

HER-277

A REVIEW OF THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY
BY HOWARD UNIVERSITY OF "AFRO AMERICAN"
HISTORY INTERPRETATION AT SELECTED NATIONAL PARKS

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INTRODUCTION.

In 1978, the National Park Service granted a contract to Howard University to study Afro-American history interpretation at 31 national parks possessing aspects of Black interest and involvement. Part of the research involved visits to five sites: Harpers Ferry National Historic Park, Fort Davis National Historic Site, Chalmette National Historic Park, Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial, and Petersburg National Battlefield.

Researchers assessed the authenticity of historical resources to determine the effectiveness of presentations of Black heritage. Other objectives were to ascertain the quality of interpretive personnel and explore ways of improving the relationships between the sites and local Black citizens and groups. Howard University's report was distributed to regional offices and the parks studied.

The parks agreed with most of the recommendations, but filed written dissents in some cases. The study subsequently was used as the subject of two training sessions at Mather Training Center.

The purpose of this review is to:

1. Evaluate how successful the areas studied have been in implementing the recommendations.
2. Determine why recommendations were not successfully implemented where applicable.
3. Develop strategies for implementation of recommendations if feasible at this time.
4. Obtain information on successful projects and programs developed as a result of the study that could be used in other Park Service areas.

Visits were made to the five areas of the Service where on-site evaluations by the Howard University study team were done. Selected staff members, local residents, and Black Americans in the large metropolitan areas near the parks were interviewed.

The sections which follow begin with relevant background information about the parks studied. There follows a section of recommendations made by the Howard University evaluators and any comments or rebuttals to them from the park staff. Finally, our own conclusions based on the 1985 visits are presented. While these conclusions may point to shortcomings in some instances, it also is our hope that none of the significant achievements have been overlooked that set examples worth emulating by other parks.

CHALMETTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Chalmette became a unit of the Jean Lafitte National Historic Park, which was established in 1978, soon after Howard's study was completed. The park has three major units - - the French Quarter, Barataria, and Chalmette. The French Quarter unit introduces visitors to New Orleans. The Barataria unit preserves an area of rich and beautiful coastal wetland. The Chalmette unit preserves the battlefield where in 1815 American forces, many of them Black, turned back the British advance on New Orleans. Chalmette is located in St. Bernard Parish about six miles from the heart of New Orleans.

Although Black soldiers did play an important part in the Battle of New Orleans, and Blacks comprise a large percentage of the area's population, Chalmette, like other areas reviewed, does not appear to have Black visitation in numbers which these factors would seem to merit.

Following are the recommendations provided by the Howard University study team and the comments of the Jean Lafitte staff relating to them.

RECOMMENDATION

As the Black presence at Chalmette is relatively absent, activities or interpretation designed to attract Black visitors should be developed. Minimally a permanent exhibit, a temporary exhibit, a slide, or a film strip program could be developed.

COMMENT

A new audio visual program is now being developed at Harpers Ferry, this new program will be reviewed to make sure that the Black presence at the site is given proper coverage, presently the plan for the exhibit includes at least two references to the role of Blacks in the Battle of New Orleans.

RECOMMENDATION

Chalmette should explore possibilities of securing on loan exhibits or items that would enhance the Black presence at the park.

COMMENT

We know of no exhibits that are available that would enhance the Black presence at the park. We will continue to seek such resources and make them available at the site whenever possible.

RECOMMENDATION

The park might choose to hold one lecture and discussion a month on the Black presence at the facility.

COMMENT

We have not held any lectures or discussions on Black presence at the site. We have concentrated our efforts on involving the schools of the local area in our program. Each year on the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans we sponsor a day of special activities for area school children. An invitation is sent to each school in the area, orientation packets are provided each teacher which informs them of the activities available for their students.

RECOMMENDATION

Park staff might meet with interested community members of various ages in an education encounter related to Black presence at the site.

COMMENTS

Structured meetings with community members of various ages in educational encounters related to the Black presence at the site have not been held. However, informal meetings are sometimes held with interested members of the community. As was stated, most of our contact has been with the schools of the area.

RECOMMENDATION

In order for all Americans to be made aware of the Black participation at the site, brochures should be made available not only at the park site but also in schools fraternal societies, recreation and social centers across the country, especially those with significant Black participation or membership.

COMMENT

A mimeographed informational sheet has been developed and is available for park visitors and for the school groups visiting the site.

RECOMMENDATION

In order for the minority community to be aware of the Black presence at the park special relationships should be established with Black organizations.

COMMENT

We do not have any special relationships with Black organizations. We do have a strong relationship with the local schools. Although, the schools are not Black organizations, we do come in contact with many of the Black youth in the area through our relationship with them.

The National Park, along with other organizations, sponsor concerts in the Louis Armstrong Park honoring Louis ("Stachmo") Armstrong and the spirit of treme. These concerts are attended by many members of Black organizations in the city.

SUMMARY

Chalmette has had few achievements in carrying out the recommendations of the Howard University study, but some efforts underway are encouraging. The unit's short life as part of Jean Lafitte NHP has been a factor.

The historical Black presence at Chalmette virtually is invisible. A temporary exhibit on Black involvement at the site should be produced for the visitors center. The Baratavia film developed at Harpers Ferry shows Blacks and other minorities on the bayou, in the Mardi Gras, and other local settings, but Chalmette's current visitor center film makes only brief mention of the Black role. "If you blink your eyes, you miss it," a park staffer said.

