, a thriving resort industry, dominated by black entrepreneurs, developed in the town in the period 1890-1920.

### GENERAL STATISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SLAVE</th>
<th>FREE BLACK</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>4,157</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>4,341</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>10,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>3,960</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>10,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,499</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>SLAVE</td>
<td>FREE BLACK</td>
<td>WHITE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,145</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,116</td>
<td>11,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(26.5% of total)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,941</td>
<td>11,994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(24.7% of total)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 Black farmers in 1900

- 31 owners
- 5 part owners
- 5 cash tenants
- 7 share tenants

6.2% of farms operated in the county


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SLAVE (Including Bolivar and Virginius Island):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SLAVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47-males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51-females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69-males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>107-females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80-males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>71-females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>SLAVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54-males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>101-females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivar:</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harpers Ferry:</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>not counted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53-males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60-females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivar:</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from: Charles Shell, "A Preliminary Study of the Town of Harpers Ferry in 1859, covering 250 buildings". A report to accompany the 1859 preliminary historical base map of Harpers Ferry, National Park Service, April 24, 1958, pp. 37-43.

SURROUNDING TOWNS IN 1850:

CHARLESTOWN:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLAVE</th>
<th>FREE BLACK</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>386</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>1,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162-males</td>
<td>53-males</td>
<td>515-males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224-females</td>
<td>63-females</td>
<td>490-females</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The occupations of most of the free blacks were not listed. However, some were listed as farmer, blacksmith, carpenter and laborer.

SHEPHERDSTOWN:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FREE BLACK</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-males</td>
<td>32-males</td>
<td>619-males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159-females</td>
<td>28-females</td>
<td>633-females</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, NATIONAL ARCHIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The statistics can only give an impression of the way of life for blacks in antebellum Harpers Ferry. The park should acquire copies of these census records which indicate the names, ages, sex,
and sometimes occupations of the inhabitants. Free and slave schedules are available at the National Archives. There should also be additional census reports for free blacks either at the Jefferson County Court House or at a Virginia State repository.

The records indicate the composition of households and show free blacks living in family groups, with slaves and in white households. A good deal of information can be culled from these records. The free census schedules can be combined with data from the slave schedules to recreate a demographic picture of Harpers Ferry in 1850.¹

SLAVERY

The proportion of slaves to whites in the eastern panhandle was lower than that of the deep South, but high for western Virginia counties. In 1800, the proportion of whites to slaves in Jefferson county was a little more than two to one.² The percentage remained relatively constant and by 1860, blacks, free and slave, were about 31% of the total population.³ In the early 19th century, many of the Jefferson county settlers brought their slaves from the eastern counties and established plantations. The economy was primarily agrarian and several of the farmers owned enough slaves to hire an overseer.⁴ Although some land was suitable for cultivation, limited transportation made large plantations economically unfeasible. It appears that after the 1820s slaves and free blacks were primarily involved in agriculture for local consumption, domestic service and employment in the business and commercial sector.

The local newspapers indicate that slaves were brought and sold
frequently and that public opinion viewed slavery as an inherited
curse that had to be maintained in order to keep blacks subordinated.
Nonslaveholding whites tended to fear economic competition from cheap
black labor.\(^5\)

Slavery during the first two decades of the 19th century seemed
to have a bizarre combination of brutality and compassion. The first
case of manumission in the state was in Jefferson county on December 9,
1801, but in 1802, two slaves, convicted of stealing a vest and two
yards of calico, were sentenced to be burned in the hand and receive
twenty lashes.\(^6\) In 1807 an unusually large number of slaves was
manumitted but the punishment of branding in the hand with a hot iron
was administered nearly as much as whipping at the public post.\(^7\)

Slaves were selling for good prices in Charlestown in the 1830s.\(^8\)
Slaveholders were having a good deal of difficulty with runaways and
in January, 1835, a group of Jefferson county slaveholders presented
a petition to the General Assembly requesting assistance in capturing
runaways. The county's proximity to Pennsylvania made it difficult
to capture escaped slaves.\(^9\) Several remedies were suggested and the
General Assembly responded by incorporating the Virginia Slave In-
surance Company in Charlestown to insure against losses by runaways.\(^10\)

**FREE BLACKS**

As early as 1818 citizens in Jefferson county became concerned
about the increasing free colored population. On August 3, 1819 a
branch of the American Colonization Society was organized in Charles-
town with the aim of ridding the county of the free blacks by trans-
porting and colonizing them in Africa.\(^11\) While in Virginia, free
blacks lived under a code of laws that made their status little different from the slaves. The state constitution restricted the emancipation of slaves, imposed severe economic restrictions on free blacks and provided for the reenslavement of any blacks who remained in the state longer than a year after emancipation. In each county the commissioner of revenue was required to keep a register of free blacks specifying their names, sex, age and occupations. This was posted annually on the door of the courthouse.12

Despite these restrictions the free black population increased rapidly and by 1840 the free black population in the greater Harpers Ferry area (Bolivar and Virginius Island) equaled that of the slave. Some were well respected, propertied and prosperous, as the case of Heyward Shepherd, the baggage master who was killed during John Brown's Raid.

The 1850 census indicates that of the almost three thousand free blacks in western Virginia, only 486 were unable to read or write and six of them were in school. Newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves also indicate that many of them were literate.13 Martin R. Delaney, one of the most influential blacks of the Civil War era, was born free in Charlestown in 1812.14

Throughout the ante-bellum period there were numerous petitions throughout the county requesting the removal of free blacks. It has been suggested that these efforts failed because of black resistance to their removal, local interest in cheap black labor, and the fear that their removal would encourage slaves to follow them into free states. It should be noted that efforts to remove free blacks failed in most states during the period.
The question of the significance of black labor in the armory and arsenal appears to be one of historical controversy. In his book, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change*, (Ithaca, New York, 1977), Merrit Roe Smith concludes..."Slaves... played a very marginal role in building and maintaining the armory; they played virtually no role at all in its manufacturing operations". A careful rebuttal of his arguments can not be made without further research; however, it should be pointed out that it has not been demonstrated that there was a limited supply of slave labor in the county in 1799 as he argues, nor that an unwritten code segregated black from white labor at Harpers Ferry. Although owners were often concerned about hiring out slaves on construction projects, it is also true that the public buildings in Washington, D.C. were built with hired slave labor during the same period. Randomly selected vouchers in the first and second auditors accounts, General Accounting Office, Record Group 217, National Archives, indicate that slaves were hired to do the same job at the same rate of pay as whites. One document shows that two of the seventeen laborers were slaves. Thus, the issue is whether that should be considered marginal and insignificant. In addition, the military storekeeper, armory storekeeper, paymaster and others submitted vouchers for pay, clothing and rations for servants. Finally, it seems clear that slaves and free blacks were working in the stables, warehouses and businesses of Harpers Ferry, Bolivar and Virginius Island, and thus played a significant role in the area's industrial development.
CONCLUSION

The Civil War and the sieges of Harpers Ferry had a tremendous impact on the black population of Harpers Ferry, although the exact nature of the population changes is as yet unclear. Before the automobile, Harpers Ferry had a thriving resort industry. From 1880 to 1900 four of the five hotels in the town were operated by blacks. The Lovett Family operated two, the Lockwood House and the Hilltop House Hotel. The number of black farmers and entrepreneurs in the county increased and blacks began to participate in the political process.

This brief overview is intended to offer some information and direction for future research. Although little research has been done on blacks in Harpers Ferry, a study is feasible. The information should then be incorporated in the interpretation of the lower town, including the park's buildings. The role of blacks should fit naturally into discussion of the life of the town. Copies of the major sources used in this report should be obtained for more specific information. As is always the case, further research will both illuminate and refute many of the interpretations in this report.

FOOTNOTES


7. Ibid., p.342.


One man was purchased for $1,200; a woman and four children for $1,950, etc.


10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 125.

12. op. cit., p.8; op. cit., Chapters 5 and 6.

13. op. cit.,p. 162.


17. Sheeler, Chapters 7 and 9.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


Moore, George, "West Virginia and the Civil War", Ph.D. Dissertation, West Virginia University, 1957.


Sheeler, John R., "The Negro in West Virginia Before 1900", Ph.D. Dissertation, West Virginia University, 1954; There are random references to Jefferson County throughout the dissertation. It is a good source for leads and some information.


THEMES OF HARPERS FERRY
The John Brown theme is currently the most important one in the park's program. After reviewing the park's publications and programs, several observations can be made:

1. The orientation filmstrip effectively identifies the basic issues and themes.

2. There is little recognition of the black presence as it relates either to John Brown or the town of Harpers Ferry.

3. In the tours and open buildings there is too much attention paid to detail at the expense of an overall understanding of the era. Brown is not placed in the context of his times.

4. There is a tendency to portray Brown only as a fanatic. As a government institution, the National Park Service has the responsibility to utilize the work of scholars with different perspectives, to analyze the feasibility of Brown's plan and to present opposing views of the man to the public.

5. The panel in the museum entitled "John Brown's Pike" has a caricature of Brown handing a pike to a slave. Not only could this panel be considered offensive, but the valuable wall space could be used to convey more important information. This panel could contain a discussion of the relationship between Brown and blacks including the black raiders who accompanied him.

6. The interpreters do not appear to have a broad enough understanding of the history of the era. This may be the result of a training program that allows the staff to study as they wish. As a result, the black presence is often omitted. The book, Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown, had only been checked out of the park library twice. It is strongly recommended that the staff be given specific reading assignments and allotted time to complete those assignments.

7. Mr. Neal Randall is a notable exception. He has an excellent grasp of history, is able to present several interpretations of Brown and his times, and has the ability to tailor his material to the audience. It is strongly recommended that he be involved in the development of interpretive material on blacks and Brown.

For all practical purposes, Dr. Quarles' works are the definitive statement on blacks and John Brown, and fulfill the research needs of the park. Several major themes that lend themselves to park interpretation have been identified:
1. Brown's early relationship with and attitude towards blacks.

2. The Chatham Convention and meeting in Detroit. Brown's Constitutional Convention in Chatham, Canada, May 8, 1858 was attended by thirty-four blacks and twelve whites. He met with prominent blacks in Detroit shortly thereafter. Several documents relating to these meetings are available, including broadsides, photographs and the constitution with signatures. See: Benjamin Quarles, Allies for Freedom, Detroit Tribune January 17, 1886; and Detroit Advertiser & Tribune December 3, 1859.


Five black men were with Brown and each of them has an interesting story. Biographical information, documents and pictures are available for each of them. It is recommended that a brochure and exhibit focusing on these men be prepared. Information can also be included on the slaves who joined Brown. See: The Antislavery History of the John Brown Years; Benjamin Quarles, Allies for Freedom; and Barrie Stavis, John Brown.


Chapter 5, Allies for Freedom, has an excellent discussion of the activities of the "docile" slaves after the raid.

5. Efforts by blacks to preserve the memory of Brown.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Osborn Perry, A Voice From Harpers Ferry. Boston: Printed for the author in 1861. An account of the raid and its participants by one of the black raiders who escaped.

Antislavery History of the John Brown Years. Quotes concerning John Copeland, p. 135. A military officer in charge said, "I had a position near the gallows, and carefully observed all. I can truly say, I never witnessed more firm and unwavering fortitude, more perfect composure, or more beautiful propriety than were manifested by young Copeland to the very last."


Fletcher, Robert, ed., "John Brown and Oberlin", Oberlin Alumni Magazine 27:5 (February, 1932), pp. 135-141. Excerpts from the letters written by John Copeland while awaiting execution can be very effective.


Whitman, Karen, "Re-evaluating John Brown's Raid at Harpers Ferry", West Virginia History 34:1 (October, 1972), pp. 46-84. This article poses the following questions: "What were the motives and intent of the raid?"; "What concrete abolitionist support did Brown get for the raid?"; "What were the effects of the raid on the North and South?"; and if we can discover evidence that Brown was a rational and respected man who made a dangerous but feasible attempt to end slavery then "Why do present day historians so frequently dismiss him as a fanatic?" This article and the Quarles and Stavis books should be read carefully in order to achieve a more balanced view of Brown and the raid.


Chapter 1 John Brown's Day (August 17, 1906). This chapter discusses the second meeting of the Niagara Movement and orients the reader to the historic symbolic relationship between blacks and Brown.

Chapter 2 Brown's Black Orientation (to 1858). This chapter deals with Brown's early contacts with blacks from boyhood to Kansas.

Chapter 3 Rehearsal Pattern (1858-1859). Brown's early meetings with blacks including the Chatham Convention and the meeting in Detroit are discussed.

Chapter 4 The Recruitment of Blacks (1858-1859). This is an important chapter for the understanding of the black involvement in the raid. Quarles attempts to explain why Brown failed in his efforts to recruit more blacks and pinpoints the whereabouts of militant blacks at the time of the raid.

Chapter 5 Harpers Ferry: Scene and Sequel (October-November 1859). This chapter should be required reading for all staff. A basic discussion of the raid and aftermath, it offers a totally new focus and perspective. He also, discusses the impact of the raid on the local community and the "docile" slaves.
Chapter 6 Hanging Days in Virginia (December, 1859). This chapter includes a discussion of the hanging and the reaction of the black community.

Chapter 7 The Noose's Black Shadow (1860-1865). This chapter investigates the repression of slaves and free blacks following the raid.

Chapter 8 A Fire Not Forgotten. This general discussion of John Brown and the blacks in the 20th century includes the activities of black organizations and artists until the 1960's.

NIAGARA MOVEMENT

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, white West Virginians were indifferent to Harpers Ferry and the memory of John Brown. It was mainly due to the efforts of blacks that Harpers Ferry became a national shrine. In 1881, Frederick Douglass gave a famous speech at Storer College praising John Brown and the black raiders who fought and died with him.¹

W.E.B. DuBois honored the town in 1906 when he selected Harpers Ferry as the site of the first public meeting of the Niagara Movement. A militant, black-led civil rights movement, this organization was founded on July 11-14, 1905. To symbolize the power, it was hoped that the movement would generate, and because of its proximity to the Falls, it was christened "Niagara". The Niagara Movement, aiming to pull all Negro organizations more closely toward one large national push, directed its programs against all the barriers to first-class citizenship erected against Negroes: disenfranchisement, curtailment of civil rights, limited job opportunities, inadequate and unequal educational opportunities and the squalid conditions under which black
children were being reared in the cities of the nation.

Contrary to popular belief, this organization did not become the NAACP, but did lay the groundwork for and establish the basic principles of that organization. DuBois returned to Harpers Ferry in August, 1906, and there he led the Niagara group on a barefoot pilgrimage at dawn to the engine house. "And there on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom", DuBois wrote, "we reconsecrated ourselves, our honor, our property, to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."²

On May 9, 1922, Drs. J. Max Barber and T. Spotuas Burwell made the pilgrimage to John Brown's gravesite. Formally organized in Philadelphia on July 1, 1914, The John Brown Memorial Association Inc. continued to sponsor annual pilgrimages. The activities usually included memorial services at the grave and an evening-mass meeting in the town hall of Lake Placid, New York. Clarence Darrow was the speaker at one of these events.³

A good deal of research has already been done on DuBois and the Niagara Movement. The starred items in the bibliography should contain sufficient information for most purposes.

FOOTNOTES

1. An original copy of the speech is in the HFNHP library.


3. Brochure, Document #1752, Henry T. McDonald Papers, HFNHP.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


Barber, J.Max, "Niagara Movement", Voice of the Negro II (1905), pp. 600-605.

         , "What is the Niagara Movement?", Voice of the Negro II (1905), pp. 645-647.


         , "Niagara", Horizon II (September, 1907), pp. 4-6.

         , "Niagara Movement", Horizon IV (September, 1908), pp. 1-3.


Jack, Robert L., History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Boston: Meadow Publishing Co., 1943. For an account of the merger of the Niagara Movement with this new program see pp. 1-9.


Brown's Day" is an excellent discussion of the activities of August 17, 1906, the second annual meeting of the Niagara Movement. Pages 3-10 should be required for all staff.

* Rudwick, Elliott M., "The Niagara Movement", Journal of Negro History 42:3 (July, 1957), pp. 177-200. This is the most important article on the subject. The meeting at Harpers Ferry is discussed on pp. 185-187.


*Indicates higher priority.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR HFNHP BOOKSTORE


**Indicates higher Priority.

POTENTIAL ORAL HISTORY INFORMANTS

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Allen, Washington St., Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

Dr. Madison Briscoe, Washington St., Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

Mr. Ernest Dandridge, 631 Eagle Avenue, Charlestown, W. Va.

Mr. Bernard Dennis, Filmore St., Harpers Ferry, W. Va.
STORER COLLEGE

One of the most potentially promising interpretive themes at the park is the history of Storer College. This theme intersects several issues of national importance: The aftermath of the Civil War; the establishment of a segregated society; the development of a black civil rights movement and the eventual destruction of segregation. This last theme is also promising because there are so many resources available for its development. The Storer campus is physically intact, a large collection of documents, photographs and memorabilia is available, and a tremendous pool of oral history informants still exists.

While on one level Storer was a small, insignificant black college in the mountains, on another level it has national importance. The story of Storer College is significant precisely because the institution was so typical for blacks. An independent institution, its establishment was facilitated by funds from the Freedmen's Bureau. It also had a close relationship with the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the state of West Virginia. Thus, the major forms of black educational institutions during the period, the Freedmen's Bureau School, the religious, philanthropic college, and the state institution, intersect at Storer. The conditions under which it was established, the nature of its struggle for survival and the conditions under which it closed, form a pattern that was repeated across the South in the period
1865-1965. The story of the evolution of black education is an important one because it reflects the nature of American Society and race relations during the one hundred years after the Civil War.

There has always been an acute awareness of the historic importance of the site at Harpers Ferry. O.B. Cheney, an early benefactor of the college, favored a campus in Harpers Ferry, arguing that the historic ground might facilitate fund raising.¹ In 1906, the second meeting of the militant Niagara Movement was held in the town, an acknowledgement of its symbolic importance. The blacks have always viewed Harpers Ferry as a kind of historic focal point of their struggle for equality.²

An evaluation of the Storer College theme should include the identification of the issues, an assessment of current programming and available resources and recommendations for future programming. The issues include:

1. The origins of education for freedmen.
2. The evolution, role and contribution of the black college.
3. The evolution of the separate but equal doctrine.
4. The origin of the 20th Century Black Civil Rights Movement.
5. The destruction of the separate but equal doctrine and its impact on black education.

The National Park Service has completed several projects that relate to Storer College. Although these projects are adequate within themselves, they neither complement each other nor contribute to the development of a program. "A College in Secession: The Early Years of Storer College", by Alfred Mongin, is an excellent brief discussion
of the first thirty years of the school, and the furnishing study of
the Lockwood House by Anna Toogood is a useful history of one building
and its relationship to the school. There is a small exhibit in the
Visitor's Center composed solely of a display case of memorabilia.
There is no supporting text or documentation and as such its value
to the visitor is limited. The plans for the Storer Room in the Mather
Training Center are well-intentioned, but their effectiveness is limited
because of a lack of overall planning.