Except for contacts with schools, Chalmette has made little effort to develop relationships with the minority community. Dillard University, Southern University at New Orleans, and Xavier University are Black institutions that should be considered as resources available to the park. Many other Black organizations in the city would welcome involvement in park programs.

A brochure on Black involvement in the history of the park should be developed and distributed to Black colleges and universities, and to other Black organizations in the area, and to national organizations with significant Black participation or membership.

Concerts in Louis Armstrong Park are beneficial outreach activities, but they do not communicate the more serious aspects of Black history that occurred at Chalmette.

Good relationships with the schools have been developed since the Howard study, and because of these relationships, many Black children and teachers are being exposed to the park. The French Quarter Black history tour is a new and beneficial interpretive resource that has been developed and should add much to the interpretation of Black history at the site.

Although some progress has been made in the interpretation of Black history at the site, there still remains much that can be done. An overall action plan should be developed that would serve as a guide to achieve stated objectives.

FORT DAVIS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Fort Davis is located 290 miles from El Paso, Texas, the nearest large city. There is no public transportation to the fort. While there is a small airport at Marfa, 21 miles away, and another at Alpine, 26 miles away, neither is served by commercial airlines. Both communities, however, are served by commercial buslines. Visitor impact on the area is tempered by distances involved.

Minority visitation to the site is between two and five percent of the total, and mostly Hispanic. Most visitors are people on extended trips who intend spending only a portion of a day at the site. Although Black visitation to the site has been minimal, the Black military experience and frontier presence in the west seem capable of generating increased Black visitation.

Fort Davis is of special importance to Blacks because it was one of the first posts in the west to receive Black soldiers. The units stationed there compiled a notable record of military accomplishment against their Comanche and Apache antagonist. Out of respect, the Indians called them "Buffalo Soldiers".

Fort Davis staff members felt strongly that the Howard University report was biased, unfair, and an inaccurate evaluation of the program at Fort Davis. They voiced their concerns in a rebuttal to the report. The staff believes that great progress has been made in interpreting Black involvement at the site.

Howard's Recommendations, and Staff Comments, follow:

RECOMMENDATION

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

COMMENT

The present staff consists of the following:

- a. Superintendent: Fourteen years experience in working at Frontier Military Parks, plus two years as interpretive specialist (history) in Southwest Regional Office: BA. in history, has authored one book and several articles on Indian wars topics, and has presented several formal lectures on frontier military subjects, including the Tenth Cavalry.

- b. Supervisory Park Ranger; Nine years working in historical parks, six of those years at frontier military sites.
- c. Park Ranger: Sixteen years working at Fort Davis National Historic Site, Master's degree in U.S. History, published several articles on frontier military history, especially Fort Davis and the B.H. Grierson family.
- d. Park Technician: Eight years working at historical parks, has authored several articles on the Black west and is personally involved in the Black military experience on the western frontier.
- e. Cooperative Education Students: both employees are in their third year of college and U.S. History Majors at Sul Ross State University.
- f. Seasonal Employees: Five points of the seasonal employee's rating are related to history education.

RECOMMENDATION:

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

COMMENT

Generally reading lists are tailored to each employee or VIP depending upon the employee's educational background and experience in working in the National Parks, however, all employees are required to read the F.F.H.B., etc. A sample reading list is included in Appendix B. While continued development of the fort's various subject matter is highly encouraged, it must be remembered that employees must spend a great deal of off-the-job time doing the actual reading. To encourage this, a 3-point weight factor is added to the seasonal employee's performance appraisal, the employee is therefore rated on his or her success in improving their knowledge of park resources.

RECOMMENDATION:

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

COMMENT

Orientation is tailored to the individual employee or VIP depending on their

background. It is necessary to include various matters concerning park management, interpretation and the site's history in seasonal orientation. Information on Black history is scheduled for inclusion in the 1985 training packet.

RECOMMENDATION

Accept the fact that the staff must be able to present the Black presence regardless of personal interest.

COMMENT

The management of Fort Davis National Historic Site has always been interested in hiring employees who are willing and able to interpret the Black presence at the site. To this end, we have strived to hire Blacks (beginning in the late 1960 with recruiting visits to colleges having a large Black enrollment) to interpret this presence through the Living History Method. We have had limited success over the years in filling positions with Blacks. We have had one Cooperative Education student in 1978, and one Male Black seasonal in 1982. Since November, 1983, there has been one Black male on the permanent interpretive staff. There are four reasons, as we see the situation, which hinder the fort's efforts to recruit Blacks.:

- 1) the lack of available funds to offer a number of seasonals openings. Currently, the site has one seasonal position funded for FY-1985.
- 2) the lack of available housing in the area for seasonal employees.
- 3) the lack of a local Black population.
- 4) the NPS doesn't pay enough to attract Blacks from outside the region to come to work at Fort Davis.

In 1980 we hired a Black seasonal from Howard University. A few days before he was to enter on duty, he called to say he was not coming. It was just too far and too expensive for him. After he backed out, we were successful in hiring another Black seasonal from Tuskegee Institute, but at the last minute he declined the position. He got a job in construction and could earn twice the money he would have received at Fort Davis National Historic Site.

b. Exhibit

RECOMMENDATION

1. Mention that the Ninth Cavalry rebuilt the fort in 1867.

COMMENT

Nothing has been done to change this. "In 1867, units of the Ninth U.S. Cavalry reactivated the delapidated post, but they did not rebuild the fort alone as Ms. Smith-Parker implies. The post returns of 1867-1869 show that approximately 200 civilian craftsmen were employed to assist in rebuilding the fort; they included carpenters, quarry men, masons, plasterers, engineers, blacksmiths, and laborers. The assistance of a large number of civilian employees was necessary in rebuilding the fort as the soldiers had to carry out routine garrison duties, military responsibilities, drilling, scouting for indians, etc."