It is strongly recommended that an interpretive plan for the Storer
College theme be adopted immediately. This plan should include: A dis­
cussion of the major issues; a professional history of the college and
the local community; a format for the utilization of buildings; an oral
history project; a program of tours, publications, and exhibits; and
the coordination of projects in the Mather Training Center and the park.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Since it may take several years to complete the development
of the campus, some short range plans should be made for the im­
mediate future. These plans should include exhibits, brochures,
tours and staff training.

An exhibit should be established in the Visitor's Center.
The present display could serve as the core of the exhibit; text
and pictures could be placed on the bare wall behind the case.
This would provide the visitor with background information which
could be supplemented by brochures and either guided or self­
guided tours to the campus. Every staff member should be prepared
to answer questions and several should be prepared to give either
scheduled or impromptu tours. The suggested reading list contains
starred items (marked by a asterisk) that should be considered
mandatory:

*Anthony, Kate J., Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia:
Brief Historical Sketch, with Supplementary Notes, 1867-1891.
Boston: Morning Star Publishing House, 1891.


Woodson, Carter G., History of Early Negro Education in West Virginia. West Virginia Collegiate Institute, 1921.

A brochure on Storer College should be made available as rapidly as possible, and at highest National Park Service standards of production. A self-guiding tour should also be developed that goes through the campus and back into the lower town area. The exhibits, brochures, and tours should include a discussion of the evolution of the school and how its development was related to national issues and figures.

These four items, the erection of a temporary exhibit in the Visitor's Center, the development of a brochure and self-guiding tour, and staff training, should be among the major park goals for the next fiscal year, particularly since their implementation is not dependent upon further research or a major commitment of funds. Some consideration should also be given to transporting visitors from the lower town to the campus.

2. It is imperative that a history of the college be written. There are several short, sometimes biased accounts that usually end in the 1930s. Because there are several unanswered questions about Storer, the interpretation of the buildings and the history of the school is severely limited. As evidenced by the bibliography, there are sufficient records to support a full scale professional study of the institution. I have been informed that Dr. John Stealey, Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences, Shepherd College, Shepherdstown, West Virginia, has written on the subject but I have been unable either to contact Dr. Stealey or locate his work.

A history of Storer College should include discussions of the
nature of black education, the relationship between the college and the town of Harpers Ferry and the educational philosophy of the institution. It could also include several studies of individual faculty members and students.

3. A preliminary study should also be done of the history of each building and its use. This information will be useful in future planning.

4. The Curtis Free Will Baptist Church should be declared a National Historic Landmark. This modest structure is one of the few unaltered buildings on campus. During the active years of the college, it was often the center of activity. As such, it is the perfect focal point for the development of a Storer College historic area.

The building should be studied, both from the viewpoint of architecture and historic utilization. The core group of records relating to the church is located in Box 34, "Addition to A & M 1322", Division of Archives and Manuscripts, West Virginia University Library. A crucial document is a scrapbook entitled, "A Journal on the Works at Harpers Ferry and Among the Churches in West Virginia, 1894". Research in the deed records should be conducted in the Jefferson County Court House, Charlestown, West Virginia. Given the nature of the church and the community, oral resources would probably be the most valuable. There are about fifteen surviving members of the founders. The three members of the Dennis Family, Bernard, Carroll, and Mrs. Effie Dennis Allen, and their spouses are excellent informants and all reside near the church. Because of their advanced age their interviews should be given top priority. Their parents were among the first students at Storer and helped to establish the Curtis Church. Mrs. Effie Dennis Allen was interviewed on June 18, 1978 to determine the potential value of oral history in this community. I am satisfied that through research a proper questionnaire can be designed and a valuable oral history project developed. (This topic will be discussed more fully at a later point).

The disposition and use of the church have been of major concern to the Storer Alumni and the local community. Its potential use as a repository for Storer records and memorabilia has been recognized and advocated. From a historical perspective, the use of the basement for non-religious activities is justified. At the dedication of the church on May 27, 1896, several small work rooms were set aside for the industrial work of the church. Mrs. Brackett began conducting sewing classes and plans had been made to add cooking classes and a kindergarten. A Sunday School and Lecture Room were also set apart. The church was an integral part of the educational mission of the college, and was always closely associated with the community. Thus, the establishment of a center for the study of Storer history in the church basement would be consistent with the historic utilization of the building.
The Jefferson County NAACP, State Grand Masonic Lodge, and several religious groups have expressed an interest in the preservation and use of the church.

In conclusion, it is recommended that the Curtis Free Will Baptist Church be declared a national historic landmark, its history researched, the basement designated a center for Storer history, and the main hall be used for tours and community activities.

5. The Lockwood and Brackett Houses are also potentially important buildings. Permanent historical exhibits on Storer and black education, the civil rights and Niagara movements and Jefferson County could be established. Other rooms could be used for photographic exhibits, changing exhibits and meeting and class rooms. Emphasis can be placed on exhibits using audiovisual teaching techniques.

6. Markers could be placed at each of the buildings indicating its history and how it related to the college. Photographs and a taped message would make these exhibits most effective.

7. A link between the National Park Service and the black community should be institutionalized. The Storer community and the local community are interested in the plans for black history at Harpers Ferry NHP, and have a wealth of information and advice to offer the park. The Storer College Alumni Association and the Jefferson County NAACP should have a major role in the planning process and be represented on decision-making bodies.

8. An oral history project should be developed to take advantage of one of the most important and perishable historic resources in the community. At the present time there are several informants who were students during the first decade of the 20th century and whose parents were among the first students at Storer. They are an important source of information, particularly since most of the written records were created by northern supporters of the college. The writing of a balanced history is dependent upon the collection of information from all segments of the Storer community.

     A professional should design and direct the project even if the interviews are going to be conducted by volunteers or job corps students. An essential reference work is Willa K. Baum, Oral History for the Local Historical Society. (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History). Mrs. Effie Dennis Allen, a daughter of early students, and Miss Charlotte Lovett, daughter of Thomas Lovett, founder of the Hilltop House Hotel, were interviewed in June of 1978. These two interviews demonstrated the potential value of oral history at Harpers Ferry.

9. The Storer Room planned for the Mather Training Center should be open to the public, at least until other exhibits have been available.
10. The development plan should be designed so that all levels of students will be able to utilize the resources. In addition, a program could be developed specifically for children, focusing on the restored classroom and kitchen in the Lockwood House.

11. It has also been suggested that the facilities could be developed to train teachers in multi-cultural education. Programs could also be developed for job corps students and senior citizens.

12. There should be a closer working relationship between those at the park and at the Mather Training Center on projects that relate to Storer College. There appears to be very little contact and coordination between the different branches of the Park Service there.

In conclusion, the themes associated with the history of Storer College are exciting and offer a wide range of interpretive possibilities. The most pressing needs are the systematic, professional planning and implementation of a program.

FOOTNOTES

1. O.B. Cheney to N.C. Brackett, April 29, 1867, Storer College Collection, Harpers Ferry NHP.


3. Undated newspaper article in "A Journal on the Work at Harpers Ferry and Among the Churches in West Virginia, 1894". Addition to A & M 1322, Box 34, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, West Virginia University Library.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

PRIMARY RESOURCES

National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Record Group 105, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands. The agent in Harpers Ferry reported to the Washington, D.C. office and his reports are interfiled with the District of Columbia records. Substantial groups of records relating to the Bureau School in Harpers Ferry (Storer) are concentrated in the following areas: Office of the Assistant Commissioner: Letters; Endorsements Sent and Received; Letters Received; Annual, Monthly and Quarterly Narrative Reports of Operations from Staff and Subordinate Officers, 1865-1868; Monthly Narra-
tive Reports of Operations of Industrial Schools Sponsored by the Bureau, 1865-1868; Office of the Superintendent of Education, Letters Sent; Letters Received; Monthly School Reports to Bureau Headquarters, 1865-1870; Monthly School Reports from Subordinate Officers and from Superintendents of Schools Sponsored by Benevolent Societies; Teachers' Monthly Reports; Office of the Commissioner (C.O. Howard), Letters Sent; Letters Received.

Record Group 156, Records of the Chief of Ordinance. This agency was responsible for the transfer of the government buildings to the college. The reports from Harpers Ferry were interfiled with the records of the Washington, D.C. office. Indexes and registers of correspondence should be helpful.

Record Group 393, Records of the U.S. Army Continental Commands. Vol. 4, Military Installations, 1821-1881; Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1864-1866; #527-Endorsements Sent, 1865-1866; #528-General Orders, August, 1864.

HARPERS FERRY NHP LIBRARY, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

There are twenty-six notebooks of xeroxed copies of Storer College records in a cabinet on the third floor above the Visitors' Center and Ranger Station in the historic district. These records appear to be selected correspondence from the "Storer College Collection, A & M 1322", Box 1, and "Addition to A & M 1322", Boxes 37-45, West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, West Virginia. There are also copies of documents whose originals have not been located. Several of the binders have been indexed. A general list follows:

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<th>BINDER #</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Correspondence, January-March, 1866.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Deeds, incorporation papers, correspondence, January-December, 1867.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Correspondence, January-December, 1868.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Correspondence, December, 1856-December, 1865.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Correspondence, January-December, 1880 (index).</td>
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6 Correspondence, January, 1881-December, 1889.

7 Correspondence, January, 1890-1895.

8 Correspondence, February, 1896-October, 1901.

9 Copies from Brackett-Newcomer Papers, January, 1869-January, 1879.

10 Correspondence and Reports, 1901-1908 (index).

11 Correspondence and Reports, 1909-1910 (index).

12 Correspondence and Reports, 1910-1926 (index).

13 Correspondence and Reports, January, 1926-June, 1936 (index).

14 Reports, 1936-1939 (index).

15 Reports, October, 1939-February, 1944 (index).


17 Correspondence, January 1947-1948.

18 Correspondence, May, 1948-January, 1950 (index).

19 Correspondence, March, 1950-1954 (index).


21 Morrell Biography.

22 McDonald Biography.

23 Brackett Biography.

24 Correspondence, 1865-1951 (index).

25 Reference Materials.

26 Reference Materials.
The library also contains scattered copies of catalogs and bulletins including *The Storer Sentinel, 1909, Glimpses of a Year at Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1836-1937,* and *Student Life at the College.*

**ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS DIVISION**
**WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY**
**MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA**

The two major groups of records relating to Storer College are currently housed at this library. The first covers the period 1865-1956. The microfilm copies were made in 1959 and 1961 from originals in the possession of Mrs. John Newcomer and the National Park Service. A gift to Storer College, made in 1958 through Mrs. Newcomer, acting business manager and registrar, the records include correspondence, office files, faculty and student records, Veteran’s Administration records, financial records, clippings, photos, scrapbooks, building blueprints, campus plans and the guest register from the John Brown Fort Museum. Correspondents include George H. Ball, J.M. Brewster, Silas Curtis, George T. Day, William Pitt Fessenden, Henry T. McDon-ald and I.D. Stewart. There are four entries in this group:

**A & M 1131** Printed Material,, 1908-1943, four items.

**A & M 1168** Student Records, 1872-1955, Twelve Vols., one file drawer and index (four rolls of microfilm); Alumni Records listing the classes, 1872-1955; Student Records, vols. 1-8, 1900-1942; Student register, vols. 1, 2 containing names and addresses of students, 1888-1944; file, student record cards, catalog files, 1929-1955; General index, pages 14-19 of vol. 1 is a registry of names of persons attending the First Baptist General Conference at Harpers Ferry, September 24-October 3, 1889.

**A & M 1322** Archives 1865-1956, 162 boxes, 14 vols. and 2 bundles:

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<th>BOX #</th>
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<tr>
<td>1-70</td>
<td>General Correspondence-filed chronologically</td>
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</table>
71-72 General Correspondence-No dates.
73-85 Individual Correspondence-Alphabetically.
86-88 Storer College Printed Material.
89-90 Faculty Records and Correspondence.
91-92 Misc. Publications-Programs, etc.
93-96 Veterans Administration Records.
97 Newspaper Clippings.
98 Photographs and Blueprints.
99-122 Student Records.
158-159 Registers of John Brown Fort Museum.
160 Miscellaneous items.
161 McDonald Personal correspondence.
162 Free Will Baptist History.
163 Scrapbooks, notebooks, and Harpers Ferry Water Co. records.

This tremendous quantity of records has limited value. The correspondence is standard, often repetitious, and filed in widely scattered folders. The student records are incomplete and consist mainly of records of payment. There are countless blank forms.

A & M 1471 Building Blueprints and campus plans, 1900-1948. An inventory exists.

Addition to A & M 1322 In 1972, the National Park Service and the Board of Trustees of Storer College placed fourteen additional boxes of records on indefinite loan at the University Library. Their records were reboxed and designated "Addition to A & M 1322, Storer College Collection, Boxes 1-45". An accurate index to these records is on file at the Harpers Ferry NHP Library.

The mystery of the origins of the binders of xeroxed copies at the
park is still unsolved. It appears that selected documents were
copied, filed and indexed and the originals housed elsewhere. Many
of the originals are in the Archives and Manuscript Division of the
West Virginia University Library, but at least fifty per cent have not
been located. This is a serious problem because we do not know the
nature of the selection process or if there are documents that were
not copied. It is possible that these documents are located in the
family papers of those connected with the college. These papers may
still be in the possession of heirs. A final possibility is that the
originals are in boxes 37 to 45, Addition to A & M 1322, West Virginia
University.

These records are by far the most valuable in the Storer College
Collection. Although the correspondence is scattered and out of order,
there is a large collection of the school newspapers, The Storer Record,

There are several short histories of the college and its buildings,
and biographies in this series. However, most of these accounts were
written by relatives or those closely connected to the college. This
must be taken into consideration when these records are used and care
must be exercised in order to achieve a balanced picture and to include
a black perspective on the history of the school. It is strongly re­
commended that oral history be a major component of any study of the
college.

A scrapbook entitled "A Journal of the Work at Harpers Ferry Among
the Churches in West Virginia, 1894" contains a letter written by
Frederick Douglass shortly before his death. More importantly, it
contains information about the establishment, history and use of the Curtis Free Will Baptist Church. Through the use of this book, three folders in the same box and standard deed research, it should be possible to answer most questions concerning this church. These items are located in Box 34.

There is also an excellent collection of photographs which includes a wide variety of faculty, student and campus scenes. Class and athletic team pictures predominate. The photographs span the period 1890-1945, and the bulk are concentrated in the period 1900-1920. They are suitable for exhibit and publication.

The forty-five boxes in this record series are the most valuable in the collection and should be given highest priority.

MOORLAND-SPINGARN RESEARCH CENTER
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Storer College Collection was received in 1971. The eighty-one items deal mainly with the Storer fund raising campaign in 1957, and the activities of the Washington, D.C. Chapter of the Storer College Alumni Association. There is also some information in the Thomas N. Lewis Collection. Lewis, a Liberian physician, attended Storer College at the turn of the century. These records can be helpful in the study of the role of African students at the college.

The Center also possesses copies of the Catalog of Storer College (1925, 1934-1940, 1944), and The Storer College Bulletin, (1945-49, 1951).
ALDERSON-BROADDUS COLLEGE
PHILIPPI, WEST VIRGINIA

Their archives have neither records nor references to Storer College. Mrs. Nancy Harris, executive secretary to the president of the college, has the working papers of the transfer of the scholarship fund in her files. These may be confidential.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

This library possesses a small envelope of printed materials that are available elsewhere.

SHEPHERD COLLEGE
SHEPHERDSTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA

The college received the student transcripts and some library books. The books were mainly outdated fiction and textbooks.

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Storer College merged with this university in 1964. The only available records are microfilmed student transcripts in the registrar's office.
REPOSITORIES REPORTING NO RECORDS

Clerk of Jefferson County, County Court House, Charlestown, West Virginia.

Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

Marshall University, Huntington, West Virginia.

Morgan State University, Baltimore, Maryland.

Shepherdstown Public Library, Shepherdstown, West Virginia.

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA REPORTS

Report of the State Board of Education for the years 1917 through 1948.

Report of the State Board of Regents for the years 1911 through 1919.

West Virginia Collegiate Institute Bulletin for the years 1915 through 1948.

West Virginia Colored Institute Bulletin for the 1893, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1911 through 1914.

Biennial Report of the State Supervisor of Negro Schools of West Virginia for two years ending June 30, 1922. Written by William Sanders.

Biennial Report of the State Supervisor of Negro Schools of West Virginia for two years ending June 20, 1926. Author unknown.

STORER COLLEGE AND THE HISTORY OF BLACK EDUCATION

SECONDARY RESOURCES


New York.


Anthony, Kate J., *Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia; Brief Historical Sketch with Supplementary Notes*, 1867-1891. Boston: Morning Star Publishing House, 1891. A brief account of the early history of the school written by an individual in very close contact with the institution. As such it can be considered a kind of primary document, and should be evaluated as a first-hand and possibly biased account. One of the few remaining copies can be found at the Harpers Ferry NHP Library. It should be carefully preserved.


Bumstead, Horace, Secondary and Higher Education in the South for Whites and Negroes. Publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, No. 2, 1910.


Carpenter, Velma, "History of Education in West Virginia, 1863-1875", M.A. Thesis, West Virginia University, 1940.


The Crisis. The NAACP's journal, it provides a continuing record of the organization's major activities and concerns. There are annual education issues for reviews of higher education among Negroes.


Douglass, Frederick, "John Brown", An address at the Fourteenth Anniversary of Storer College, 1881. A published copy is available in the Harpers Ferry NHP Library document file.


The Journal of Negro Education. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Bibliographies and book reviews on Negro education in each number; published quarterly since April, 1932.


Nash, Bradley, "Crusade of Brotherhood: The Part of the Storer College in the Education of the Negro, 1865-1955", unpublished report, Harpers Ferry NHP, 1973. Contains a number of inaccuracies but can be used as a guideline.


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**A LIST OF HISTORIC AND OTHER BOOKLETS, AND MAGAZINES IN THE FILE OF THE HARPERS FERRY NHP LIBRARY**

**HFB 29** Brochures & maps in reference to Harpers Ferry, contributed by A. Mercer Daniel.

**HFB 29A** Brochures & maps found in Brackett House.

**MUSEUM COLLECTION** "John Brown" (an address) by Frederick Douglass, Dover, New Hampshire, 1881, at Storer College's 14th Anniversary.

**HFB 5** "John Brown in Canada" by James C. Hamilton, Canadian Magazine, December, 1894.

**HFB 7** "John Brown's Men" by Thomas Featherstonehaugh, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1889.


**HFB 129** reprint of above in 1930.


HFB 211A Negro Heritage, Vol. VIII No. 1 has an article on Harpers Ferry and the raid.


HFB 65 Guide to Manuscripts and Archives in West Virginia Collection, West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, West Virginia, 1958.


HFB 127 Heyward Shepherd, Victim of Violence, by Matthew P. Andrews, published under the auspices of Heyward Shepherd Memorial Association, October 10, 1931, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.


HFD 78 History of Harpers Ferry by Mrs. Lewis, curator, John Brown Fort Museum.

HFD 58 Lockwood House Hotel, Rate Cards (2) from A. Mercer Daniel Collection.