RECOMMENDATION

2. Reinforcement of the 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments and 24th and 25th Infantry regiments by using the word "Negro" in the title.

COMMENT

Historically, Colonel B.H. Grierson fought to have his regiment addressed without the addition of the word "Negro" or "Colored". The following is an excerpt from the Buffalo Soldiers. Page 14:

"Tolerant and genuinely fond of his men, he (Grierson) ordered his company commanders not to use the word "colored" in their reports -- "The regiment is simply the Tenth Regiment of Cavalry, United States Army." And he complained directly to Department Headquarters of "invidious distinctions between white and Negro troops" and insisted on impartial treatment for his men." The regiments are clearly identified as being Black in the "Buffalo Soldier" exhibit with the large, prominent

text:

"The Buffalo Soldiers -- from 1867 to 1885 elements of the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry garrisoned Fort Davis. Formed after the Civil War, these regiments commanded by white officers were composed of Negro Soldiers, mostly former slaves. Noting their kinky hair, the Indians called the Negroes "Buffalo Soldiers."

RECOMMENDATION

3. Add text labels to identify the subjects of the Eggenhoffer paintings and the diorama as being Black.

COMMENT

We feel the Eggenhoffer paintings and the diorama clearly show the characters as being Black. We do not need to add labels. To add such labels would insult the intelligence of the visitors.

RECOMMENDATION

4. Add additional text labels in the museum on the Buffalo Soldiers.

COMMENTS

Such additional labels would require redesigning the museum exhibits. When new exhibits are planned, this matter will be considered.

RECOMMENDATION

5. Change photographs and text in the "Buffalo Soldiers" exhibit.

COMMENT

Such changes could be made with new museum exhibits. Since the exhibit was developed in the mid 1960's additional photographs of Black troops have been located which can be put in new exhibits. A more representative photograph of Captain L. H. Carpenter can replace the photographs currently displayed.

6. Suggestion: Add Lt. Flipper's blanket and Pvt. Bently's discharge to the display. The Buffalo Soldiers."

COMMENTS

"...The blanket that belonged to Lt. Henry O. Flipper is not a military item and dates from the early--1900's, not from the period when Lt. Flipper was an officer in the U.S. Army.

Private Bentley's discharge papers do not reflect the time period when he was at Fort Davis and is exactly like discharge papers issued to any other enlisted man." Also Flipper's blanket is not in good condition, and long-term display is not recommended.

RECOMMENDATION

That the park exhibit John Carroll's travelling exhibit, The Black Military Experience in the American West, and Buffalo Soldiers West, and "Blacks in the Westward Movement" by the Smithsonian Institution.

COMMENT

The Black Military Experience exhibit will be displayed at Fort Davis National Historic Site beginning July 4, 1985.

1. "Buffalo Soldiers Remembered" an exhibit of original paintings by El Paso artist Bob Snead.
2. "Ebony Odyssey" (blacks in the military) is currently on indefinite loan to Fort Davis from the U.S. Army Air Defense Museum, Ft. Bliss.
3. "Buffalo Soldiers" a slide show developed by staff member Bill Gwaltney.
4. "Henry O. Flipper" an exhibit developed by park staff in 1981, during the centinneial of the Flipper trail.
5. The park's donation box and barracks restoration exhibit interprets some history of the Buffalo Soldiers.
6. "Fort Davis Cemetaryies" an exhibit of gravestones in the park collection was exhibited with commentaries of the individuals. Gravestones were of three Buffalo Soldiers and an officer of the 25th Infantry.

7. We have currently on exhibit a bust of an Apache warrior and a Buffalo Soldier in the museum. Both were donated to the park in 1980.

We would like to acquire more traveling exhibits related to the Black Military experience, but the limits of the museum and auditorium and the lack of available funds often prevents doing so.

C. Historic Structures

RECOMMENDATION

1. Restore the Enlisted mens barracks to reflect occupancy by Black troops.

COMMENT

The furnishing study of the barracks restoration has been completed and approved. Restoration of the interior of the building was completed on April 1, 1985. This was a private sector supports project. Furnishings are still needed. When completed the barracks will represent Troop H. 10 Cavalry in 1884.

RECOMMENDATION

2. Restore the Commanding Officer's quarters with an emphasis on Co. B.H. Grierson.

COMMENT

This restoration was completed in 1981, and reflects the suggested personality.

RECOMMENDATION

3. The restoration of Lt. H.O. Flipper quarters.

COMMENT

Since we cannot be certain which quarters Lt. Flipper occupied, we cannot restore his quarters. The following list indicated the steps used by the park staff to interpret Lt. Flipper:

1. In 1982, a wayside exhibit was installed at the Post Chapel where the Flipper trail took place
2. The story of Lt. Flipper has been added to the park folder.
3. Lt. Flipper is included in the slide program.

Lt. Flipper is identified in an exhibit at HB-2 officers at Fort Davis.

RECOMMENDATION

Put more signs in the enlisted men's barracks.

COMMENT

Since the barracks is under restoration, this suggestion is no longer valid.

There is one wayside-between HB-20 and HB-21 which has a photograph of a troop of 9th Cavalry at Fort Davis.