HFD 368 Benjamin Quarles, Remarks made at unveiling ceremonies at the Kennedy Farm as a National Historical Landmark, October 19, 1974.

HFD 287 Shepherd, Heyward, "Notes on Memorial Plaque placed by United Daughters of the Confederacy and Sons of the Confederacy.


HFD 334 Freewill Baptist Book Label; found in Morrell House during rehabilitation work by Harpers Ferry Job Corpsmen.

HFD 237 Freewill Baptist Anti-Slavery Society, Fifth Annual Report Read at Lebanon, Maine, October 9, 1851.
LOCKWOOD HOUSE


HPD 201 Letter from A. Mercer Daniel re: L.H.

HPD 232 Samples of letterhead stationary used when Lockwood House was a hotel; also rate schedule card. Contrib. by A. Mercer Daniel and may be eventually used as display material in restored House. Moved to Mus. Collection 1/76.

HPB 34 Hotel Registers for Lockwood House; Four volumes covering periods: June 8, 1883 - September, 1896; May 30, 1897 - October 8, 1904; January 11, 1905 - September 20, 1914; June 17, 1915 - September 13, 1925. Contributed by A. Mercer Daniel.

STORER COLLEGE


List of presidents of Storer College, composed by B.D. Nash, HFNHP, July 1964.

Copy of Deed to Trustees of Storer College, State of W. Va., County of Jefferson (Dec. 15, 1868). Recorded in Book No. S 9 p. 533. Transcribed by office personnel of B.D. Nash, prior to his appt. with HFNHP.


"Circular re-educating the people of the south and opening a Normal School at Harpers Ferry sgs. Geo. T. Day, I.D. Stewart, S. Curtis, Committee Dover, N.H. Aug. 15, 1867 2nd page - "Plans, Regulations, etc...This document was given to H. Staubs (ck. Ty.) for Park files by B.D. Nash-2/20/67 from Storer Acquisition or not?

Printed Documentary Materials on Storer College concerning the college's activities. Rec'd. as a donation from
A. Mercer Daniel on June 23, 1968. Materials as follows:

1. Alumni Program—Saturday, June 5, 8:00 P.M. no year.

2. Junior Prize Oratorical Contest Program—Monday May 30th no year.

3. Third Year Declamatory Prize Contest Program—Saturday, May 28 no year.

4. Fourth Year Declamatory Prize Contest Program—Friday, May 27, no year.

5. Declamatory Prize Contest of the Third Year, Normal class (orig. & 2 machine copies) Tuesday, May 26, 1903. *(all under Acc 371-Mus. Cat. #4949) oops + below.

6. Commencement Exercise for years 1906, 1907 and 1943.


8. Exhibition of Storer Normal School, Fri., May 30, 8 PM, 1879.


   *(Pulled from HFD file and put into Mus. Collect. See Acc. 371 folder for locations.

Curtis Baptist Church—correspondence, as listed below. Copies from material on Storer before forwarding to W. Va. U. 2cys. ea.


2. Resolution passed by the General Conf. of Free Baptists July 15, 1913 re: authorized & empowered the Pres. and Treasurer of the G. Conf. to transfer deed, etc. to the corp. known as "The President and Trustees of Storer College" all interest said conf. has in real estate at H.F. now occupied by the Curtis Freewill Bapt. Church.


Act to incorporate the Storer College, Passed March 3, 1868

Storer College (booklet) by Miss Kate J. Anthony, Boston, 1891. 2 copies.


Documentary Materials (Catalogues) received from Mr. A. Mercer Daniel on June 23, 1968 concerning faculty, students & events at Storer College, generally a yearbook-type cat. Catalogues as listed below: Acc. 371-Cat. 4950.

1. Storer College Catalogue 1881 (Gray bound cardboard).

2. Storer College Catalogue 1907-1908 (Gray bound cardboard).


4. The Storer Sentinel - 1908-1909 - Black paper-bound (Also another copy of this in the Lib. shelf which was acquired with the acquisition of Storer).


INTRODUCTION

Fort Davis, NHS, one of the five National Park Service sites evaluated in this Project, was one of a series of forts designed to provide protection for the West Texas frontier. It has been restored to the mid 1880s and in the interpretive program focuses on the operation of the fort and the life of the soldier from the reestablishment of the fort in 1867 until its abandonment in 1891. One of the few frontier forts still intact, it offers a wide range of interpretive options. More importantly, from the point of view of this Project, it offers an excellent opportunity to highlight the Afro-American presence on the far western frontier. The black military experience on the frontier is a topic that has attracted the interest of both the general public and the academic community and a substantial amount of information is available.

On July 28, 1866, President Andrew Jackson signed a bill authorizing the organization of the first black units in the regular army. Four regiments were formed and designated: the 9th and 10th Cavalry, and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments. It was clearly understood that they would be part of the military force needed to neutralize Indian power in the West.

For the next twenty years, the "Buffalo Soldiers", as they were called by the Indians, were a major force in the pacification and settlement of the West. Their duties included the scouting and mapping
of the West Texas terrain; road building; the erection of telegraph lines; and general escort and guard duty. They were also involved in the neutralization of Indian hostility. By establishing law and order and maintaining communication lines, they were instrumental in the opening of the area to settlers. The 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments comprised 20% of the U.S. Cavalry in the West, and along with the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments, they were consistently stationed at the most remote, primitive and hostile posts.¹

Fort Davis NHS has a particularly strong link to the black soldier. When the Army reoccupied the fort on June 29, 1867, the huts and sheds were almost totally in ruins. The new fort, built adjacent to the old, was constructed by the first regulars assigned there, Companies C, D, F, G, H, and I, 9th Cavalry. These men were black and commanded by Lt. Col. Wesley Merritt.² In fact, between 1867 and 1885, all of the regular colored units were stationed at Fort Davis. The 9th Cavalry was there from 1867 to 1875; the 10th Cavalry from 1875 to 1885; the 24th Infantry from 1867 to 1872 and the 25th Infantry from 1870 to 1883.³ Thus, not only did black soldiers build the present fort; they occupied it during the fifteen most active years of its existence. By the mid 1880s, the Indian "menace" had been neutralized and the danger of violence from outlaws minimized. The area had been thoroughly scouted and charted and the major lines of transportation and communication had been established. With the bulk of the distasteful work completed, the Buffalo Soldiers were transferred and virtually forgotten.

In recent years, there has been an increased interest in the black soldier and the black presence on the western frontier. As a result, a good deal of scholarly research has been done and several organizations have been established to honor these men. The following themes that
relate to the Buffalo Soldiers and Fort Davis have been identified:

1. The establishment and organization of the black regiments.
2. The black soldier's contribution to the settlement of the West.
3. The role of the Army in the education of the freedmen.
4. Black participation in the major campaigns in the West.
5. The unique characteristics of the black soldier and his service record.
6. The impact of racism on the black soldier's experiences and living conditions.
7. The story of Col. Benjamin Crierson and the 10th Cavalry.
8. The life and times of Henry O. Flipper.
9. The general story of blacks in the westward movement.
10. The story of the Seminole Negro Indian Scouts.

Fort Davis NHS could become an important resource center on the black presence in the West as this report will confirm through an evaluation of the resources, facilities and potential of the park.

FOOTNOTES


METHODOLOGY

The evaluation of Fort Davis included:
1. Standard historical research through secondary literature, including books, articles, etc.

2. Determination of the major issues.

3. Location of the major primary sources.

4. Contact of authorities in the field and follow up of their suggestions.

5. Location of photographs and documents suitable for display.

6. Contact of individuals with an expressed interest in Fort Davis or the Buffalo Soldiers.

7. Visit to Fort Davis NHS and evaluation of the facilities and interpretive program.

8. Completion of the follow up.

PRIMARY SOURCES

The bulk of the primary sources are located in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., and the records that relate directly to Fort Davis have been copied and are available at the park. The major record groups at the National Archives include:

Record Group 15, Records of the Veterans’ Administration, Pension Applications and Files.

Record Group 77, Office of the Chief of Engineers, DeGrange Index, Box 3.

Record Group 94, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, Returns of the Regular Army Cavalry Regiments; "Muster Rolls" for each Regiment; Register for Enlistments in the U.S. Army, 1789-1914; "The Negro in the Military Service of the United States", Microfilm T-823. This is the best source on the Army’s attitude towards black soldiers; Letters Received: Special File No. 6058, AGO 1879; Selected Documents Relating to the Activities of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry in the Campaign Against Victorio.

Record Group 98, Records of the United States Army Commands, Fort Davis, Texas 1866-1891 (These records are available at the park): Records. 1866-91. 22ft. The main series of records, which are generally seemingly complete for the dates indicated, include copies of letters sent, 1866-91; registers of letters received, 1869-91; endorsements, 1867-73, & 1881-87; and orders,
1867-91. There is a variety of other records, including a chaplain's register of births, deaths, baptisms, and marriages, 1875-91; reports of scouts, 1877-82 (including a separate volume of maps), records of garrison and summary court martials, rosters of non-commissioned officers, and a fragmented document file, 1869-91. There are also letters sent by the recruiting officer, 1885-87.

Associated with the records of Fort Davis are records of its subpost, the Camp near Presidio, Texas, consisting of copies of letters sent, registers of letters received, endorsements, and orders, as well as copies of letters sent by the quartermaster, all covering the period 1880-83.

Record Group 159, Records of the War Department, Reports Inspections on File in the Inspector General's Office, 1869-1891.

Record Group 391, Records of the U.S. Regular Army Mobile Units, 1821-1941; Regimental Squadron, Battalion and Troop Records of the 9th Cavalry, 1867-1919; Regimental, Squadron, Battalion and Troop Records of the 10th Cavalry, 1869-1916; Regimental, Battalion and Company Records of the 25th Infantry 1862-1869, 1869-1917.

NOTE: Potential uses of these records will be discussed in the section on new research.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

During phase one of this Report, I compiled an extensive bibliography on the black presence in the West, the black military experience, and black history in the period of 1865-1900 as it relates to Fort Davis. During my visit to Fort David NHS, I compared that bibliography with the collection in the park library, which is in excellent condition and contains the necessary studies on black soldiers in the West. In addition, there is a full collection of the archival material that relates to the fort and an impressive photographic and vertical file. The collection is well-organized and suitable for use by scholars. It is apparent that a great deal of time, resources, and effort have gone into the establishment of this library.
There are already several bibliographies on the black soldier and blacks in the West available at Fort Davis. Therefore, I have reviewed and annotated that literature in a manner that will facilitate the activities at the site. The annotations are designed to assist the staff and others in locating the materials that will best fit specific needs. An asterisk indicates that the material is not available at the park.

SECONDARY SOURCES


* Amos, Preston E., Above and Beyond in the West: Black Medal of Honor Winners, 1870-1890. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Corral, The Westerners, 1974. A well-written scholarly account of the lives and experiences of the eighteen black men who received the Medal Of Honor. It contains a bibliography and it is strongly recommended that this booklet be made available for sale at Fort Davis NHS.


Carlson, Paul, "William R. Shafter Commanding Black Troops in Texas", West Texas Historical Association Yearbook 50 (October, 1974).


Crimmins, Colonel M.L., "Captain Nolan's Lost Troop on the Staked Plains", West Texas Historical Association Yearbook 10 (October, 1934).

Cromwell, Arthur, The Black Frontier. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Television, 1970. An excellent publication that is available for sale at Fort Davis NHS.


El Paso Public Library, Frontier Battalion Papers; fourteen original manuscripts of J. Frank Dobie, an officer stationed at Fort Davis.

Finley, Leighton (1865-1894). "Notebooks and photographs of his service as lieutenant in the 10th Cavalry Regiment in Texas and Arizona during the Indian Wars", University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona.

Flipper, Henry O., The Colored Cadet of West Point. New York: Homer Lee & Co., 1878. This autobiography focuses on Flipper's experiences at West Point. The first Negro graduate of the academy, he was stationed and court-martialed at Fort Davis.


Chapter 7, "The Negro in the Post-Civil War Army," is an excellent treatment of the living conditions and status of the black soldier. The author clearly outlines the major issues and also discusses the reaction of the black community to the discrimination against soldiers.

Fowler, Arlen L., The Black Infantry in the West, 1869-1891. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Corp., 1971. This well-written work deals primarily with the history of the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments. It is a military history that also places the black soldier in the context of the times. Chapter 2, "The Texas Years," is an excellent discussion of the period 1869-1880. It includes a treatment of the daily lives and problems of the soldiers as well as the major engagements during the period. This chapter should be required reading for all staff and could also be reprinted and made available for sale in the bookstore.

The book also contains an important chapter on education in the army in which the army's role as an instrument of social change in the education of the freed blacks is discussed. Chaplain George Gatewood Mullins, an important figure in army education, was stationed at Fort Davis and made significant contributions to the education of black soldiers. His activities at Fort Davis are discussed on pp. 94-103.

Chapter 6, "The Attitude of the Army Towards Black Infantrymen," and the conclusion of the book are also helpful and should be read by all staff.


* Harris, Theodore, "Henry Ossian Flipper: The First Negro Graduate of West Point," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1971. A relatively short but apparently accurate biography of Flipper based on his own memoirs. It is a good starting point for information about the man but an effort should be made to place him in the context of the history and lifestyle of the black soldier as well as the context of his times. The work of Rayford W. Logan and August Meier will be useful.
* Hayman, Perry, "Ten Years of Exciting Experiences and Hard Service in the Tenth Cavalry", *Winners of the West* (March, 1925).


* Journal of the United States Cavalry Association. (also entitled *Armor*), December, 1897.


Katz, William Loren, *The Black West*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1971. An excellent photographic and documentary history of blacks in the West from the earliest 16th century explorers to the Spanish-American War. It includes the early settlers and explorers, slavery, cowboys, homesteaders and soldiers. This is one of the best sources for photographs and documents suitable for display.

* Black People Who Made the Old West. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1977. This is a juvenile version of his book *The Black West*, and it contains biographical sketches of thirty-five blacks who explored and settled the frontiers of the United States. This would be an excellent book to offer for sale in the park's bookstore.

* Leckie, William H., *Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. This work is basically a military history of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry Regiments. As such it is a bit tedious for the average reader. While an excellent source for specific data on military engagements, it is not necessarily the best book to sell to the public, or assign to staff. The study neither places the Buffalo Soldier in the context of his times, nor takes into account the impact of his color on his life and conditions.


Nunn, Curtis W., "Eighty-six Hours Without Water on the Texas Plains", *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 43 (January, 1940).


* Porter, Kenneth Wiggins, "The Seminole Negro Indian Scouts, 1870-1881", *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 56 (January, 1952). I have not determined whether or when these scouts may have operated out of Fort Davis. However, they were an extremely important force in the exploration and settlement of West Texas and were stationed in most of the forts surrounding Fort Davis. In addition their's is a very interesting story that would enrich the interpretive program.

* "Negroes and Indians on the Texas Frontier, 1831-1876", *Journal of Negro History* 42:3 (July, 1956), 41:4 (October, 1956). This is an interesting analysis of the cultural factors conditioning relations under frontier conditions between blacks, both slave and free, and the various Texas Indian groups. It reveals the varied roles of blacks on the frontier and their status in a white-dominated society. While it does not relate directly to Fort Davis, it should be a part of the suggested reading list.


, "The Worm Turns", Collier's Weekly (April, 1901). A short story about a shoot-out between black soldiers and a saloon crowd based on a similar true incident.

, "Vagabonding with the Tenth Horse", Cosmopolitan Magazine 22:4 (February, 1897).

, "A Scout with the Buffalo Soldiers", The Century Magazine 37 (April, 1889).


* , "The Role of the Negro Soldiers in Protecting the Indian Territory from Intruders", Journal of Negro History 36 (January, 1951).


* Scipio, L. Albert, They Met the Challenge: The History of the 24th Infantry Regiment, 1970. This manuscript is available at the Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

Sheire, James, "Furnishing Study: Enlisted Men's Barracks, HB-21", Denver Service Center: National Park Service, September, 1972. An excellent report that should be relied upon heavily.

Shipman, Jack, "Rebuilding Fort Davis", The Voice of the Mexican Border, Centennial Edition I (December, 1933).


Temple, Frank M., "Colonel B.H. Grierson's Victorio Campaign", West Texas Historical Association Yearbook 35 (October, 1959).

Thompson, Erwin, "The Negro Soldier on the Frontier: A Fort Davis Case Study", Journal of the West 7 (April, 1968). Written by a former historian at Fort Davis, NHS, this article should be required reading for all personnel who come in contact with the park.


Unit Members, "Historical and Pictorial Review, 9th Cavalry Regiment, Second Cavalry Division of the United States Army", Baton Rouge: 1941.


EVALUATION OF RESOURCES, FACILITIES AND PROGRAMS AT FORT DAVIS NHS

For the purposes of this Report it is assumed that the significance of the black presence at Fort Davis is an accepted fact. Not only did the black men rebuild and occupy the fort for fifteen years but they did so during the period when the area was being transformed from a trackless plain into an area suitable for settlement. One can safely assert that the Buffalo Soldiers were the most important single factor in this transformation. While few would argue that the fort should be interpreted solely in the framework of black history, it can be agreed that the programming at Fort Davis NHS should recognize the black presence, seek to correct misinformation and strive to recreate an accurate picture of the history of the fort. The Buffalo Soldier should be a highly visible component of the Fort Davis story. Unfortunately, at the present time he is almost totally invisible.
There are several reasons for this. However, the most important single factor is the limited perspective of the park's staff. There is a very important story to tell and the necessary resources are available. Unfortunately, the limitations of the interpretive philosophy at the park result in a limited treatment of the black presence. It is probable that the vast majority of the visitors leave the park unaware of the contributions of blacks. There is strong evidence that until three months ago (April, 1978), three of the five guides could not explain the term "Buffalo Soldier" to a visitor.

Prior to our official visit, Dr. Charles Johnson and I visited all of the buildings as typical tourists. We spent a considerable amount of time in each structure and the black presence was never mentioned. When we did inquire, the most detailed response that we received was "Yes, they were here". This experience indicated that the staff was not prepared to discuss the black presence much less elaborate on it. The situation at this park is particularly disturbing because adequate information is available, in readily usable form, in the park library. However, book borrowing records and the limited knowledge of the staff indicate that the black soldier's presence has been all but ignored.

It is possible that the close contact the staff has had with the park has tended to make them unaware of the inconsistencies in their approach. The following discussion is intended as a helpful rebuttal to the reasons given for the limited treatment of the black experience at Fort Davis.

The major goal of the interpretive program is to portray the life of a soldier, whether black or white, and the park management does not
feel the need to emphasize the black soldier. Unfortunately, when the visitor is presented with the "life of a soldier" he will probably assume that the soldier was white. This is particularly true if he has no prior knowledge of the role of blacks on the frontier. Unless it is pointed out that the soldier at Fort Davis was often black, his presence will be totally obscured. The published goals of the park emphasize the need to correct misconceptions about military life. A good deal of effort is expended dispelling myths about the Indian wars and the structure of the fort. A major misconception that the National Park Service, as a government agency, should seek to dispell is the belief that blacks had no role on the frontier. It is disturbing that visitors seem to be confused by the presence of a black female staff member and assume that because her living history duties include domestic chores, she is demonstrating the role of slaves. "In order to present an accurate picture, it must be pointed out to the visitors that the soldier here was usually black. Otherwise, they will assume that he was white.