D. Publications

RECOMMENDATIONS

Establishing a series of four pamphlets on selected topics.

COMMENT

The major obstacle for obtaining new publications is funding. The park's Cooperative Association has been slow to print anything new in the past few years, including reprinting articles which have already been printed elsewhere and which would require little typesetting.

In response to the report's suggestion, we have the following to offer:

- a. Pamphlet on Lt. Flipper: It would probably be best to seek reprinting of one of Flippers Books, or reprinting of an article on Flipper. In February, 1984, the Ayer Co., Publisher, Inc. announced that they had reprinted Flipper's The Colored Cadet at West Point. We have had this publication on order for almost one year and have never received any copies. According to the publisher, it is "back ordered" and temporarily out of stock". In 1982, to commemorate Black History Month, the park staff wrote a series of four articles -- each on a different Black regiment. The articles were published in a number of newspapers in Texas.
- b. Pamphlet on the daily life of the enlisted soldier: we sell an excellent book on the subject entitled Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay by Dr. Don Rickey, Jr.

c. Pamphlet on the Buffalo Soldiers: We sell an excellent selection of books on the Buffalo Soldiers including, The Buffalo Soldiers, by William Lackie, The Black Military Experience in the West, edited by John Carroll, and a reprint of the Roster of Non Commissioned Officers of the 10th U.S. Cavalry. The reprinting of the NCO Roster was a Ft. Davis project. Other publications we carry which contain much information on the Buffalo Soldiers are Unlikely Warriors and Brandy Station to Manila Bay.

d. Pamphlet on Blacks in the westward movement: As suitable books are published, they are reviewed and if historically appropriate are acquired as a sales items. We have been unable to locate a suitable publication on this subject.

RECOMMENDATION

2. Add the following items (in order of priority) to materials now available or sale at the park book store.

Arlene L. Flower, The Black Infantry in the West, 1869-1891, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1971. Preston Amos, Above and Beyond in the West: Black Medal of Honor Winners, 1870-1890, Washington, D.C.: Potomac Corral, the Westerners, 1974. John Carroll, ed., The Black Military Experience in the American West, New York: Liveright, Co., 1971.

Fairfax, Downey, The Buffalo Soldiers, in the Indian Wars, New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1969. William Katz, Black People who Made the Old West, New York Thomas Y. Crowell Col, 1977. History of the 10 Cavalry: 24th Infantry and 25th Infantry are available from the Old Army Press for \$7.00 each or \$20.00 for the complete set.

COMMENT

The following is a list of those books that are currently sold in the park. The Black Military Experience in the West, Old Army Press, Regimental Histories of the 9th and 10th U.S. Cavalry and the 24th and 25th U.S. Infantry Regiments

(out of print) Cromwell, The Black Frontier (out of print) Carrol, (editor),
 Roster of Non Commissioned Officer of the 10th U.S. Cavalry. Lackie,
The Buffalo Soldiers. Time/Life, (editor), The Soldiers (contains section on the
 Buffalo Soldiers) Lackie Unlikely Warriors Utley Fort Davis Handbook
 Alberts, Brandy Station to Manilla Bay. In addition, the following theme related
 sales items emphasize the contributions of the Buffalo Soldiers:

instructions for Sentinels of Troop B, 10th U.S. Cavalry

Reprint of Map of Col. B.H. Grierson of the "District of the Pecos"

Limited edition prints of Buffalo Soldier and Seminole Negro Scout drawing
 (no longer available)

Postcard of historic photograph of a troop of the 9th Cavalry on parade at Fort Davis.

Text on cards used in packing military buttons, insignia and beltplates.

Frederick Remington print of a Buffalo Soldier (no longer available)

E. Audio-Visuals

RECOMMENDATION

1. Obtain an orientation slide program or movie which includes reference to Blacks.

COMMENT

This was accomplished in 1980. The program features both the Buffalo Soldiers and
 Lt. Flipper.

RECOMMENDATION

2. Obtain copy of film: The Black Soldier, narrated by Bill Cosby.

COMMENT

No action has taken place on this suggestion. We do not know where this film can
 be obtained.

RECOMMENDATION

3. Obtain a copy of the Trail of Henry Flipper, published by Public Broadcasting
 Service.

COMMENT

In summer, 1984, we rented a copy for review from the National Black Programming Consortium, Inc., who holds a copyright to the film. The program is available only in 3/4 inch video cassette. The Consortium copyright prohibits the loan of the program to any group, including educational groups. The Consortium wanted \$800.00 for the cassette. We submitted a request to Southwest Parks and Monuments Association for a donation of that amount, but were turned down this year. We intend to reapply for the donation in 1985.

RECOMMENDATION

Acquire films on Black history from the University of Nebraska.

COMMENT

The University of Nebraska's Black Frontier Series of Films ("The Buffalo Soldiers," "The Cowherders," "The New Americans," and "The Exodusters") was acquired by the park in the early 1970s. Despite Ms. Smith-Parker's comment that the "Buffalo Soldiers" film "appears to be geared more toward entertainment it is historically accurate. Until something better is produced it serves to help make the public more aware of the contributions of the Blacks to the frontier. All four movies on the series are loaned to numerous schools, organizations and other park service areas each year.

RECOMMENDATION

1. Make more information available to the public on the story of Lt. Flipper through exhibits and brochures.
 - a. The wayside exhibit at the Chapel.
 - b. A section in the park brochure on Flipper.
 - c. Flipper' story is mentioned in the slide show.
 - d. Flipper is pictured in an exhibit on Fort Davis officer at HB-2.

RECOMMENDATION

Complete the furnishing plan for for HB-21, Enlisted Men's Barracks.

COMMENT

This document has been written reviewed and approved.

RECOMMENDATION

Complete a new interpretive plan for the site.

--Action: A new Interpretive Propectus was written and approved August, 1983,

RECOMMENDATION

Acquire documents from the National Archieves, including muster rolls, registers of enlistment, and pension files.

COMMENT

Many of these documents have been acquired. Xerox and microfilm copies are in the library. The staff historian will be travelling to the National Archieves in the summer of 1985 to conduct further research.

Additionally, during the past two years, the Site has established communication and rapport with the 9th and 10th Cavalry Association. Superintendent McChristian, Park Technician Bill Gwaltney, and Friends of Fort Davis Director, Sara Jackson (Washington, D.C.) attended the group's annual meeting in 1984 and made a presentation on Fort Davis.

Relationships are being established with Black groups and individuals in El Paso. This will be a continuing effort.

SUMMARY

Fort Davis seeks to do a high-quality job of interpreting the role of the Buffalo Soldiers, and much progress has been made before and after the Howard University study. Because of its location and the fact that the history of Blacks on the frontier and of the Buffalo Soldiers has only recently become a topic that has attracted the interest of the general public and the academic community, Black

visitation to the site has been limited. As stated in the Howard University report, the Fort offers an excellent opportunity to highlight Afro-American presence on the far western frontier.

As more Black Americans become aware of the role their race played in the settlement of the west, they will want to visit the sites where this history took place. Their understanding that these sites are a part of the National Park System is likely to increase awareness of the National Park Service and enhance the regard that Black's have for the agency. Fort Davis, through its relationships with Black organizations, historically Black colleges and universities, and the academic community in general, has an excellent opportunity to share with these groups the history of Blacks on the western frontier and especially at Fort Davis.

A brochure on the Buffalo Soldiers, Fort Davis, and the National Park Service should be developed and copies sent to historically Black colleges and universities and to Black national organizations so that they can further assist in making this part of history and the facility which represents it better known to the American public.

Following are observations and recommendations for further consideration:

- Although the Buffalo Soldiers did not completely rebuild the Fort, mention should be made of their involvement in its rebuilding and reactivation.
- Pictures in the orientation room should include Buffalo Soldiers.
- The Buffalo Soldiers in the orientation film were not visually impressive; this part of the film should be improved.
- Black Soldiers should be identified as such whenever there is doubt that this fact would be known by the visiting public.
- Although much of the history of this site is centered on Black involvement there is only one Black employee on the staff. The park has made efforts to employ more Blacks, but has not been successful. Their efforts should be intensified, with assistance from the Region or Washington, if necessary.

The park's relationship with the local community and the community's involvement and interest in the park is commendable. There continues to be a serious effort at Fort Davis to provide an impressive interpretation program which includes the contributions of Black soldiers.

HARPERS FERRY NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Harpers Ferry NHP is located 65 miles from Washington D.C. and 70 miles from Baltimore, Maryland. Both cities have large minority populations. The percentage of minority visitors to Harpers Ferry, however, appears to be considerably less than the percentage of minority population in either the surrounding communities or in nearby metropolitan areas.

Cassandra Smith Parker of Howard, who did the study, felt that Harpers Ferry was the best suited of all NPS sites to become a center for the study and presentation of Black history. Harpers Ferry, although located in the Slave South, had a large active, and free population. Before the Civil War it was an important commercial center, and it was the site of John Brown's Raid in 1859. It was an important target during the Civil War.

Storer college, one of the earliest Black colleges, was established here and led to the development of an educated and prosperous local Black community. Harpers Ferry also was 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 subsequent initiation of actions which led to the closing of Storer College.

Following are the recommendations of the Howard University study team, and the comments regarding those recommendations from the park.

RECOMMENDATION

An interpretive plan for the Storer College theme be adopted.

COMMENT

The Storer College story has become a significant part of the Harpers Ferry NPS Interpretive Program. A Storer College Exhibit is now on display in the visitor Center where it can be reviewed by all visitors to the park.

RECOMMENDATION

Staff training on the Storer College story should be held.

COMMENT

Black history has become an integral part of our 40-hour seasonal interpretive training program. In 1984 an intern student from American University prepared a document entitled "Information for interpreting the History of Blacks in Harpers Ferry,". During the seasonal training program, the intern, also hired a seasonal interpreter, and used this document as the basis for a session on Blacks in Harpers Ferry. Dr. John Stealey of Shepherd College (mentioned earlier) also gave a session on the history of Storer College. This session was recorded for future use.

RECOMMENDATION

There should be a history of Storer College Written.

COMMENT

A significant amount of historical research has been conducted. Dr. John Stealey, chairman of the History Department at Shepherd College has done extensive research on the history of Storer. The problem remaining is that much of the research has, as yet, not been written. Dr. Stealey has published a series of three articles on West Virginia History (a professional history journal) on the operation of the Freedman's Bureau in the state, which covers the beginning of Storer College. The Harpers Ferry, Historical Association is currently negotiating a contract with Dr. Stealey to produce a book on the school's history. Other research needs (which include an indexing of the Storer College records) have been identified in the park's Cultural Resources Management Plan.

College and graduate level interns are being recruited to do research in these and other areas.

RECOMMENDATION

A brochure on Storer College should be made available as soon as possible.