In addition, this approach assumes that the life of the black soldier was identical to that of the white soldier. Every study of the Buffalo Soldier has emphasized the importance of race and racism. Black soldiers were always stationed in isolated posts on the edge of the frontier. They were discriminated against by the Army and received the poorest rations and equipment and limited recreational facilities. Their punishments exceeded those for similar crimes by whites. "This regiment has received nothing but broken down horses and repaired equipment", complained Medal of Honor winner, Captain Louis Carpenter of the 10th Cavalry.¹
Black soldiers often surprised officials with their ability to transform abused horses into usable ones. Lieut. Col. Wesley Merrit, post commander during the rebuilding of Fort Davis, remarked, "I have always found the colored race represented in the Army obedient, intelligent and zealous in the discharge of duty, brave in battle, easily disciplined, and most efficient in the care of their horses, arms and equipment."\(^2\)

Not only was race an important factor in the shaping of army policy and the treatment of the black soldier, there is also evidence to indicate that he was different from the white soldier. The National Park Service Furnishing Studies of the enlisted men's barracks (HB-21) by James Sheire and A. Berle Clemensen are designed to identify the history of a building and its occupant. These studies emphasize that the soldier's life at Fort Davis was conditioned by the fact that he was black, and that his race was the most important single factor in his military existence. Clemensen notes in his study that the furnishings in the barracks were shaped by culture. Black soldiers spent a higher percentage of their wages on particular kinds of consumer goods. Clemensen strongly recommends that the furnishings of the enlisted men's barracks reflect these cultural influences.

Despite the prejudice against them and the isolated locations of their posts, the Buffalo Soldiers had the best record in the service regarding desertion and alcoholism, the army's two major problems in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1889, the Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, reported that the desertion rate for black regiments was only 2% as compared with 12% for white regiments. At the conclusion of the Indian Wars in 1891, the 24th Infantry Regiment had maintained the lowest desertion rate of any regiment in the army, and as in the case of other black regiments, its court martial rate was lower than most white
regiments. This was particularly significant because the rate for regiments on the same posts was 20 to 50 times higher than that of the 24th. 4

The absence of excessive drinking and alcoholism in the black regiments was noted by the Surgeon-General in the report for 1889:

The difference between the rate of white and colored soldiers in this case (alcoholism) is most noteworthy: Admissions, white - 4397, colored - 455; non-effectiveness, white -.44, colored -.03. This should be printed in italics to the credit of the colored soldiers.” 5

The Secretary of War paid them a rare compliment when he suggested that the two artillery regiments being formed should be black. He noted their excellent record of service and concluded that they were "neat, orderly and obedient, are seldom brought before courts martial and rarely desert". 6 By the army’s own standards the black regiments were some of the best in the service.

Thus, when the "life of the soldier" is interpreted, without noting that the soldier was black, an inaccurate picture is presented and the black presence obscured. The Buffalo Soldier was at Fort Davis. He was a major force in the rebuilding and operation of the fort and he was different from the white soldier. It is imperative that his presence and role be made clear to the visitor to Fort Davis NHS.

Another reason given for the severely limited treatment of the black soldier is the limited black visitation to the park. This view assumes that the history of the fort should be shaped by the nature of the visitation. An accurate picture is accurate regardless of the audience. This view also assumes that only black visitors are interested in or need to be aware of the black presence. Black and white visitors alike need to be aware of the black contribution. Black visitation should be
increased, but the discussion of black history should not be dependent upon its increase. In any event, when Dr. Johnson and I appeared as visitors, we were the perfect black audience for the information that was being "reserved"; it was not forthcoming.

It has also been stated that the lack of black staff has hindered the interpretation of the black presence. This view assumes that only a black person can discuss the Buffalo Soldiers. This is, of course, absurd. In addition, it does not appear that the sole black staff member had received the necessary encouragement or support in developing programs on the Buffalo Soldiers. This contradicts the assertion that the limited treatment of the black soldier is related to the composition of the staff. While the National Park Service must increase its hiring of minorities, proper interpretation should not depend on black employees.

The other factors that tend to obscure the black presence seem to be inherent in the basic National Park Service's decentralized approach to the dissemination of information. Because staff members are encouraged to study and discuss what they want, as opposed to what should be included, black history is often eliminated. In addition, the guides are encouraged to lecture as little as possible and concentrate on answering questions. Often the result is that the visitor does not have enough information with which to frame a question. This is particularly true for black history. The visitors do not know enough to frame questions and the guides only answer what is asked. It was disturbing that none of the staff members in daily contact with the visitors had adequate knowledge of the black presence at the Fort. The supervisory staff was knowledgeable, but the information was not being communicated to the visitor.
If it is argued that the black soldier should not receive too much attention because he was in the minority, then, it must be noted that white women were an extreme minority of the post. Nevertheless, there is a tremendous emphasis on the role of women, and the female staff is required to read and prepare living history programs that reflect the life of the officers' wives. The two major historic structures, the officers' quarters and the kitchen, reinforce this.

It has also been argued that the Fort has been restored to the year 1885 and the black soldier had ceased to be a significant force in 1883. This is hardly a consistent argument. The interpretive focus is obviously on the most active years of scouting, road building, and Indian skirmishes (1867-1883). The black soldier was the dominant force during this period.

There appears to be a feeling in the park that there is some conflict or contradiction in interpreting "just history" and "black history". There should be no difficulty in portraying the accurate history of the Fort and actively recognizing the black presence and contribution. Because of the diversity of staff skills and interests, and the rapid staff changes, it is imperative that the black presence be institutionalized at Fort Davis NHS. A structure of exhibits, brochures and films must be erected in order to insure continuity and accuracy. The proposed structure will be described in the remainder of this report.
Many of the shortcomings in this area seem to be related to limitations in the approach to staff training. Not only did most of the staff have difficulty discussing the black presence, they did not appear to be very knowledgeable about the history of the Fort, and were unable to place that history in the context of the times. While familiar with the details of who slept where and how utensils were used, they did not discuss the operation of the fort system or the role of an individual fort. Thus, many visitors focus on the restored building and the artifacts. This tendency to concentrate on specific details tends to eliminate the black presence because less is known about individual enlisted men, especially the blacks.

There appear to be many reasons for the staff's limited knowledge of history. 1) They are trained in a short period of time. 2) They are allowed too much freedom in their initial visits to the library. They need firm direction as to what they must read and know. 3) They are encouraged to pursue their own interests which often means that minority subjects are excluded. 4) The guides are full-time students and do not have enough time to read for their jobs, study and work.

To increase staff efficiency I would suggest the following:

1. Careful screening of staff to determine their basic grasp of U.S. History.

2. Firmer guidance in the initial training period with a short required reading list rather than a long suggested list.

3. Lectures included in the training to insure a common ground of knowledge.

4. Acceptance of the fact that the staff must be able to present the black presence regardless of personal interest.
I have compiled a list of materials that relate to blacks at Fort Davis. These items have been selected because of their brevity and completeness. They are all currently available at Fort Davis. The starred items should be considered minimum required reading for all staff.


Fowler, Arlen, *Chapter 2, "The Texas Years".*

Fowler, Arlen, *Chapter 5, "Education in the Army".*

Fowler, Arlen, *Chapter 6, "The Attitude of the Army Towards Black Infantrymen".*

Fowler, Arlen, *Chapter 7, "Hope for a Better Day".*


Leckie, William, *Chapter 1, "The Early Years".*

Leckie, William, *Chapter 4, "The Ninth in Texas".*

Leckie, William, *Chapter 6, "The Tenth in West Texas".*

Leckie, William, *Chapter 9, "The Final Years".*

Rickey, Jr., Don, *"The Negro Regulars; A Combat Record, 1866-1891"*. Unpublished paper delivered at the Western History Association Meeting at Helena, Montana, October, 1865.

Sheire, James, *"Furnishing Study: Enlisted Men's Barracks HB-21"*. Denver Service Center: National Park Service, September, 1972.

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Thompson, Erwin, *"The Negro Soldier on the Frontier: A Fort Davis Case Study"*, *Journal of the West* 7 (April, 1968).

Newspaper Articles on File at Fort Davis: *"Black Soldiers Maligned"*, Current in Argus 10 (December, 1970); *"Negro - Seminole Scouts Played Big Texas Role"*; *"Sgt. George Jordan"*; Articles in the Henry O. Flipper File.
The main exhibit area is impressive and features a diorama that has received a good deal of praise. The black presence has been included; however, because there is no reinforcement in other areas of the park, it is easy to view the exhibit and remain unaware that the soldiers were black. There are several minor changes that should be made in the exhibit area:

1) The display in the rebuilding of the fort neglects to mention that it was completely rebuilt by the 9th Cavalry in 1867. This information must be included, as well as the fact that Fort Concho and McKavett were also rebuilt by the 9th Cavalry. (William Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers, pp. 83-90).

2) Exhibit text that mentions the 9th, 10th, 24th, or 25th Regiments should read "9th Cavalry Regiment, Negro Troops", for emphasis. Visitors are often unfamiliar with military history and when reading about the accomplishments of these units do not recall that they were black.

3) The excellent Eggenhofer painting and the diorama should indicate that the soldiers were black. With no supporting information the untrained eye mistakes these figures for dirty and/or suntanned white men. The group of Remington sketches should also be identified. New labels can easily correct this situation.

4) In comparison with the other subjects there is very little textual material on blacks. This can be corrected by additional labels. Wall space has already been committed to a sketch of a Buffalo Soldier and Indian speaking in sign language. The size of the panel could be reduced and text be increased. The necessary information can be found in the two furnishing studies and the books by Arlen Fowler and William Leckie.

5) The display, "The Buffalo Soldiers", needs improvement. The visitor tends to focus solely on the objects displayed, and the text gives very little information. Of the eight photographs, three are of white officers, three Remington sketches, and only two are photographs of black troops, one of which can not be distinguished as black. There is entirely too much emphasis on the white officers. It is also surprising that neither Colonel Benjamin Grierson nor Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper is mentioned. It is suggested that the photographs of Captain Louis Carpenter, Lt. Colonel William Shafter, and the photograph of the officers of the 24th Infantry be replaced by photographs of Grierson and Flipper with additional text.
6) There are several artifacts that can be used in the "Buffalo Soldiers" display, including Lieutenant Flipper's blanket and Private Bentley's discharge papers.

7) "Illustrations of the Black Soldier in the West" is a privately owned travelling art exhibit. It consists of forty-three drawings commissioned by John Carroll to illustrate his books, The Black Military Experience in the American West and Buffalo Soldiers West. The sketches and drawings in the exhibit were prepared by twelve well-known artists and depict the activities of all four black units and should be considered for exhibit. Contact Mr. John Carroll, P.O. Box 543, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08905. Telephone: (201) 828-2578.

8) "Blacks in the Westward Movement" is a travelling exhibit available from: SITES, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

HISTORIC STRUCTURES

Another major factor that has tended to obscure the black presence has been the nature of the buildings selected for restoration. The officer's quarters, kitchen, and commissary have been restored. The commanding officer's quarters are scheduled to be restored next. As a result of the "living history" approach, the interpretation of these buildings emphasizes the life of the white officers and their families. The enlisted man is forgotten. This shortcoming has been corrected by the use of male guides in period uniforms, but they do not discuss the Buffalo Soldier. It is recognized that restoration is a long, expensive process; however, the following suggestions should be considered in conjunction with my other recommendations:

1) The enlisted men's barracks should be the next building restored. A furnishing plan should be developed based on the furnishing studies of James Sheire (December, 1972) and A Berle Clemensen, (December, 1976). The Sheire study is an excellent source of information on the enlisted man and should be relied upon heavily. The Clemensen study adds additional information.
2) If the commanding officer's quarters are restored first, then emphasis should be placed on Col. Grierson and his relationship with the Buffalo Soldiers. Particular emphasis should be placed on his interest in music and the black regimental bands.

3) The restoration of Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper's quarters should be considered. At the very least, a panel discussing him, the nature of the times, his court martial, later career and vindication, should be erected outside of the structure.

4) More signs should be erected in the enlisted men's quarters, for immediate future. These signs should give a clear identification of the men who occupied the building and what their duties were. The furnishing studies and the book by Arlen Fowler, *The Black Infantry in the West, 1869-1891*, should be helpful.

**PUBLICATIONS**

The program at Fort Davis can be greatly enriched by the addition of brochures and pamphlets on special topics. The annotated bibliography should be helpful in the development of these materials. Suggested topics include:

1) "The Life and Times of Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper", first black graduate of West Point and an officer at Fort Davis.

2) "The Daily Life of a Soldier", with an emphasis on his duties and living conditions.

3) "The Buffalo Soldiers", with a discussion of the establishment and assignment of the black regiments; their achievements against the odds and their admirable service record as relates to desertion and alcoholism. It should also include a discussion of the Seminole Negro Indian Scouts. *The Black Military Experience in the American West*, by John Carroll, is an excellent source of documents, photographs and first-hand accounts.

4) "Blacks in the Westward Movement", that places the black military experience in the West in the context of the times and includes a discussion of the role of blacks on the frontier.

The following items (in order of priority) should be added to the
materials now available for sale at the park bookstore:


History of the 10th Cavalry; 24th Infantry and 25th Infantry are available from the Old Army Press for $7.00 each or $20.00 for the complete set.

**AUDIO-VISUALS**

Fort Davis NHS is in dire need of an orientation film. I understand that a film is scheduled for production in the near future. This film must emphasize, both visually and through text, the role of the black soldier. It is highly recommended that the proposed script be reviewed by persons knowledgeable in the field. Review copies should also be sent to individuals connected with the Fort in the past, including Franklin Smith, Benjamin Levy, Sarah Jackson, James Sheire, and Erwin Thompson. Their suggestions should insure a proper emphasis.

It is also suggested that the park acquire copies of the film, *The Black Soldier*, narrated by Bill Cosby, the recent public television film on Henry Flipper and other films that relate to blacks in the West. These films should then be made available to schools throughout the region. The National Park Service should also plan to produce a docu-
mentary on the Buffalo Soldiers that can be used at all of its western sites. University of Nebraska Television (1600 R Street, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508), produced a film on the Buffalo Soldier in 1970. However, it appears to be geared more towards entertainment. The Tenth Cavalry Buffalo Soldiers, Inc., the Buffalo Soldiers Historical Museum and the Seminole Indian Scout Cemetery Association, have all expressed an interest in developing a film. It is strongly recommended that the National Park Service work with these groups in the development of future programs. (See listing for addresses).

LIEUTENANT HENRY O. FLIPPER

The first black graduate of West Point, Flipper was stationed and court-martialed at Fort Davis. His later career was impressive and he was recently cleared of all charges. His story is significant because it reflects the tense race relations of the times and the struggle of one black man to persevere against the odds. This story can be told through brochures, panels in the exhibit area, and signs in front of his quarters. Any discussion of him should include:

1) His personal background and years at West Point.
2) His assessment to Fort Davis and court martial.
3) His later career.
4) His recent reburial and exoneration.

All of the necessary information is currently available in the files at Fort Davis. Other references are included in the attached bibliography.
NEW RESEARCH

A furnishing plan for the enlisted men's barracks and an interpretive plan for the entire park should be prepared. These works should focus on the black soldier and the nature of his lifestyle. The interpretive program will be greatly enhanced by additional research on the daily, personal lives of the soldiers and the role of the army in the education of freedmen. The two best sources of information are Arlen Fowler and James Sheire.

Archival sources can also be used to do research on the enlisted men. The muster rolls, registers of enlistments, and pension files have been used in the furnishing study by James Sheire in order to study the men assigned to Co. H, Tenth Cavalry in 1880. The registers of enlistments are arranged alphabetically and by year, giving the name, place of enlistment, place of birth, age, civilian occupation and condition of service termination. Once the names have been identified, the available pension files can be located and researched. This research has been completed for Co. H, 10th Cavalry in 1880, in the Sheire furnishing study. It appears to be a complete, careful job, and should be relied upon heavily in the interpretation of the enlisted men's barracks. This study contains enough information about the personal lives of the soldiers, including marriage, health, and living conditions, to greatly enrich the interpretive program. It is strongly recommended that Sheire's basic methodology be followed in future studies.

Another important source is the interview of Simpson Mann, 9th Cavalry veteran by Don Rickey, Jr., Park Planner, in February, 1965. It is filed at Fort Davis under Mann, Simpson. Mrs. Lela Weatherby, a local volunteer at the park, relayed some oral history on the Buffalo
Soldiers and reported that Archie Smith, Dan Wiggins, and George Bentley all mustered out at Fort Davis and became landowners. She is a possible source of additional information.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that there has been a very serious effort at Fort Davis to establish a first rate site. The library is excellent and the staff enthusiastic and committed. However, there has not been enough time and attention directed towards the contributions of the black soldier. The situation can be corrected through the institutionalization of the black presence and through additional staff training.

LIST OF PERSONS INTERESTED IN PROMOTING THE HISTORY OF THE BUFFALO SOLDIERS

The Buffalo Division Association
Mr. Norwood Boyette, CAPT (USAR Ret)
614 Broadway
Westbury, New York 11590

Dr. Randall Campbell
North Texas State University
Denton, Texas 76203

Dr. Douglas Daniels
Department of History
Garrison Hall 322
University of Texas at Austin
Austin, Texas 78712

Director, Bishop College Library
Dallas, Texas 75260

Dr. John Duorak, Director
Office of Centralized Development Services
Bishop College
Dallas, Texas 75260

Ms. Adrian Fowler, Admin. Asst.
Hogg Foundation
W.C. Hogg Building
University of Texas at Austin
Austin, Texas 78712

Mr. Lenton Glasgow
6105 Santa Monica Blvd.
Hollywood, California 90038

Dr. Lamar Kervin
Houston-Tillotson College
1820 East 8th Street
Austin, Texas 78702

Ms. Ann Patton Malone
Winedale Historical Center
P.O. Box 11
Roundup, Texas 78954

Mr. L. David Nealey, Director
Buffalo Soldiers Historical Museum
3923 N. Geneva Circle
Flagstaff, Arizona 86001
FOOTNOTES


INTRODUCTION

This report begins with an analysis of the individual park facility and its resources, followed by a brief summary of conversations held with community individuals interested in establishing a relationship with park personnel. Included also is a history of the black participation in the historic site commemoration. An annotated bibliography on which the history is based is presented and should be of use by the respective park staff. Since the park has good general resources on the battles commemorated, more emphasis is placed on the literature which depicts black involvement. The final part of this report draws some conclusions and makes some suggestions on how the overall effectiveness of the respective park experiences might be enhanced.

CHALMETTE NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

Chalmette National Historic Park is located in St. Bernard Parish about six miles from the center of New Orleans. The park consists of a 141-acre battlefield which commemorates the Battles of New Orleans fought on January 8, 1815. Adjacent to the battlefield lies a 17-acre National Cemetery which is also part of the park. Temporarily housing the visitor center on the battlefield is the plantation house of René Beauregard, son of Confederate General P.G.T. Beauregard, its last private owner. Although the distance to the park is not far
from New Orleans, there is no public transportation from either point.

The Battlefield itself consists of only about two-thirds of the original area. It displays certain important positions held by the United States forces and the land occupied by the invading British troops. There are markers indicating the positions of the black soldiers in the battalions of Free Men of Color. However, one such marker indicating that there was only one such battalion is in error; there were two.

The National Cemetery is the final resting place of over 15,000 veterans of the country's wars. Included are veterans of the Civil War, Spanish-American War, and World Wars I and II. Only four veterans of the War of 1812 have been buried there. Blacks are very visible in the cemetary since over 35% of the known veterans there (6,700 are known) were black troops. However, to the average park visitor with no knowledge of tomb insignia, few would know that blacks are buried there. Following the name of the deceased veteran, black troops are identified in most cases by "USCT", meaning "United States Colored Troops". Since there are not guided tours for either the battlefield or cemetery (only self-guiding tours), park visitors do not normally encounter any interpretive personnel.

Although groups of visitors at times are accompanied by tour guides on the Battlefield, most of the formal interpretation is given at the visitor center where the small park library is maintained. One is introduced to the highlights of the Battle of New Orleans at the visitor center by means of models, pictures, historic objects in story-telling arrangement, and an electric lighted push-button "talking
map" showing the action. The peak period for visitation is from mid-May to Labor Day and it is at that time that summer volunteers, "Little Colonels" (high school girls), dress in costumes of the period and give brief talks on the battle at the center. Also at the visitor center there is not much evidence of the black presence in the battle. The talking map and slide programs only briefly mention the Battalions of Free Men of Color. Exhibits within the center depicting their presence are non-existent and there are no relevant artifacts. Tour guides who deliver talks concerning the battle do not seem to be very knowledgeable of the history of the black presence and may feel that the visitor is not interested; in any case, there was no discussion of blacks.

Publications at the park depicting the black presence are limited. The best pamphlet is, The Battle of New Orleans: Negro Soldiers in the Battle of New Orleans (1965), written by Marcus Christian, a renowned local black historian who was a legend. This pamphlet is a good brief general history with special emphasis on Andrew Jackson's attitude and commitment toward black troops, their role and extent of participation in the battle.

Chalmette, a pamphlet written by J. Fred Roush, describes the entire New Orleans Campaign of 1814-15. Roush mentions that "Free Men of Color" were involved, but in certain sections that should include other aspects of the black presence, the study falls short. For example, in his treatment of New Orleans after the "Victory", he mentions the post history of the Baratarians (French Pirates) and Tennessee troops, but fails to mention the blacks who participated. The section entitled "What the Victory Meant to the United States" lacks any information concerning black participation, although
other segments of the American community are mentioned.

Powell A. Casey's *Louisiana at the Battle of New Orleans* emphasizes the actual battle, a brief history of New Orleans defenders before the battle, and the city's initial receptiveness to the victorious troops. However, although free blacks constituted a large percentage of New Orleans' society at that time, there is little mention of that presence. Casey's society is very general, except for the Baratarians; there is very little discussion of any particular group.

The other study which should have included the black presence was Samuel Wilson's *Plantation Houses on the Battlefield of New Orleans*. This study attempted to illustrate the importance of the plantations on the battlegrounds along with their general history. In his discussion of the latter, Wilson pays close attention to troop function during the Campaign of 1814-15 and gives biographical information on slave owners. However, although Casey mentions that the St. Amant brothers, two free men of color, bought the actual battlefield housing on the de la Ronde Plantation in 1817, he gives no further details concerning them. Neither does he mention the slave population or their specific campaigns.

The park library at Chalmette, given its small size and limited resources, houses a number of materials on the Afro-American presence. Most of the general secondary works on blacks in the battle are available there. In addition, there are excellent cemetery records (primary source data) which indicate the identity of those Civil War veterans in the cemetery. It is said that at least half of those killed on the side of the Union interred there were black.
All material in the library is accessible, well-kept and organized.

Park Ranger Roy Wright and Park Technician Rosemarie Loomis are responsible for this careful facility. Ms. Loomis had the honor of working with Marcus Christian on an updated version of the black presence in New Orleans. As a consequence of this, and her own scholarly research, Ms. Loomis is very informed about the free black presence in the Battle of New Orleans and black New Orleans history in general.

Slaves undoubtedly were involved in the battles commemorated, although their bearing of arms is still controversial. Most information relates to the Free Men of Color, and this is understandable, given their prominence and the availability of written records. However, the slave presence is not well-documented and its story is yet relatively unknown. Still, there is some data on the slave's role that would give more balance to the overall black participation.

Overall, the park facility has the information concerning the black presence but the public does not get adequate exposure to it. Team members confirmed this through interviews with park visitors. Suggestions as to how this information can be filtered to the visual level will be discussed later.

The relationship between the park, its program and the neighboring communities, especially blacks, is a matter of serious concern. Park Rangers Wright and Loomis were also concerned about this. The park often receives groups of school children and others from St. Bernard Parish in which the park site is located, but there is not much communication from community members in New Orleans.

An aspect of community relationship would be to increase minority visitation at the park. Ms. Loomis suggested that perhaps a relation-
ship with the public school system in New Orleans would, among other things, help to develop interest for the future existence of the park. The children would learn and understand the importance of the park and take a vested interest in its welfare.

After much discussion with parksite officials, I decided to contact Dr. Julianna Boudreaux, who is the Administrator for Special Projects for the New Orleans Parish public schools for the purpose of establishing such a relationship. Dr. Boudreaux suggested that I contact Mr. Johnny Jones, Supervisor of Social Studies for the school system. Mr. Jones was very impressed with the idea and discussed the possibility of a realtionship.

Mr. Jones noted that any objective that involved minorities would certainly interest the New Orleans public school system, since 80-85% of its 93,000 students are black. However, he had seen Chalmette National Historic Park and felt that the park had little visually to offer the black student. During our discussion, I explained the National Park Service's interest in cultivating a closer, more meaningful relationship between minority members in the community to enhance the overall American park experience. Mr. Jones subsequently entered into an agreement to work out a program between the school system and Chalmette. That agreement is included in Appendix G.

News of such a proposal is well in line with objectives outlined and suggested by National Park Service officials to the Howard University Team. Therefore, it is essential that the Park Service at the national level cooperate with this venture to the fullest extent possible, financially and administratively.

At this moment hopes are high at both Chalmette and the New Orleans
public school system. In order to capitalize on the tremendous initiative and motivation shown by those at the local park level, the National Park Service should pursue the matter forthwith to assure that these plans are carried through without delay.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

From 1793 to 1814 England and France were at war with each other while a young United States tried frantically to remain neutral. Both Great Britain and France failed to honor the young nation's Neutrality Proclamation and consistently seized American ships.

Eventually war fever grew strong in the southern and western states due more to vested territorial interests than foreign seizure of American ships. It was in the eastern part of the country, where commercial interests were hampered by France and England's seizure of American ships, anti-war sentiment was strongest. New England's commercial interests were so dependent upon the European markets that they were willing to be more tolerant of neutrality violation than risk a halt to trade by a declaration of war. However, Congress declared war on Great Britain on June 18, 1812.

Great Britain was pre-occupied in the early years of the American conflict because of its war with France. However, in early 1814 England defeated Napolean and this temporary victory freed over twenty-thousand troops for reassignment in America. Great Britain planned three offenses: one through Canada to Lake Champlain which was unsuccessful; the second at Chesapeake Bay, which resulted in sacking the capital and burning the White House, only later to be defeated and turned back at Fort McHenry outside of Baltimore; and
the third through the Gulf Coast of New Orleans.

Great Britain, perturbed at the overall failures of the first two campaigns, put full energies into the capture of New Orleans which would give complete control of the valuable Mississippi River and important leverage in the treaty negotiations. General Andrew Jackson was sent to command whatever American forces he could muster to repel this third invasion. Although the battle was fought fifteen days after the Treaty of Ghent was signed, hostilities were not officially ended until the treaty had been ratified.

Unfortunately for the British, the New Orleans campaign was a shattering disappointment. Over two-thousand of her finest troops suffered casualties under fire of the American army. There were only thirteen casualties on the American side. This crushing defeat of the British marked not only the end of the War, but the last time Great Britain and the United States would bear arms against each other.

Jackson's army consisted of mainly a "motley group of frontiersmen, regulars, Creoles, sailors, pirates, Indians, and Free Men of Color against the flower of the British Army". One account credits one of the Americans with the fatal shot which felled the gallant British commander, Major General Sir Edward Pakenham.

Which unit after the battle was the recipient of every honor and praise bestowed upon their fellow Americans? It was the New Orleans Free Men of Color. Their history and the history of the Afro-American presence in general go back to the early days of the Compagnie des Indies (Company of the Indies), which was a small French settlement in Louisiana. Under the threat of Natchez Indian attack in 1729, black slaves primarily from Senegal, were organized into semi-military units to control and protect the small settlement at Natchez. These
particular slaves were renowned for their dependability and leadership qualities. Nevertheless, the settlement at Natchez was destroyed by the Indians, and many other slaves in return for their freedom joined them.

French Governor Perier feared the Indians would conquer the entire French settlement in Louisiana. As a consequence, he called upon the Senegalese slave militia among others, to contain the Indians and counter-attack them. The slave militia was devastating in its performance. Feared by the enemy and highly respected by fellow soldiers, the slaves proved without a doubt that the Governor's fears of slave reprisals against the settlement were unfounded.

Jacques de la Chaise, President of the Superior Council of Louisiana, harped praises upon the slave militia and drafted a proposal early in 1730 calling for the establishment of a company of "Free Negroes". In addition, he also strongly recommended freedom for all those slaves who had risked their lives for the French.

The result of de la Chaise's proposal is unclear. Later in the same year Francois Fleurian, Attorney General and member of the Council, presented a similar proposal. However, the beginning of a pattern that continued down to and even beyond the Battle of New Orleans developed at that time. Although a few slaves were given their freedom for outstanding service in the War, slave allegiances to the Indians, and the possible threat of slave conspiracies proved too much for the small French settlement to risk. Thus, a company of free armed blacks at that time did not materialize. Whites nevertheless realized that some blacks were dependable and could be called upon in time of crisis.
Late in 1731 the Company of the Indies could no longer afford the settlement in Louisiana, thereby returning it and the Indian problem to the king. Sieur de Bienville, founder of New Orleans in 1718 and governor of Louisiana in 1735, declared war on the Indians. For the first time, an entire company of forty-five armed blacks commanded by free black officers were involved in the defense of the Louisiana Territory. In addition, there were 140 other armed blacks, both slave and free, who were designated to defend the colony, and some of the slaves were promised their freedom.

However, upon first encounter with the Chickasaw Indians, one of the black company's members was killed and another wounded. Inexperienced in combat, the others panicked and fled. Nevertheless, Simon, a free black and captain of the company distinguished himself twice in that battle, rescuing the unbecoming performance of his comrades. In an act after retreat in full view of the entire French army, Simon ran full speed in the direction of the enemy's fort, amidst a host of fire. Reaching a group of horses at pasture, he quickly sprang upon one's back and scurried back to camp untouched.

The French army gave him a tremendous ovation for his bravery. Furthermore, in line with Simon's objectives, the slave soldiers were given their freedom. The next year on another mission against the Chickasaws, a free black company of militia had become a reality. Indeed, it is also significant that free blacks in Louisiana came about mainly as a result of meritorious military service. In time of crisis the French with relatively no choice had to risk arming the slave in order to maintain the security of the colony. Although in most instances the slave was well worthy of this trust, yet his rights
as a human being were further encroached upon when peace returned to the colony. Still, always willing to prove himself trustworthy, and to vault at every opportunity to "earn" his God-given right to freedom, the slave served the colony whenever called upon.

Even before, blacks gained valuable experience under Spanish domination in the American Revolution. As militiamen fighting for Spain under General Bernardo de Galvez, two black companies from New Orleans joined troops from Havana to fight the British. The superior officers of these units were white, but all others were black who were hailed for their meritorious service. Several officers, including Francisco Dorville, Noel Carriere, Bacus Nichols and Luis la Nuit, received medals as well as money for their service. Thus as one expression noted, "They contributed to America's winning of independence by helping to close the gateways to the American west and south through which the British planned to strike".

It is important to note that by the latter part of the 18th century free blacks were a distinct class numbering one-third of the total New Orleans population. They had evolved either as a result of meritorious military service under the French, manumission, or as descendants of free blacks. In addition to their own procreation, however, this free black population increased also because of the cohabitation of male Spanish officials with female women of color.

Even under periods of peace, the free black militia remained militarily active. A few miles outside of New Orleans, runaway slaves called "Cimarrons" terrorized the countryside, raiding neighboring plantations for weapons and food. Many times, leaving behind them a path of death and destruction, they were feared by free blacks.
and even some slaves.

Many slaves relished the wild, free life of the "Cimarron" and ranaway to join their numbers. Eventually these slaves became such a "menace" that the New Orleans militia, including the black troops, was ordered to pursue them and destroy their hideouts in the swamps. The militia was somewhat successful in destroying these "Cimarrons", though not without suffering many casualties.

For black troops, their involvement in this engagement was most important. Surrounding their use in this campaign was much the fact of their own race. At one point during the campaign many of their numbers were destroyed when "Cimarrons" posing as free black scouts led them into an ambush. On the other hand, it was free black troops masquerading as "Cimarrons" who led many of the militiamen to their hideouts. Thus, a great part of the campaign's success was largely due to the trustworthiness of the black militiamen. As many times before, the unit proved its devotion to the settlement.

As the century closed with Spain experiencing problems with the infant United States over boundaries, navigation of the Mississippi, and westward expansion, Spain used two companies of black troops to "beef up" defenses. However, not long afterward, Louisiana was purchased by the United States. Hence, the United States inherited rather than created a well-disciplined, experienced intact military force capable of defending its territory against internal and external enemies. Born under the French and seasoned under the Spanish, this elite corps of black troops was certainly a reality long before the
United States took possession of Louisiana.

Free people of color represented about one-fourth of the free population in New Orleans when transferred to the United States. Most lived in the city, were skilled, owned small businesses, property, and were highly respected in the community. Their pride and joy was their black militia. However, this group experienced problems trying to gain recognition from the Americans. The first American governor of Louisiana, W.C.C. Claiborne, was well aware of the black troops but initially failed to recognize them. This action was prompted by several factors, mainly because white ethnic groups had real and imagined fears of armed Afro-Americans. With the southern economy dependent upon black slavery, southerners did not particularly relish the idea of armed blacks within the young Republic, regardless of their status or history.

The black militia took the initiative, sending a memorial to Governor Claiborne offering its services in the defense of New Orleans. Claiborne very diplomatically did nothing officially. He verbally replied that the interest of the militia would certainly be honored but made no promises concerning their status. However, Claiborne well understood the need for the militia. Louisiana territorial residents did not readily accept the transfer from France to the United States. In fact, many residents hoped that the future would bring the territory back to the European motherland. No doubt there were some sympathies for the French or Spanish among the blacks; yet Claiborne decided the most loyal of all the groups were the free people of color.

These conclusions probably prompted Claiborne to recognize the unit later, although their ranks were not strengthened. Unfortu-
nately in 1804 as a result of outraged white citizens of the New Orleans community, the blacks were omitted from the militia law. Even after a number of legislative debates in the city, the unit was not reactivated which resulted in a number of blacks losing their commissions.

It is ironic that the greatest fear of the new territory against the militia, the slave revolt, prompted the unit’s call to arms. Forty miles north of New Orleans in 1811 there was a slave revolt and Governor Clairborne sent General Wade Hampton and a small force of regular troops plus two companies of volunteer militia to meet the advancing, revolting slaves. Concerned with the safety of New Orleans, the governor placed the entire militia on guard. Claiborne noted that the free men of color appeared most concerned with the welfare and safety of the city. They offered their services but no immediate gains resulted from their service.

Two events finally culminated in the Free Men of Color’s recognition as a unit. Louisiana was admitted to the Union on April 8, 1812 and on June 12 the country declared war on Great Britain. On the periphery of Louisiana lay the Spanish territories of Pensacola and Mobile. Claiborne felt both these areas essential to the protection of Louisiana. Shortly thereafter, seemingly anticipating Claiborne’s expansionist ambitions, a new Spanish governor appeared in Pensacola with well over 2,150 black troops.

The urgency of these two developments dictated what was to follow. Fully aware of the need for a strong state militia, the governor launched a concerted effort to assure legislative support.
Eventually two bills were passed. The first, passed on September 7, 1812, was entitled "An Act to Organize in a Corps of Militia for the Service of the State of Louisiana, as well for its defense as for its police, a certain portion of chosen men from among the free men of colour". Eventually becoming the Battalion of Free Men of Color the corps was restricted to four companies of sixty-four men, including their own officers. All were Creoles paying state taxes, and either they or their fathers at least two years before owned landed property valued at $300.00. The second bill enacted provided for a regular strong state militia restricted to white males only.

Criteria for black membership in the militia at first glance appear rather restrictive. However, Claiborne and other legislative members realized the risk involved in arming the blacks, in addition to its unpopularity among other city residents. They also understood the nature of their precarious situation in terms of defending the city from enemy attack. Free people of color in Louisiana were indeed prosperous. Many owned slaves themselves in addition to other businesses and would lose economically if New Orleans were ransacked. Hence, beyond a mere call to loyalty to the United States, black militiamen had vested interests in the city that demanded protection. Claiborne, it appears, was well aware of this situation, particularly since the United States had possessed the territory for such a short period of time.

When news of probable British attack arrived, black militiamen were already training for war. Claiborne advised Jackson in 1814 that he could raise over 400 free men of color for defense of the city. Jackson, pleased with this announcement, encouraged the black troops even more through a direct proclamation to them. By December
19, 1814, two battalions of free blacks (the second a group from Santo Domingo) were a reality, commanded by Majors Lacosta and D'Aquin.

The first battle of the campaign was fought during the night of December 23. The fighting was so close and so fierce at times that friendly troops often fired at each other. It was this night that the second battalion's black field commander, Col. Joseph Savory, urged his troops on in his native French. It was this same night that 14-year old black drummer boy Noble Jordan's drumming served as the only guide post during the first battle.

On January 8, 1815, the largest number of American black troops assembled to date was located on the battlefield of Chalmette. It is not possible to state exactly where each company of black troops was located, but it is certain that most of them were with Jackson. As in the past, black troops performed exceptionally well. Welcomed by the public in general and the free black population in particular, this group proved again their willingness to defend the city against enemies.

Although much has been written on the free men of color's performance at Chalmette, we cannot forget that other blacks were involved either directly or indirectly.¹ From the very beginning, New Orleans suffered from shortages of manpower, not only to work the land but to aid in the overall security of the settlement.

Slaves also played an active part in the actual military campaign of 1814-15. After the battle of December 23, Jackson's army withdrew to the Rodriquez Canal located in Chalmette. Construction of these fortifications were mainly provided by slave labor. It was from be-
hind these mud ramparts (mud walls) that Jackson's army would defend the city from the British. With time a major factor, city and surrounding countryside were ransacked for tools and men. Jackson reportedly asked for more supplies, including slaves to help out at the battle sight.