COMMENT

The wayside plan that has been approved will be utilized as a self guiding tour of the campus. The wayside will serve as an inplace text, thus alleviating the need

for a brochure.

RECOMMENDATION

A self guided tour should be developed that goes through the campus and back into the lower town area.

COMMENT

The park's comprehensive wayside plan includes an upper town tour that will lead visitors to the Storer Campus. The significance of the school and the major buildings will be interpreted through individual waysides. Production should begin in late FY-85.

Through the efforts of the Boy Scouts of America, a historic trail called the (Harpers Ferry Heritage Trail) has been developed which includes the Storer College Campus. Visitors may purchase the trail booklet at the park bookstore. The booklet contains a series of questions which the visitors must answer. Upon successful completion of the trail, the visitors may then purchase a patch as a souvenir of their achievement.

RECOMMENDATION

There should be a temporary exhibit on Storer College in the visitor center.

COMMENT

The concept for this exhibit was developed in 1980-1981. Funding for design and production came from the Harpers Ferry Center, assistance in reviewing the concept and design were gained from the Storer College Alumni Association and the local Chapter of the NAACP, the exhibit was dedicated in conjunction with the Annual Alumni meeting in July of 1982.

RECOMMENDATION

A preliminary study should be done on the history of each building on the Storer Campus.

COMMENT

The comprehensive wayside plan which has been approved will include the interpretation of the significance of the school and each major building on the campus. This interpretation will call for a study to be done on each of these buildings.

RECOMMENDATION

The Curtis Freewill Baptist Church should be declared a National Historical Landmark.

COMMENT

All of the historic structures in the park are on the National Register. As a unit of the National Park Service, the history related to these structures has been deemed to have national significance. Consequently there is little to be gained by giving any particular building National Landmark status.

The Freewill Baptist Church has been completely restored by the park including a new roof, repair of stained glass windows, new wiring, lighting, and heat.

The Church is now available for group use year-round. It is used by church groups, the NAACP, the Storer College Alumni Association, the Boy Scouts of America, and the John Brown Memorial Association

RECOMMENDATION

The basement of the Curtis Freewill Baptist Church should be converted into a repository for materials relating to Storer College.

COMMENT

The basement of the Curtis Freewill Baptist Church has been completely renovated. It is now being used as office space by the Harper Ferry Center. When it is no longer used for that purpose, its further use in some manner relating to the college will be discussed with the alumni Association.

Some of the Storer records housed at West Virginia University have been microfilmed for use in the park's library. Additional funds will need to be found to continue this project. Members of the park staff visited the Archives section of the WVU Library in 1979 and concluded that the original Storer records should remain there, as the facilities there are far better than any the park could provide. It was, felt, however, that the records should be microfilmed and kept in the park library. Also in 1979 the park acquired by donation a large portion of the Storer College Library. An estimated 12,000 - 14,000 books has been stored in an old building in Shepherdstown. The park copied the titled pages of about two-thirds of the volumes. Much work is yet to be done. Many decisions need to be made including how much of the library can or should be retained, and how the collection will be used.

RECOMMENDATION

Permanent historical exhibits on Storer College and Black education, the Civil Rights and Niagara Movement could be established in the Brackett and Lockwood Houses.

COMMENT

Two permanent exhibits depicting the early years of Storer were in place at the Lockwood House at the time of the Howard University study. The exhibits are interpreted through the use of an audio station. While the exterior of the Lockwood House has been restored, most of the interior has not. The restoration of the building's interior is called for in the park's long range planning program and in the Cultural Resources Management Plan. Interior and exterior restoration of the Brackett House is now underway. The Brackett house is being used for park and Harpers Ferry Center Office Space. Exhibits would not be practical for this building at this time.

RECOMMENDATION

A oral history project should be developed to take advantage of the most important and perishable historic resources in the community, the residents who were students of Storer during the first decade of the 20th Century. They could provide important information on the history of the institution.

COMMENT

Since 1983 the park has conducted several oral history interviews with the alumni of Storer College. An oral history interview team has been set up, and headed by the park historian.

All team members have been trained in oral history, and the use of studio quality recording equipment has been made available by the Harper Ferry Center.

RECOMMENDATION

The Storer room in the Mather Training Center should be opened to the public.

COMMENT

The Storer College room is used by the Alumni Association for their Annual meetings. An exhibit has been installed in the room which contains many images of life and activities on the campus. Due to the heavy and varied schedule of classes held at the NPS Training Center, this room is in almost constant use. The building is closed on weekends. These were some of the reasons that compelled the park to establish an exhibit on Storer in the lower town section of the park.

RECOMMENDATION

Markers could be placed on each of the buildings. Information on its history and how it related to the college should be provided. Photographs and a taped message would make these exhibits more effective.

COMMENT

The park's comprehensive wayside plan has just been approved. This plan calls for a complete revision of all the park's waysides. Included in the plan is an upper town tour that will lead visitors to the Storer Campus. The significance of the school and major buildings will be interpreted through individual waysides. Production should begin in late FY-86.

RECOMMENDATION

A link between the National Park Service and the Black community should be institutionalized.

COMMENT

Members of the park staff meet with the Storer Alumni each year at their annual meeting. The Alumni were involved in reviewing plans for the Storer College exhibit (now located at the Visitor Center). The dedication ceremony for this exhibit in 1982 was held in conjunction with the Alumni. We have also used the alumni to help us identify historic photographs of Storer, and various Alumni have been very generous in donating to the park items related to the college.