An interesting side-issue of the battle is a story that has been handed down concerning the cotton-breastworks used in the battle. Henry Latrobe, a young engineer serving on Jackson’s staff, dug holes in the soft ground and used cotton bales and dirt as a foundation for the wooden gun platforms at several positions. While the cotton breastworks were not as effective against the British as the mud ramparts, the black originator of the idea is significant.

Whether or not slaves bore arms in the battle is a matter of controversy among scholars. Creole slave songs note how one particular slave deserted the battle and went back home. Mr. Charles Rousseve, descendant of one of the Free Men of Color who fought in the Battle, revealed in an interview that slaves indeed did bear arms in the campaign. He suggested that Marcus Christian, now deceased, had knowledge of this fact. Rousseve directed me to the wax museum where at least two blacks who appear as slaves are displayed bearing arms. Upon contact with the museum director concerning the authenticity of the wax display, he noted it was copied from a portrait of which he had no further knowledge.

Those blacks in the display are not uniformed, as they would have been if they were part of the Battalions for Free Colored Men. In addition, there is the suggestion that many of the Baratarians who fought in the battle brought slaves with them. Furthermore, muster rolls indicate that several troops, including the Free Men of Color,
had personal servants who were probably slaves, and may have bore arms.

On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that slaves did bear arms. First, the Free Men of Color who had proven their loyalty to the system time and time again, met steadfast resistance to their bearing of arms at least three or four years prior to the Battle. In addition, the fear of slave revolts in the area (the most recent in 1811), probably dissuaded any support for slaves bearing arms in the conflict, particularly since the British through mass propaganda promised the slaves their freedom if they participated on their side.

Yet, the situation within Louisiana was not a normal one. Perhaps fears of the British terrorizing and looting the city caused officials to resort to the extreme measure of arming slaves. In addition, whether sanctioned by local officials or not, on the battlefield Old Hickory was king. Thus, if slaves were needed in the heat of battle, it is difficult to believe he was denied the opportunity.

An aspect of the conflict which is obscured now but was certainly most important at the time was medical attention rendered to those wounded in the conflict. Black nurses in the city tended to the medical needs of over four hundred wounded Americans.² These troops were carried, probably by wagon, to Place d'Armes, now Jackson Square Charity Hospital, which still exists today and probably had the responsibility for the overall care of those patients. During that time there were no professional nurses as we know them today and whether they were slaves of white families, free women of color employed as nurses or both is unclear. However, they were known to have had a reputation nationwide from the Revolutionary War down through the Spanish-American
War. Although further research is needed in this area, these nurses did constitute a vital part of the black presence, and are worthy of interpretation.

As to the identity of black participants in the Battle, the most famous was Jordon O. Noble, a 13-14 year old boy soldier of the 7th Regiment. He served in the Seminole War and the Mexican War and was made a captain in the Civil War.

At the beginning of the Civil War, Noble organized meetings of free blacks to recruit black troops for the Confederacy. The New Orleans Delta reported on April 23, 1861 that men such as Noble were determined to show new evidence of their bravery. However, as the Union troops advanced, he was instrumental in recruiting units for the Federals.

Noble held no less than three prestigious positions with the most important social clubs among French-speaking blacks during Reconstruction. Thus, he was easily one of the most well-known, socially prominent individuals in the city even at that time. Noble was born of slave parentage in Georgia. About 1812 he was brought to New Orleans where he enlisted as a drummer boy. He remained in New Orleans after the Battle, married into a free family of color, and became one of New Orleans' leading citizens. He was often seen at the Charles Theater later in life beating reveille as he had done in the New Orleans Campaign. June 20, 1890 at 92 years of age, he was probably the oldest surviving veteran of four wars.

Captain Joseph Savory, organizer and officer of the Santo Domingo Second Battalion of Free Colored Men was another interesting personality. After the battle of the eighth when the Americans climbed over the
ramparts to find wounded prisoners, they were met by intense sniper fire. The American forces lost more then than in the actual battle. However, Savory asked for and was granted permission to lead a company of his men to eliminate this menace. He was successful but not before his company suffered ten casualties, including his brother.

Savory's later life was just as adventurous. After leaving New Orleans he went to Galveston leading a band of free black men in privateering ventures. Eventually he began to align himself with the revolutionaires in Mexico. Ultimately, working from bases in many of the islands, he joined those who contributed to the erosion of Spanish control in South America.

Two interesting brothers who participated in the battle were the St. Amant Brothers, Louis and Hilaire, who were black. The early history of these individuals is obscure. However, in 1817 they bought the Chalmette plantation from Pierre Denis de la Ronde who purchased the plantation earlier that year from his deceased half-brother, Igance de Lino de Chalmet. The Amants held the property until 1832 when, after making several improvements to the entire area, they sold it to Alexander Baron.

The free black battalion carried on a tradition for years after the War of 1812. They were publicly hailed and praised upon their return from the Battle; they also organized business groups with annual meetings and social functions. Their military role, however, declined. There is a number of reasons for this decline. First, following the War of 1812 there was a general decline in state militias across the country. Second, the rights of free black persons throughout the South were circumscribed. Third, and perhaps most important
was the economic prosperity which took place in the city following the war. Many of the troops were small businessmen who took advantage of the economic situation and had less and less time for the militia.

However, the national, particularly northern black community continued to serve the legacy of the troops. Time and time again, black and white abolitionists in their attacks on the institution of slavery alluded to the black military performance in the nation's wars. To justify black involvement in subsequent wars, many referred to the meritorious service performed by blacks in New Orleans. Thus the Afro-American presence at Chalmette not only aided in the defense of New Orleans, but served as a catalyst for positive change in the status of Afro-Americans as soldiers and civilians for years to come.

CONCLUSION

Senate Bill 3546 entitled "A Bill to Authorize the Establishment of the Jean LaFitte National Park in the State of Louisiana and for Other Purposes" is a very important document which involves the future of Chalmette National Battle Field. It is important because it includes not only the 7,000 acre LaFitte marsh area, but also the satellite areas like the French Quarter, the "existing Chalmette National Park", and a host of other park activities in the New Orleans area. If this proposed project becomes a reality, the current facilities at Chalmette are certainly to be expanded. Thus, it should be possible to offer interpretation in some of those subject areas that are now lacking.

I mentioned in the Introduction of this Report that the major problem at Chalmette is its relative invisible black presence. The
problem is visualizing the material that is already available. Three types of visuals are suggested here. First, permanent exhibits; second, temporary exhibits; third, slide or filmstrip programs. A permanent exhibit might be erected featuring completely uniformed Free Men of Color from one of the battalions. In addition, a 2-minute audio might be installed relating the story of the battalion's achievements. In addition, the slave's and black nurse's experiences may be told in the visitor center.

The metropolitan New Orleans area has a vast number of resources that relate to Chalmette and some park officials have a close relationship with those facilities. Consequently, there might exist the possibility that Chalmette could receive exhibits on loan that would enhance the black presence in the park. For example, a drum beaten by Jordan Noble is on display at the Louisiana State Museum in the city. In addition, the Historic New Orleans Collection has a photograph of Jordan Noble and a song which the free battalions of color sang when marching into battle. These items if exhibited even on a temporary basis would immensely enhance the overall park experience.

A slide program of short duration might be developed that would interpret the slave, the militia, and the nurse, and relate more in depth the general history up to and including the defense of New Orleans in 1815 by the Free Men of Color.

Two means of enhancing the black presence relate more to educational programs and mass advertising. The park might choose to hold one lecture and discussion a month on the black presence at the facility. Perhaps park experts might meet with interested
community members of various ages in an educational encounter. Films should be requisitioned at the facility to introduce the public to black New Orleans history as related to the park site.

The Problem of advertising should be a concern of the National Park Service. At this time, few black or other minority visitors, particularly from outside of the New Orleans' area, seem to visit the facility. This seems to have been the pattern for a number of years. However, Afro-Americans are travelling more than ever and are interested in parks and other family-oriented activities, especially those depicting some aspect of the black heritage. Thus, the park sites must be advertised.

The National Park Service should seriously rethink its policy and practice for advertising. Many of the parks in this project, including Chalmette, are unknown to many black Americans. Brochures should be available not only at the park site but in the black schools, fraternal societies, recreation and social centers across the country. In addition, during the beginning of summer, some of these parks should be advertised on the national television networks. Finally, in order to assure that the minority public is aware of these facilities, special relationships should be established with black organizations at local and national levels.

Chalmette is indeed one of the better parks where the black presence can be effectively presented. If the facility can capitalize on some of the suggestions made in this study, it could substantially increase its visitation, and probably stand as one of the best National Historic Parks in the country. If and when the facility is incorporated into the proposed Lafitte National Park
Complex, these suggestions should insure that the black presence is well represented and that black visitors' appreciation of their heritage and the park would be enhanced.

FOOTNOTES


5. Copy of the Deed, Chalmette Court House.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Since most facilities have adequate general sources on the War of 1812, this bibliography will consist mainly on those works which yield information on the black presence.

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Perry's Victory and International Peace Movement is located on South Bass Island in Lake Erie. One of a cluster of islands, the village of Put-in-Bay was established in 1876 and has a population of about 1,383. It is accessible only by air and sea.

Most visitors reach the island on one of the many ferries which transport them back and forth from the mainland at either Port Clinton or Catawaba. The island is a popular summer resort for visitors from such cities as Cleveland, Akron, Toledo and Detroit.

The park commemorates Commodore Oliver H. Perry's naval victory of September 10, 1813, during the War of 1812. Secondary themes include the follow-up Northwest Campaign of William Henry Harrison, the enduring peace between Canada and the United States and Great Britain, and the construction of the Peace Monument. The actual park site is very small and consists of the monument, an information center in a small building, and an administrative office which also houses a small library.

Interpretation is provided through many different media. Information and pamphlets concerning the battle and the monument are available at the information desk, and short interpretive talks are given on the elevator within the monument tower. On top of the tower "roving" interpreters provide information on the battle to those who are interested. However, large crowds often dictate that park personnel concern themselves more with safety on the tower.

One of the most interesting interpretive designs at the facility
are the half-hour talks conducted two or three nights a week to visitors who spend the night. Park personnel conducting these talks choose aspects of the battle that most interest them, and present talks with question and answer periods. One of these talks focused on the fire power used on both the British and American ships. Such interpretive sessions offer an excellent opportunity to introduce the black presence in the interpretive program. However, there is some disadvantage to the timing of these sessions which commence after the last ferry leaves the island, thereby drastically reducing the number of potentially interested park visitors.

Unfortunately, none of the primary or secondary themes by the park gives any indication of black involvement. In addition, interpretive personnel did not seem knowledgeable of any aspect of the black presence in the famous battle on Lake Erie. Thus, except for a famous painting which depicts a black sailor manning the oars of the small vessel which transported Perry from the Lawrence to the Niagara, there is no interpretation, visual or audio, of the black presence on Lake Erie at Put-in-Bay.

Purchaseable publications within the center which depict the black presence are non-existent. For example, James P. Barry's The Battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813, published in 1970, gives only a general history of the battle and some participants, but fails even to mention that blacks were present in the Battle. Brochure guides to the park indicate that blacks composed 25% of the American force, but that appears as a footnote rather than an integral part of the total campaign. In the Ohio Historical Society publication by Charles E. Frohman entitled Put-In-Bay, no mention of blacks appears in the history of the island.
Although the park library at Put-in-Bay is very small, it contains a great deal of information on the black presence on Lake Erie in 1813. Most of the general secondary works on the battle and Perry are there and a few introductory notes depict a black presence. Particularly illuminating were Ruth Weiler's *Squadron in the Wilderness*, MacKenzie's *Commodore Perry*, Johnson and Rossiter's *The War of 1812*, and Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*. Most of these studies mention blacks as numbering about 25% of Perry's crew, and one identifies a black crewman by name.

The most valuable material in the library is its primary data. Some of this material dates back over a hundred years and includes Centennial celebrations commemorating the battle in Cleveland, Detroit, Toledo, and a number of other cities. Newspaper clippings concerning the construction of the monument and much more memorabilia appear there. Although the secondary sources are being catalogued, the primary sources are only placed in folders which do not reveal specific content. Hence, unless researchers with considerable time investigate these documents, there is no way to determine the content.

In addition to the folders, there is a file indicating the name of crewmen with Perry, their rank, and bounty paid for their services. It is here that one is able to identify the names of black crewmen. Serious criticism of the library includes inadequate indexing, cataloging, and chemical preservation of the primary sources; in addition, there is the need for general secondary sources on black history. Such studies as John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom*, Benjamin Quarles' *The Negro in the Making of America*, Jack D. Foner's *Blacks and the Military in American History*, William C. Nell's *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution and the War of 1812*, and George
Washington Williams' History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880 are indispensable for any library that deals with the black military presence in the United States.

Overall, the facility does not rate very high in its display of the black presence. But this is not entirely the fault of park administrative personnel. No general studies on the black presence in Lake Erie as compared to New Orleans have been written. Few materials are accessible unless considerable time is allotted for research. Administrative personnel at the park, including roving interpreters, are highly interested in this aspect of the park experience and are beginning to collect whatever data is available for inclusion in their talks. One particular piece of information found in the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland was copied and left at the site, on the request of one of the roving interpreters.

Another aspect of the park which is discouraging is its almost non-existent minority visitor. Again, this is not the fault of administrative personnel but a tradition of white middleclass visitation on the island. A possible remedy of this problem involves better advertisement of the facility to the general black populace. A key problem is the absence of black links to the park. Seamen arrived at Put-in-Bay from Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania as well as from distant sections of Ohio. After the campaign ended, they scattered to other areas. Although the records are clear on Perry and other officers, they fall short on the ordinary seamen, black and white.

The best sources for black involvement in the battle are found in papers of officers, contemporary newspapers, blacks and whites writing in the antebellum period to justify the abolition of slavery and the use of black troops in other military campaigns. Also valuable
to the researcher are the accounts of celebrations, particularly in Cleveland in 1860, which few of the black survivors attended.

One of the causes of the War of 1812 was the impressment of American seamen. The most notorious incident involved the British ship **Leopard** which stopped and seized the American ship **Chesapeake** and impressed four seamen. The British claimed they were citizens of their England. Impressed were Daniel Martin, John Strachan and William Ware, all of whom are reported as blacks.¹ Ware and Martin reportedly possessed citizenship papers. All three were previously impressed on the British ship **Melampus**, and escaped and joined the United States Navy in Norfolk, Virginia. Two eventually returned to the United States while the other one died in England.

Blacks had performed well during the American Revolution and were used early in the War of 1812, although a formal act permitting the enlistment of free blacks did not occur until March 3, 1813. However, as early as December of 1812 two black seamen reportedly paid the ultimate price of distinction drawing praises from their commander. Nathaniel Shaler, Commander of a privately armed ship, the **Gouverneur Tompkins**, was trapped by a huge British frigate. Although the schooner did manage to escape, it was not before considerable damage was inflicted. John Johnson, a black seaman, was fatally wounded by enemy fire that completely shattered the lower half of his body. Instead of agonizing over his ultimate demise, he urged his fellow seamen to "fire away, my boy: no haul a color down". Another black man, John Davis, was similarly wounded. Instead of seeking medical aid he requested Shaler to throw him overboard because he was only a burden. Such valor convinced Shaler that Afro-Americans were certainly valuable crewmen.²
The United States, after declaring war on Great Britain in 1812, sent three armies north to take Canada. Scholars debate whether the acquisition of Canada was always an unspoken reason for the declaration of war. Ultimately all three campaigns failed, but one ended with the British acquiring Detroit. This development was very important because the British gained control of Lake Erie and moved its troops and supplies along the American shore at will.

President Madison decided late in 1812 to build a naval squadron in the area with the ultimate objective of controlling Lake Erie. This squadron was built at what is now called Erie, Pennsylvania. The young Commodore Oliver H. Perry assumed command in February of 1813. Perry brought with him about 150 of his best men from Newport, Rhode Island to the Great Lakes area. Among these was his thirteen year old brother and at least one black man, Cyrus Tiffany.

Perry's fleet consisted of nine ships, the largest being the Lawrence and the Niagara which were to lead the battle. Perry noted after the fleet was built that he still only had 150 seamen. His superior on Lake Ontario, Commodore Isaac Chauncey, was responsible for providing Perry with the needed seamen and sent a number of men, including a number of blacks. Perry was dissatisfied with the crews sent and relayed his feelings to his commanding officer. Chauncey curtly replied that the black seamen had certainly proved themselves sea worthy and that he was proud to have a number of the same with him on Lake Ontario. Perry, in one of his frequent moods, first decided to resign but then decided against it. According to one historian, Perry's crew consisted of about 25% regular crewmen, American and foreign, 25% "raw" volunteers from mainly Kentucky, and about 25% blacks.
Perry, aboard his flag ship the **Lawrence**, and the rest of his fleet encountered the enemy on the morning of September 10, 1813. Perry's strategy was to get as close to the large British ships as possible to cripple their large guns. The **Lawrence** was to oppose the British ships, the **Detroit** and the **Niagara**, and the **Queen Charlotte**. As the **Lawrence** moved toward the **Detroit**, she was bombarded by large guns. The **Niagara**, commanded by Captain Elliot, for some strange reason did not move in with the rest of the U.S. vessels. Since the **Niagara** did not move into firing range, the **Queen Charlotte** joined the **Detroit** in bombarding the **Lawrence**. As a consequence, the damage to the **Lawrence** was devastating. Almost all officers on the ship except Perry were either killed or wounded and most of the crews were also casualties.

Perry, amid the thick of battle, took a small boat about a half-mile to the approaching **Niagara**. While so much fire power was concentrated on annihilating the **Lawrence**, other U.S. vessels had maneuvered in close; along with the primarily untouched **Niagara**, the American ships in close range crippled the large British guns and eventually were victorious.

The records are not entirely clear about the black seamen who participated in this event, but a few have been identified. Cyrus Tiffany, a resident of Taunton, Massachusetts, was a fifer with soldiers of the American Revolution; and Robert Crossman beat the drums on board the **Alliance** frigate at the time of the rupture with France in 1798. It appears that Tiffany enlisted as a musician in the naval service and was either transferred to Lake Erie or was brought to the area with Perry. Perry seems to have grown quite fond of him and
ordered him to the Niagara. Tiffany allegedly tried to sit down in the vessel. A famous portrait which depicts this scene from an artist's imagination is located in the rotunda of the Capitol, as well as in the visitor center at Put-in-Bay.

After the war and during his residence in Taunton, Massachusetts, Tiffany often talked of his exploits. Tiffany married a woman, Meribah or "Aunt Meribez", who was known for catering large parties, weddings, balls, etc. They lived in a small cottage in the city and had one daughter, Lucinda. Tiffany, like Jordan Noble from New Orleans, often worked as a musician in Taunton during the balls, military displays, trainings and musters.

Tiffany accompanied Perry back to Newport, Rhode Island, and, allegedly through Perry, received a pension for his services. However, a diligent search through the pension records of the National Archives did not reveal any evidence of Tiffany receiving a pension.