SUMMARY

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park has made a great effort to improve the quality of its Black interpretive programs. Most recommendations of the Howard University study were complied with or else a reasonable explanation was given as to why no action, or partial action, was taken.

While relationships between local Black citizens, the Storer College Alumni Association, and the park appear to be good, greater outreach efforts could be initiated to the benefit of the park.

The new interpretive film should do much to overcome criticisms of the park's portrayal of John Brown. Adelen Craig, great-great granddaughter of Brown, who was visiting the park during this review, stated that the film was "very fair" in its treatment of her famous relative.

Since the Howard University study, the development of Storer College has become one of four major themes presented by the park. A Storer College room in the visitor center contains an exhibit detailing the evolution of Storer College at Harpers Ferry and explains its role in American Black history.

Although much progress has been made in interpreting the role of Black Americans at Harpers Ferry, for which the park is to be commended, there still remain opportunities for improvement.

Serious consideration should be given to the following:

** Development of a history of Storer College, and further research, spearheaded by the park, on the history of Blacks in the area. The findings should be published as a brochure and distributed to schools in the Washington and Baltimore areas having large minority populations, and to national Black organizations.

** Blacks are underrepresented in the park work force. Although a Black GS-7 ranger has been hired, little progress has been made overall in Black employment at the site. One Black employee who has contributed much to the efforts of the park to upgrade its interpretive programs regarding Black Americans, and who has done much to develop and retain the good relationship which exists between the park and the Black community, has been employed as a temporary hire for several years, despite park efforts for permanent status.

PERRY'S VICTORY AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE MEMORIAL

Perry's Victory is on an island located in Western Lake Erie, 40 miles from Toledo, Ohio, and 90 miles from Cleveland. Although both of these metropolitan areas contain large percentages of Black citizens, the percentage of Blacks visiting the memorial is estimated to be less than one percent. This lack of minority visitation is puzzling, since the park commemorates Commodore Oliver Perry's naval victory over the British in which Blacks played an important part. Approximately 25 percent of the sailors who crewed Perry's nine vessels were Black. Reasons for the lack of Black visitation to the island apparently include the following:

1. Few Blacks know about the island or its history.
2. There are no Blacks on the staff of the park.
3. Island residents are conservative and would not encourage a large minority visitation
4. There are no Blacks among the 400 permanent residents on the island.

Following are the recommendations made by Leroy Davis of the Howard University research team, with comments from park staff.

RECOMMENDATION

The park should advertise its facilities in minority communities.

COMMENT

The park has not advertised in any Black communities. However, we have not advertised in any other communities.

The park will provide the minority media with information on the role that Blacks played in the battle and at, or near the site and make this information available to Black organizations in the large metropolitan areas near by. One of the problems associated with carrying out this action is the lack of authentic information on the role that Blacks played at this site. Only three of the Blacks

who fought in the Battle of Lake Erie have been positively identified.

We will prepare a news release about their participation in the battle and prepare information concerning the park for release in the major, local, and Black newspaper for Black History Month.

RECOMMENDATION

Hold a workshop for Perry's Victory's Interpreters, and Administrative Personnel conducted by an expert on Black's participation in the battle.

COMMENT

A workshop has not been held because there are no experts available to comment on this subject.

Presently the Chief Ranger is doing some research on Black participation in the Battle. Prior to, and after the Howard University study seasonal training included and still includes the subject of Black participation in the battle. We will continue our research with a trip to the National Archives funded by Eastern.

RECOMMENDATION

Include in the exhibition plan for the new center, data concerning the Black presence at the battle, and at the site.

COMMENT

This has been done in the interpretive prospectus. However, the Visitors Center has not been funded.

RECOMMENDATION

Contact various institutions, and organizations to work out a plan to use their exhibit materials at the site.

COMMENT

Institutions and organization have not been contacted because no plans for displays have been finalized; in fact the visitors center is still not funded.

RECOMMENDATION

Studies should be ordered that include general Black Military history

COMMENT

Since the report, six works concerning general Black Military History, during the war of 1812 have been added to the library. We are alert to these types of works appearing on book lists, and will continue to acquire appropriate Black History themes.

RECOMMENDATION

A pamphlet on Black participation in the battle and at the site should be developed to be sold or given to park visitors.

COMMENT

A one page item developed in February 1983 for Black History Month, that year, was expanded for use as a handout, it has been sent to schools and given to individuals. We will include the handout in all park brochures.

Some steps that have been taken or we plan to take regarding Black participation in the battle and at the site are:

1. A slide show has been prepared which includes Black involvement in the battle.
2. The Powell Painting depicting a Black Sailor in Perry's row boat has been hung in the visitors center.
3. Research is being conducted on the names and units that participated in the battle.
4. A display of 54 mm figurines depicting uniforms of 1812 has been developed and includes a Black seaman, with accompanying interpretation on Black participation in the battle and war.

General Comments

The report criticized the park for its evening talks, which commence after the last ferry leaves reducing the number of potentially interested visitors, but did not mention the hourly plaza talks during the day.

SUMMARY

Although approximately 25 percent of the men who crewed Perry's vessels were Black, there is little evidence of this fact in the interpretive programs and materials at the visitor center, except for a fact sheet which is available on request. Because of a lack of adequate space, however, the total interpretive program at the visitor center suffers. Staff members are to be commended for their efforts to provide high quality interpretive programs under other than ideal circumstances.

The fact sheet on Black involvement in the Battle of Lake Erie should be developed into a brochure for use in the visitor center and for distribution to the large minority populations in the metropolitan areas near the site. National Black organizations also should receive the brochure for use in making their constituents, and the public, aware of the important role Black Americans played in this segment of American history.