Tiffany died in the service of Perry while assigned to the Java in the Mediterranean around 1815. He was supposedly eighty years of age. His wife Meribah died on December 27, 1831 in Taunton where she is buried. In the same lot is a Benjamin Tiffany who died in 1821 and is thought to be a son of Cyrus and Meribah.

Another black crewman who fought with Perry was Anthony Williams. There is at least one source which suggests that it was he and Tiffany who sailed to the Niagara with Perry. It is not inconceivable that both could have accompanied Perry. Records indicate that there were four oarsmen in the small sailboat, but none is identified. However, records at Put-in-Bay and elsewhere indicate that both Tiffany and Williams were aboard the Lawrence.
Williams was born in Salem, Massachusetts, and enlisted in the Navy in 1812 under Captain Elliot. When Perry arrived at Erie, Pennsylvania, he encountered Williams who was assigned as a gunner on the Niagara. Perry recognized him as an able-bodied gunner who had seen service with him on a previous campaign. Hence, he ordered Williams aboard his ship. During the bombardment of the Lawrence, Williams reportedly served extremely well, manning whatever guns that were still working. He was allegedly one of the last survivors on the ship.6

Those who fought with Perry were still not forgotten by the American people by 1860. In that year, Cleveland, Ohio unveiled a statue of Perry to commemorate that largest celebration to that time. Invited were the governor of Rhode Island and a host of other dignitaries whose states were either directly or indirectly involved in the Battle.

A number of survivors was present at the celebration, including at least two blacks. Jesse Walls, a fifer on the Niagara was present with the Wayne Guards of Erie, Pennsylvania. He was close to seventy years old at the time. Also present was Abraham Chase, a soldier who in Cleveland sat down to dinner with other veterans of the Battle. Chase was reportedly around ninety years old at the time. An unidentified black veteran of the War of 1812 was photographed at this celebration and is probably Chase.

The black community did not forget these veterans either. In either 1851 or 1852, during the month of September, black citizens in Cleveland held a convention to commemorate, among other things, the service of black soldiers and sailors. The Rev. J.W.C. Pennington spoke on the history of blacks who fought for the freedom
of the United States. The best address of the day was delivered by a William H. Day, son of John H. Day who fought in the Lake Champlain Campaign on the Viper.\textsuperscript{7}

In the report on Chalmette National Park, certain considerations concerning advertisements were suggested that would apply even more in this case. Because of its location and tradition, Put-in-Bay probably has no more than one or two percent minority visitation. This is a problem that should concern the national service in Washington. Most black residents in Cleveland, Toledo, Akron and Detroit are largely unfamiliar with Put-in-Bay while many of the whites I questioned in those areas were at least knowledgeable of its existence. With Afro-Americans travelling much more these days, it should certainly become a priority of such an agency as the National Park Service to assure that the minority visitor is at least aware of its facilities. Conversations with travelling Afro-Americans across the country have revealed that many are not knowledgeable about many national parks, which suggests the problem is communication and advertisement.

But Put-in-Bay does not depict the black presence. What is needed is a workshop with interpreters and other administrative personnel involved with an expert in this area. Even the information I have uncovered thus far should be shared with individuals who are involved in interpretation. Plans are outlined in the park’s master plan to enlarge the facilities. Hence, data concerning the black presence should be formalized and included in the exhibition plans for the new center. At present there are no plans concerning the black presence in the visitor center.

In addition, such organizations as the Great Lakes Society, the Western Reserve Historical Society, and the Naval Academy should be
contacted to work out a plan for the use of exhibits. For example, Perry's famous flag with the engraving "Don't give up the Ship", is located in Annapolis at the Academy. A photograph believed to be that of Abraham Chase is located at the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland, and there are other artifacts at the Great Lakes Historical Society. Studies should be ordered that include general black military history for the park library, and a pamphlet should certainly be developed and placed among other materials that are sold or given to park visitors.

The staff at the facility recognize the problems and are receptive to ideas concerning the park's improvement in this area. Thus, with the help of the organization at the national level, Put-in-Bay has the potential of becoming a park of pride and prestige for all Americans.

FOOTNOTES


3. Ibid., p. 161.


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PETERSBURG NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
Charles O. Johnson, Jr.

PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN

Petersburg National Battlefield is an excellent site to illustrate the contributions of black personnel during the Civil War. Since blacks were utilized by federal and southern military officers, park officials can include data in each phase of the exhibits to explain the various occupations in which slaves and freedmen were employed. To emphasize their roles, references to their service should be discussed by regiments rather than by General Hinks' Brigade or General Ferrero's Division. This revision would change the existing impression that only a few black soldiers were in the attack forces of the federal army. Therefore, specific references to the accomplishments or the failures of these men will result in identifying the activities of the following Regiments of United States Colored Troops: 1st Cavalry Regiment; 2nd Cavalry Regiment; 5th Massachusetts Cavalry Regiment; Battery B, 2nd Light Artillery Regiment; 1st Infantry Regiment; 4th Infantry Regiment; 5th Infantry Regiment; 6th Infantry Regiment; 7th Infantry Regiment; 8th Infantry Regiment; 9th Infantry Regiment; 10th Infantry Regiment; 19th Infantry Regiment; 22nd Infantry Regiment; 23rd Infantry Regiment; 27th Infantry Regiment; 28th Infantry Regiment; 29th Infantry Regiment; 30th Infantry Regiment; 31st Infantry Regiment; 36th Infantry Regiment; 37th Infantry Regiment; 38th Infantry Regiment; 39th Infantry Regiment; 41st Infantry Regiment; 43rd Infantry Regiment; 45th Infantry Regiment; 107th Infantry Regiment; 109th Infantry Regiment; 115th Infantry Regiment; 116th Infantry Regiment; 117th Infantry Regiment; 118th Infantry Regiment; and
127th Infantry Regiment. ¹

These organizations were either assigned, attached or unattached units of the Army of the James or the Army of the Potomac. Thus, a regimental approach concerning the participation of black troops will give visitors a more vivid conception of the number of organizations involved in the Petersburg campaign.

Although the materials and presentation mention the early involvement of black troops under General Edward Hinks, it is necessary to explain the services of the personnel engaged in the conflict in mid-June 1864. It is important to note that these regiments of black troops in the command of General Hinks were not only instrumental in the capture of Confederate Battery 9, but they also participated in capturing Batteries 7, 8, 10, and 11, which contained several pieces of artillery with caissons in the vicinity of Baylor's Farm. They also captured several of the retreating Confederates in the process. ² Assistant Adjutant General William Russell, Jr., distributed a circular concerning the action in which he stated that:

Such honor as they have won will remain imperishable. To these colored troops comprising the Division of General Hinks the general commanding (Major General William F. Smith) would call the attention to his command, with the veterans of the Eighteenth Corps. They have stormed the works of the enemy and carried them, taking guns and prisoners, and in the whole affair they had displayed all the qualities of good soldiers. ³

Therefore, the efforts of each regiment should be emphasized and indicated on park markers and in the park publications instead of using Hinks' Division. Thus, visitors will become familiar with the units Battery B, Second Artillery, First and Second Cavalry (Dismounted), Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry (Dismounted), and the First, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Tenth and Twenty-Second Infantry involved in the initial engagements.
These units subsequently performed reconnaissance and picket duties for the remainder of the month.

Black personnel participated in the siege of Petersburg and were considered for a major role during the subsequent "Crater" battle. Major General Ambrose Burnside wanted to utilize his Fourth Division, which consisted of the Nineteenth, Twenty-Third, Twenty-Seventh, Twenty-Eighth, Twenty-Ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-First, Thirty-Ninth, and Forty-Third Regiments, as the Division most capable of spearheading the attack after the mine explosion. General Edward Ferrero, the commander of the Division, accepted the plan since his troops were eager and prepared to perform the task. Although his personnel were deployed in the offensive lines, each day one of the regiments was withdrawn to a position in the rear to practice the tactics used in the assault. In this manner, all of the 4300 men were further prepared for the mission. However, General George G. Meade, who commanded the Army of the Potomac, rejected the plan of General Burnside. An appeal to Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant did not result in a reversal of the previous decision. Both Generals Grant and Meade felt that the black troops did not have sufficient combat experience to perform the mission and that they would be criticized by the public, especially the abolitionists, for placing black troops in the front of such a dangerous mission. They also were concerned about accusations of using them for slaughter under fire of the Confederate artillery and small arms weapons if the regiments sustained a significant amount of casualties. Therefore, when the Ninth Corps attacked, black troops were held in reserve although they had been trained and prepared to lead the assault. 

The mine dug to destroy a portion of the enemy's line exploded ac-
According to the plan of General Burnside and the assault was led by General James H. Ledlie’s First Division. It was followed by the Second Division. The Third Division, finding it impossible to advance, held its position to the left flank. The men who did advance joined a portion of the enemy’s line but they were not able to break through and were forced to remain at the crater created by the explosion. Informed by his commanding general to continue the assault, General Burnside committed his reserves. Under the crowded conditions that existed in the crater, the black regiments advanced. The column, according to General Burnside:

Advanced gallantly over the slope of the crater, though by this time the ground was swept by a steady fire of artillery and infantry. A part of the column (Forty-Third Regiment) was deflected to the right and charged and captured a portion of the enemy’s line with a stand of colors and some prisoners. The Division, disorganized by passing the pits, crowded with men of the other Division, then reformed as well as possible beyond the crater and attempted to take the hill; (they) were met at the outset by a countercharge of the enemy, broke in disorder to the rear, passed through the crater and lines on the right, ...Not all (of) the Colored troops retired; some held the pits, from behind which they had advanced, severely checking the enemy till they were nearly all killed. I believe that no raw troops could have been expected to have behaved better.

According to George L. Kilmer, who was an officer assigned to the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery in General Ledlie’s First Division, the rally and charge of the black troops made some of his soldiers feel ashamed and they joined the black troops. Others in his Division refused to follow black soldiers into battle and they held their positions. When the black soldiers were returning through the positions of the white soldiers, some of these men bayoneted black troops who fell into the crater. Incredibly, the white men later boasted that this was done to preserve them from the vengeance of the Confederates. Their actions clearly illustrated that hatred that many of them had against blacks, and the two-
The regiments of the Fourth Division had 176 men killed in action, 688 wounded in action, and 801 missing in action. Despite the thousand of black troops who fought in the "battle of the Crater", Sergeant Decatur Dorsey was the only one decorated for bravery. He was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Displeased because of the failure to capture Petersburg, the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War held an investigation. Among those who testified before the committee were Generals Grant and Ferrero. The latter explained how his Division advanced under very crowded conditions as well as harassing enemy fire and captured the only enemy soldiers of the day, which totaled approximately 250 to 300 prisoners. The assault was not stopped until the color guard of a regiment in the Second Regiment retreated, causing men in the Fourth Division to return to the main line since the white soldiers occupied positions in the crater. General Ferrero was convinced that if his men had been permitted to lead the assault when there was comparatively no fire, nothing could have stopped them until they had taken Petersburg. General Grant also felt that the battle would have been successful if he had permitted General Burnside to lead the assault with his black personnel.

After the battle, black troops performed duties on the offensive as well as other tasks. Indicative of their other tasks is the record of the Thirtieth Regiment. Personnel in the Regiment was used to construct forts and breastworks along with other manual work, which included cutting timber. Company K of this Regiment appeared to have been used exclusively for these assignments. Moved to an area west of the Weldon Railroad near the Peebles house, the personnel again felled timber, built forts and
breastworks but they also attacked the enemy's lines and ascertained their strength in attaining control in the area. In the Battle of Hatchie's Run, the Forty-Third Regiment was involved in skirmishes and assisted its command, the Ninth Corps, in repelling the charge of General Hill's Corps. The Regiment had been utilized mainly for construction duties until its participation in engagements of the Weldon Railroad and Popular Grove Church. Other black regiments performed similar duties.9

Confederates did not fail to employ black personnel in this campaign. Employed in various combat support capacities in Virginia, one area of vital service was in the hospitals, which included the facilities in Howard's Grove near Mechanicsville and in Petersburg. During the Petersburg-Richmond siege, black nurses in Howard's Grove from the Confederate First Division were between 58 to 70 for the month of July. Similar requests were filled by the Third Division, especially during the period of small pox epidemics. These black attendants were transferred from one facility to another depending upon the requirements of the hospitals. Usually, they were sent to the Quartermaster Department, where they assisted in the collection of forage, or the Engineer Department to labor on fortifications at Danville and Richmond. Any black workers not required for these tasks were returned to hospital duties upon the request of the surgeon of a particular facility, such as the one at Petersburg.

Black laborers were also used for the military effort of the Confederates in Petersburg. Since an immense web of entrenchments was required to protect the vital industrial and rail center, black labor was used extensively. Five methods were used to obtain black labor:
Slaves were offered by their owners without request for compensation; free Negroes volunteered their services (undoubtedly because of their fear of being impressed or forced into slavery); Negroes, free and slave, were hired by the Engineer Bureau; labor was impressed by commanding officers because of the exigencies of war; and conscription laws were passed by both the General Assembly of Virginia and the Confederate Congress. Consequently, thousands of laborers were employed in constructing defensive works through the state of Virginia.

Laborers located at Petersburg were involved in very extensive operations. One of these included the construction of the Dimmock artillery batteries and extended in a ten-mile arc east, west, and south of Petersburg, below the Appomattox River. When begun in 1862 by Captain Charles H. Dimmock, slaves and free blacks were supplied upon request to expedite construction. The Counties of Brunswick, Nottoway, and Mecklenburg also furnished 253 slaves by June, 1862 to assist in obstructing the Appomattox River and in erecting batteries at Fort Clifton. The Counties of Amelia, Greensville, Sussex, Halifax, and Northampton also supplied 264 slaves for the construction of Petersburg's defenses. Displeased because the project was not completed rapidly, Captain Dimmock requested an additional force of 200 Negroes from Petersburg. Responding to this request, the Common Council of Petersburg sent a laboring force composed of slaves and freedmen. These men originally were scheduled to eight hours a day for two or three weeks. Other residents of the city sent several slaves to labor for twenty days. By January of the following year, extensive earthworks were being formed on every hill, creek or position that enhanced the defense of Petersburg. Two months later, blacks were still working on the entrenchments and the Common Council passed a resolution which extended their period of service for another month. Before the defense line was completed, hundreds of blacks were impressed
from the counties surrounding the city. Indeed, General Robert E. Lee urged the state governor that 5000 laborers were required to complete the Petersburg-Richmond defenses. Of course, the demand for slaves continued after the Battle of the Crater.

EVALUATION

The Petersburg National Battlefield was visited in August, 1977. An initial meeting with Superintendent Elms and Ranger John Davis was held. Superintendent Elms stated that he wanted more materials on the participation of black troops and showed a brochure of the latest information distributed to visitors. Ranger Davis, who is also the Chief for Interpretation, stated that there had been some effort made to obtain a regimental history of each organization that participated in the defense and siege of Petersburg. Ranger Ella Rayburn, a historian and Ranger Davis' assistant, showed interest and was knowledgeable that black soldiers fought at the beginning of the campaign and at the Crater. She also stated that little information was presented concerning black personnel since few visitors are aware of their services during the battles. She stated that if questions were asked about black soldiers, more information was presented. However, Ranger Rayburn never stated what information was given to the visitors.

Since elements of the Petersburg story are contained in the Interpretive Prospectus, it is recommended that a revision of the interpretive plan include significant information about black participants. The background section of the historical perspective should explain the presence of free and slave residents in the Petersburg area, their military or civilian relationship to war and the conditions under which they existed or died. Therefore, living history projects incorporating the main themes
of black life will enhance the entire image of the park. According to Ranger Blackburn, black service faded into the background after the Crater battle. This, of course, is not accurate since battle troops not only maintained positions in the line, participated in other military confrontations, and they also maintained supply lines and storage areas in addition to constructing defensive works and forts.

PERSONNEL

The Petersburg National Battlefield has never had more than a few black employees. Presently, there are three permanent employees assigned to the maintenance section under Mr. Norris Fields, a black supervisor, who has been working there for many years. A temporary ranger hired for summer work is there but he is primarily involved with park safety. Therefore, there is a definite need to obtain black personnel on a permanent (three year cycle) basis with interest in interpreting the services of black personnel in the vicinity of Petersburg during the Civil War. Research information can be incorporated into living history projects to negate the voids that exist from 1864 to the end of the Petersburg Siege. More significantly, these projects should portray the events from the black perspective. Black views concerning the war, slavery and emancipation can be obtained from slave narratives and the materials located in the records of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Superintendent Elms and Rangers Davis and Rayburn stated that efforts have been made to secure summer employees from Virginia State College. However, few applied for positions and of those accepted, Superintendent Elms felt that they did not remain in the program because they did not like wearing the Civil War uniforms. Ranger Rayburn stated that some were
rejected recently because of what she called poor credentials. Interviews with Mr. E.E. Rainey, Superintendent of Public Education in Petersburg, and Dr. Edgar Toppin at Virginia State College, revealed that Mr. Leon Atkins had been employed as a summer ranger. Mr. Atkins was interviewed and stated that his employment was undoubtedly a result of the early 1960's Civil Rights Movement. The interview also revealed that the park superintendents, during several years there, were interested in having black employees and that materials were prepared to reflect the role of black organizations in the initial battles in June and their actions at the Crater. Mr. Atkins referred specifically to the recorded presentation at the Crater and to a publication which was sold to visitors. While he was employed at the park, a Virginia State College student named Jones was working during the summer. Mr. Robert Clark, a professor at Virginia State College, was employed on a part-time basis in 1965. His duties primarily consisted of writing materials for the park. Occasionally, he spoke to visiting students.

Mr. Lucious Edwards, Jr., Virginia State Archivist, stated that several reasons existed for the failure of black students to believe that the officials in charge of the park are really concerned about employing them. The students are offended by the sympathetic presentation which glorifies the southern counterattack against the black soldier at the Crater, while previous exploits of black soldiers are dismissed in a few words. Therefore, they consider the primary function of Petersburg National Battlefield as maintaining or glorifying the image of the Confederacy. Students also have concluded that local white residents view the park as their own personal recreation area and that blacks have only a token Negro's heritage in a negative setting.
The presence of the Siege Museum is also indicative of the local pledge to preserve the memory of the Confederacy. Therefore, relatively few students have shown any interest in the park, especially on a temporary basis.

LIBRARY

It is surprising to discover that the Petersburg National Battlefield does not have many of the references concerning black participation in the Civil War. Among the basic references that it should requisition are James Brewer’s *The Confederate Negro*, Dudley T. Cornish’s *The Sable Arm*, Benjamin Quarles’ *The Negro in the Civil War*, James McPherson’s *The Negro’s Civil War* and Joseph T. Wilson’s *The Black Phalanx*. All of these references contain valuable information about black soldiers, but *The Confederate Negro* clearly details the role of blacks in Virginia.

Unquestionably, black skilled and unskilled workers sustained Confederate efforts by making it possible for white men to serve mainly in combat organizations. In a file folder entitled, "Black Troops in the Civil War", only xeroxed pages from Jesse Johnson’s *A Pictorial History of Black Soldiers in the United States* and a roster of the Twenty-Eighth Infantry Regiment were found. Bell’s *Southern Negroes* was located in the library.

Despite this obvious lack of references pertaining especially to black personnel, the library does have several references which contain significant information which must be utilized in the *Interpretative Prospectus* and publications about the park. It has many volumes of the *War of the Rebellion* and Dyer’s *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, which have brief narratives of each regiment that fought in the Civil War. It also has Massachusetts Adjutant General’s *Massachusetts Sailors*,
Sailors and Marines in the Civil War. This contains a narrative of the Fifth Massachusetts Regiment and a brief narrative of its personnel. There is also an unpublished manuscript entitled the "Siege of Petersburg" by Edwin C. Bearss in the library. These were obviously not utilized to any significant extent when materials were published about the participation of blacks in the Petersburg campaign. The library also contains, according to Mr. Edwards, a copy of the WPA project for the Petersburg area. Therefore, it must also be used for eyewitness accounts of freedom and slaves concerning the Petersburg area.

EXHIBITS

The Petersburg National Battlefield has excellent exhibits about the Petersburg campaign. However, the role of black personnel has been neglected. In the current exhibits, much improvement could be made to reflect the appropriate involvement of black soldiers, freedmen and slaves. For example, the exhibit entitled "Smoked Yanks", which describes white soldiers who had tanned from cooking and weather should also include black soldiers, especially since blacks served as body servants and cooks and were often referred to as "Smoke Yankees". The "Siege Warfare" exhibit identifies the seventy-mile defense line from Richmond to Petersburg, but there are no comments about the thousands of black workers who actually constructed the defensive works. The "Care of Wounded" exhibit also fails to show the critical role of black attendants. The exhibit concerning the construction of Fort Haskell and Fort Fisher also exclude any activities of black personnel. The assault and siege of Petersburg by white soldiers also give the impression that black troops were not engaged. In short, black soldiers and laborers are vir-
tually portrayed as invisible participants. In only one exhibit do they appear as servants; the image implied is that blacks were only servants and that they were concerned only about amusement instead of the serious aspects of the war. An inclusion of the casualties sustained by black military organizations will vividly emphasize their horrendous losses. Also, an exhibit about Sergeant Decatur Dorsey, who was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, would illustrate the heroism of many unknown soldiers, both black and white.

AUDI0 VISUAL

The audio visual presentation in the center is impressive. However, very little is presented about black participation. The individual who introduced the presentation neglected to mention any significant role of black troops or laborers. Additionally, the local free black population and their involvement are not discussed in this presentation or any of the other audio presentations. The regimental records of each regiment involved in this campaign as well as the study written by Brewer should definitely be used in revising the audio visual presentation. The Crater audio presentations include similar information about the utilization of General Ferrero's Division.

PUBLICATIONS

Petersburg National Battlefield publications present very little information about black soldiers and nothing about their interest in the Petersburg campaign. Similarly, these publications have completely omitted the existence of the free and slave community in Petersburg and their contributions to the war effort. Richard W. Tykes' Campaign for
Petersburg has the same general information given in the audio visual presentation. In a brochure distributed to visitors, reference is made to the success of Hinks' black Division at Battery 9. However, this brief reference does not include any other activity or success of black personnel. It does contain a copy of the portrait, "The Battle of the Crater" by John A. Elder, which shows several black soldiers either dead or fighting. The implication here, however, is that southern soldiers were so outraged by the sight of black soldiers coming out of the Crater that they charged and completely overwhelmed the federal forces. Thus, they preserved the city of Petersburg and it is this theme that seems to permeate the entire visual and written presentations at the park. It is also this aspect that black residents of Petersburg resent.

BOOKSHELF

In the book display area located in the center near the main entrance, several books, pamphlets and other items are available for purchase. None of these pertains to black personnel except a reprint article from Civil War Times Illustrated, entitled "Negro Soldiers in the Civil War", by James I. Robertson, Jr., which is located on the bottom of the bookshelf. Since the article presents a general overview of the conditions under which black personnel fought, it is recommended that the center officials obtain for purchase by visitors at least Brewer's The Confederate Negro, Cornish's The Sable Arm, McPherson's The Negro's Civil War and Green's Black Defenders of America. Each of these contains valuable information concerning the various services of black personnel, the treatment they received from Federal and Confederate forces and their interest
in the war. The latter reference of course contains biographical sketches of men who served in both armies during the Civil War. It also contains information on individuals who served in defense of the United States from 1775 to 1973.

CONCLUSIONS

The Petersburg campaign, including the Battle of the Crater, is an excellent theme to incorporate the significance of black personnel during the Civil War. In this campaign, black troops were used in enormous numbers and were eager as well as trained for battle. The bravery displayed by black soldiers was indicative of their performance throughout the war. Therefore, it is recommended that park officials not only incorporate the achievements of black personnel in their capacities as soldiers and laborers but that personnel are also trained to present details concerning the black presence in greater Petersburg.

FOOTNOTES


5. O.R., 40:1; 528.

7. O.R., 40:1; 528; Documents Relating to the Military and Naval Service of Blacks Awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor From The Civil War to the Spanish-American War, Microfilm M-929, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780-1917, The National Archives, Washington, D.C. Also see regimental records of the units involved in the battle in the same record group.


11. Ibid., pp. 139-140.


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Valuable information is contained in this reference about utilization of black laborers in the Confederacy.


PART II
INTRODUCTION

Charles O. Johnson, Jr.

Research for this Report has been based on category two on the NPS project. Therefore, the themes covered are National Milestones of Black History, Construction of the Coastal Defenses, Military and Civilian Service During the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. The theme of Slavery permeates all of the themes. Park literature for these sites generally did not include information concerning the presence of black personnel. For example, the brochure for Brice's Crossroads and Tupelo explain the activities of Generals Nathan P. Forrest, Albert Smith, and William Sturgis and others, but no reference is made about the role of black soldiers. The general public, therefore, will not consider this park or any other park with similar kinds of brochures as a battleground commemorating the service of black personnel. The interpretive prospectus also does not reflect the contributions beyond the fact that they were at a location at a particular time. The Jamestown prospectus does show that Africans were there by 1619, but little information is included about them and there is no effort to illustrate their activities or interests or general significance to the greater community of Jamestown. None of them explains the use of blacks in skilled occupations.

The brief references, wherever they are listed for black involvement at the National Park sites still treat black individuals as the invisible American. Therefore, there is a definite need to portray them as near to the actual past situations as possible. Plans should include not only the participation of black laborers, but also some representative examples of military service. It is perhaps more than a mere omission that the Battle of Chaffin's where several blacks won the Congressional Medal of Honor for their services is not included. Fort Gilmer is included but the
plans include only minor revisions of wayside exhibits. Since black casualties were so great because of horrendous fire under which they were fought and their services at the battle of Fort Gilmer was indicative of black valor, any revisions should include their participation. Therefore, it is recommended that each park prospectus be revised. Living historic scenes should be created which illustrate the conditions of black people and the efforts of both freedmen and slaves to survive under adverse conditions. These scenes should also discuss the historical sites from a black perspective. For example, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial has a play called "The Dred Scott Decision." It discusses the circumstances surrounding the case but does not present the concerns of freedmen and fugitives nor the impact it had upon their lives. However, a pamphlet on the Old Court House does describe the Dred Scott case.

The data for each of the themes in this section was located primarily in materials researched in federal and state archives and libraries. Some of the information was also obtained from published references. From these facilities, the records vividly show the extent to which black personnel participated in sites of the NPS. Research in all of the themes could very easily be extended to other parks since data is available for study and evaluation. It is, therefore, recommended that the evaluation of these parks be continued since several of them were visited.

NATIONAL MILESTONES OF BLACK HISTORY

JAMESTOWN

Africans had explored areas in the western hemisphere before the era of European exploration. However, they later arrived in the colony of Jamestown several years after it was established. Although historian
George Williams concluded that the Treasurer landed slaves in Virginia in 1618 and historian James Ballagh stated that Angela was left ashore at Point Comfort, Virginia, it is commonly agreed that the first twenty Africans in Jamestown were brought by a Dutch vessel in 1619. During the next few years, others came to the colony. These included Antonio who came in 1621 on the James, Mary in 1622 on Margrett and John, John Pedro in 1623 on the Swann, and Brass in 1625 on the Black Bess. Brass was taken from a Spanish frigate off the Cuban coast by a crew of Captain Jones and was added to the captain's crew. When Captain Jones died, the General Court in Jamestown had to decide whether Brass belonged to the Captain's heir, his crew or to the colony. It was decided that Brass belonged to the colony and he was assigned to Lady Yeardley. In return for his services, Brass received a monthly wage of forty pounds of tobacco.

During these early years of Jamestown, there was not a large number of blacks working as indentured servants. The first twenty were obtained by seven planters, five of whom were colonial officials, one a merchant and the other was a member of the Houses of Burgesses. Anthony worked for William Tucker of Kecoughtan in Elizabeth City. He apparently met Isabella on his voyage to Jamestown and later married her. Their son was born in 1624 and was named William Tucker, perhaps because of the kindness of Captain Tucker.

It seems that none of the Africans was slain during the confrontation between the Indians and the English settlers in 1621-1622. They also were not concentrated in Jamestown. In 1623, twenty-three were distributed as follows: eleven in Flowerdew Hundred; four in Warrasquoyack; three in James City; two in Elizabeth City; and one each at three outlying
plantations. Nearly all of these had Spanish or Portuguese names like Michaela and Counchaxello, but in 1644, many of the second generation had English names. Many of them also acquired property and extended their holdings by acquiring indentured servants. One of the largest landowners was another Anthony. He married Mary from the Margrett and John, and had 250 acres in Northampton County. Richard Johnson imported two white servants and received 100 acres. Johnson Johnson had eleven servants and 550 acres. This trend, however, did not continue because the status of blacks changed from servants to mainly that of slaves.

By 1639, references to slavery had appeared in Virginia. The Punch and Bushrod cases, if not recognizing slavery, extended the period of indentured servitude for John Punch and Thomas Bushrod. This change was specifically stated by the Virginia governing body in 1661 when slavery was recognized by statute. Slaves, of course, were employed as skilled and unskilled workers in addition to working as servants. Historian Carl Degler has concluded that this changing status for Africans was due to innate racism.

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LINCOLN MEMORIAL

Black interest in the Lincoln Memorial was obvious in 1922 since many still believed that Abraham Lincoln was sincerely interested in emancipation. When the memorial was dedicated on Decoration Day in 1922, President Robert Moten of Tuskegee Institute was among the invited guests to speak on the occasion. Instead of having a seat on the speaker's platform, he was relegated to a position among the other distinguished blacks in the audience in an all-Negro section separated by a road from the rest of the audience. Additionally, United States Marines used derogatory and abusive language toward black persons as they were "herded" toward their seats. These discriminate practices caused much indignation, and blacks in attendance were reminded of the deplorable conditions and practices instituted during the Wilson administration. Thus, blacks, who had attended the dedication ceremonies, witnessed another humiliating event for them. Undoubtedly in attendance were blacks who had assisted in the construction of the memorial; they also must have contemplated the significance of the ceremonies.

The Lincoln Memorial, however, became a focal point for several significant black events. The first occurred in 1939 when the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to permit Marion Anderson to perform at Constitution Hall in the District of Columbia. Although the District of Columbia Board of Education reluctantly approved a request to use the white
Central High School, the furor aroused in the city and throughout the nation exceeded any outburst against discrimination that any of Washington's oldest residents could recall. White people were jolted out of their assumption that black individuals with ambition and talent could make their way anywhere, for here was an obnoxious nonentity. However, Secretary of the Interior Ickes authorized the use of the Lincoln Memorial and there on Easter Sunday afternoon the concert was presented before 75,000 people. According to some who heard her sing and watched the expression on those who attended, it was a turning point in the fight against discrimination in the nation's capital. In the same year, Anderson received the Spingarn Medal, which was presented to her by Eleanor Roosevelt.

Conditions under which blacks lived were not improving. To dramatize their economic plight, a march on Washington, D.C. was proposed in 1941 by A. Philip Randolph and other interested black personalities. However, President Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed to issue an Executive Order barring discrimination in war industries and apprenticeship programs. Thus, Randolph cancelled the March on Washington on June 25, 1941 when Executive Order 8802 was issued. Under this order, the Fair Employment Practices Committee was created. Unquestionably, the Lincoln Memorial would have been a major point of concentration if the movement had continued.

In 1913, the civil rights movement was organized under the auspices of several concerned organizations. They agreed to continue the movement discussed earlier by Randolph and his supporters. Displeased by the lack of job opportunities and the constant denial of civil rights, a march on Washington was held on August 28, 1963. With over 200,000 in attendance
at the Lincoln Memorial, Martin Luther King, Jr. gave one of his most memorable addresses called "I Have A Dream". Indeed, this march served notice that blacks in America were no longer willing to wait generation after generation for rights that other citizens took for granted.

Several years later, the Poor Peoples' Campaign was held in Washington, D.C. and many spoke at the Lincoln Memorial.

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LINCOLN PARK
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Located in Lincoln Park are the Emancipation Monument and the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial. The former was unveiled on April 14, 1876 and is sometimes referred to as "Freedom's Memorial". The movement for such a monument was started by Charlotte Scott, a former slave from the Lynchburg area in Virginia. She requested in April 1865 that her employer, Mrs. William Rucker, use five dollars of her wages toward erecting a monument in the memory of Abraham Lincoln. The funds were given to clergyman C.D. Battelle who suggested to Brigadier General T.C.H. Smith, commanding a military post in St. Louis, that the Western Sanitary Commission was the best agency to manage the project. Rucker emphasized to James E. Yeatman, president of the commission, that all funds for erecting a monument should be donated by former slaves. Therefore, many of the funds were collected from black soldiers with the Sixth United States Colored
Heavy Infantry donating the largest gift of $4,770. Eventually, $16,242 were collected from the soldiers and freedmen along the Mississippi before the end of the year.

William G. Eliot, a member of the commission, requested that Thomas Ball create the monument. Ball’s concept of the statue of Abraham Lincoln pictured Lincoln standing with one hand over the head of a kneeling freedman. The model for the freedman was Archer Alexander, the last fugitive slave taken in Missouri under the old laws of slavery. The monument was cast in the Royal Foundry in Munich, Germany and brought duty free into the United States. Congress appropriated $3,000 for a pedestal.

During the unveiling ceremonies at which John M. Langston presided, Frederick Douglass gave the address which was devoted to the question of whether or not Lincoln was devoted to the welfare of blacks or whether his actions were influenced by the pressure of the times. Clearly, Douglass concluded it was the latter. Among the platform guests were former President Ulysses Grant and his son and former Secretary of the Interior Zachariah Chandler.

Although the monument appeared on a three-cent-stamp issued by the Post Office in 1940 to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Thirteenth Amendment, many blacks never liked the Ball monument. Frederick Douglass maintained a more masculine figure of a freedman would have been more indicative of his freedom. Others also shared his views, but the monument remained unchanged.

The second memorial in Lincoln Park is dedicated to Mary McLeod Bethune. Perhaps, there is not another black female who deserves more for her devotion to eliminating the problems confronting black youths and adults. Born on July 10, 1875 in Mayesville, South Carolina to
former slaves, Samuel and Patsy McIntosh McLeod, she was one of seventeen children, some of whom were also born in slavery. Receiving her education, Mary McLeod was later destined to become America's "First Black Lady", after she married Albert Bethune in 1898.

Unquestionably, a major objective of Bethune was the establishment of Bethune-Cookman College. With that aim becoming a reality, it is understandable why she became engrossed in other absorbing interests such as organizing black women into an important force to be reckoned with; working on the National Child Welfare Commission; serving as Special Advisor in Minority Affairs and as Director of the Division of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration; and pleading for human rights and world brotherhood while serving as a consultant during the Conference to draft the United Nations Charter in 1945. Bethune was a strong advocate of political rights for blacks and she personally led voter registration drives in Daytona Beach, Florida. She received many awards for her achievements.

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OLD COURT HOUSE

One of the most significant cases argued in the St. Louis Court House and one which contributed to the Civil War was the Dred Scott case. Born around April 12, 1809 in the Edom area of Virginia to Solomon and Hannah, Scott was the youngest of five children. Since his family were slaves on the Peter Blow plantation, he was named Sam Blow. When Peter Blow moved to St. Louis, Missouri where he opened a rooming house, Sam served there as a domestic servant. In 1829, he married and remained
with his wife until she was sold to a plantation owner in Arkansas. This incident caused him to run away, but he was caught, flogged and returned to Blow. Upon his return, Sam changed his name to Dred Scott.

When Blow died in 1830, Scott was sold to Dr. John Emerson who carried him into several free states. During that period, Scott married Harriet. While returning to St. Louis, their daughter, Eliza, was born in 1839; Scott was also hired out to an army officer who took him to Texas and later into Mexico after the Mexican War began. Attempting to free himself and his family, Scott secured counsel in 1846 to petition the Circuit Court of St. Louis for permission to enter a suit for liberation. His counsel maintained that Scott and his family were free because the court rendered a verdict of freedom on January 23, 1850. Sanford, who had custody of Scott, appealed the verdict three weeks later and the circuit court ruling was reversed by the Supreme Court of Missouri. A similar verdict was rendered by the Federal District Court of Missouri. Finally, the case was argued before the Supreme Court by Montgomery Blair.

The case of Dred Scott versus John F. A. Sanford was of immediate interest to President-elect James Buchanan. In violation of judicial propriety, Justice John Catron confidentially revealed to Buchanan the intention of the Court concerning the case. Fearing that only the five southern judges would declare the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional and deny the freedom of Scott, Buchanan, at Justice Catron's urging put pressure on Justice Robert C. Grier of Pennsylvania to the claims of John Sanford. Grier agreed after showing Buchanan's letter to Chief Justice Roger B. Taney and Justice James M. Wayne. The majority opinion implied that blacks were not citizens of the United States; that Scott's living in free states did not entitle him to freedom when he returned to Missouri; and that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. This
ended a very controversial case. However, Scott did obtain freedom months later before he died to tuberculosis in 1858.

Prior to 1857, the federal government did not have a consistent policy governing black rights to settle upon public lands. In fact, the Secretary of the Interior informed a black resident of New York that no law barred him from settling upon the public domain or claiming pre-emption rights. Shortly after the decision, the General Land Office announced that since freedmen were not citizens, they could not qualify for pre-emption benefits. Consequently, blacks were barred from settling upon lands in western areas and many felt that the only solution was emigration.

The Old Court House was also used as a jail for slaves and as a place to auction slaves. Even Dred Scott was kept in the St. Louis jail while his trial was conducted and he was also hired out to work during the same period. Slaves who were sold at the court house annually, in some instances because of estate settlement cases, may not have been the only slaves detained there. It would be interesting to discover how often slaves were regularly confined because of agreements with local slave owners. In reference to the settlement cases, the St. Louis Court House records should contain the names of slaves sold to settle estates, to whom they were sold, the length of time slaves stayed in court, before the settlement cases were conducted. The records may also reveal whether or not slaves were used to construct any portion of the court house.

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