Few Blacks visit the memorial despite their involvement in the battle it commemorates. A factor may be the absence of Black permanent residents on the island, and the residents there, although not openly hostile, are not noticeably friendly to Black visitors.

A more important factor, of course, may be that most Blacks are unaware of the part they played in the Battle of Lake Erie. The need of the park to do more to publicize this role seems obvious. Additional contacts should be made with Black universities and interest groups. Park staffers who have good relationships with island residents are working to improve the interaction between residents and visitors.

Although park staffers have visited a number of historically Black Colleges and universities for recruitment purposes, there are still no Black employees at the site. Efforts to recruit Blacks should be continued and increased. Establishment of a co-op position to be filled by a minority person from a historically Black

college or university would be a positive step toward correcting the present situation. Recruitment of Black seasonal employees should be continued when positions become available.

Authentic information is lacking on the role of Blacks in the history of the site, and the park should continue to promote research on this subject. Development of a cooperative agreement or contract with a historically Black college or university or the hiring of a researcher from one of those institutions would be strong positive steps. Interns or candidates for advanced degrees should be encouraged to select Black participation in the Battle of Lake Erie as a topic of concentration.

The park should contact some of the historically Black colleges and universities where Blacks historians are located in an effort to locate students or faculty with expertise in the Battle of Lake Erie. These individuals might form the nucleus of a park-sponsored conference on the subject.

All Americans, and especially Black Americans, should know that members of the Black race gallantly fought and died in this action more than 50 years before the Emancipation Proclamation. The superintendent and staff at Perry's Victory recognize existing problems and are taking corrective action whenever possible.

PETERSBURG NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

Petersburg, Virginia, is located at the intersection of I-95, I-85 and Route 460. It is 25 miles from Richmond, the Capital of the state. There is a large minority population in the Petersburg area, with predominately Black universities located in both Petersburg and Richmond. Visitation by Blacks to the Petersburg National Battlefield Park is far below what would be expected given their numbers in the surrounding areas.

Charles Johnson, who did the Petersburg review for Howard University, believes this to be an outstanding site to illustrate the contributions of Black personnel during the Civil War, since Blacks were used by both Federal and Confederate forces and played a major role in the famous Battle of the Crater. The bravery displayed here by Black soldiers was indicative of their performance throughout the war.

Following are the recommendations from the Howard University study and comments from the park relating to them.

RECOMMENDATION

To emphasize the role Blacks played in the Military at Petersburg during the Civil War, reference to their service should be discussed by regiment rather than by "General Hinks Brigade or General Ferrero's Division."

COMMENT

The reference to the use of individual regiments in our interpretive markers, narratives are unreasonable. During the campaign for Petersburg there were 448 Union Regiments engaged, and 316 confederates. To single out 34 Black Regiments for special treatment would open the door for a number of problems.

In fairness every northern and southern regiments involved in each engagement would than have to be mentioned. It has been the standard practice in most military parks to use only Divisions or Corps designations in interpreting battle movements. Single regiments are only used if that unit bore a conspicuous role in the fighting.

RECOMMENDATION

Since elements of the Petersburg story are contained in the Interpretive Prospectus it is recommended that a revision of this document include significant information about Black participants.

COMMENT

The Interpretive Prospectus for Petersburg is outdated. It is scheduled for rewriting after the G.M.P., is completed in order to reflect the overall needs of the Park. The G.M.P., should be initiated in 1986 or 1987, at that time the I.P., will be revised to reflect the recommended changes on Black participation in the seige and Battle of Petersburg.

RECOMMENDATION

There is a need to hire more Black personnel on a permanent basis at the park.

COMMENT

In 1979, the year the Howard study was accepted by the NPS, the park employed 4 permanent Blacks. In 1985 we have 3, one of which is a Black female ranger. Seasonally, we employed 13 Blacks (3 females, 10 males), in 1985 compared to only 9 Blacks (3 females, 6 males) in 1979. The loss of 1 permanent Black is due to the retirement of a Black, male Chief of Maintenance Blacks are 70% of the seasonal maintenance workforce in 1985. Permanent Blacks are 30% of the permanent maintenance workforce in 1985. A seasonal Black female in administration was hired and represented 50% of the administrative workforce. We would be pleased to increase permanent Blacks in the interpretive workforce but have never had the opportunity due to zero Black applicants in this division. In 1986 we plan to have the opportunity to hire a seasonal Black co-op student in interpretation. We hired a Black co-op student in interpretation in 1984 but he accepted a position in the private sector in 1985, and declined to continue with Petersburg despite personal efforts to convince him to return to Petersburg in 1985.

RECOMMENDATION

Research information could be incorporated into the living history program to negate the voids that exist from 1864 to the end of the Petersburg Siege.

These projects should portray the events from the Black perspective.

COMMENT

In recent summer seasons, 1983, and 1984 we have had Black participation in the summer seasonal program. In 1985 we lost that opportunity as explained above. In 1986 we will try again. We are able to substantiate Black participation in the living history program and I am committed to the continuation of this since I initiated it in 1983.

RECOMMENDATION

There is a lack of reference material pertaining especially to Black personnel, in the library.

COMMENT

In the park we have 16 books or manuscripts on Black history. Six of the books were borrowed by the 1984 co-op student and were never returned. Some are difficult to replace and we are pursuing this matter with the former employee.

RECOMMENDATION

Blacks appear in only one exhibit and in that as servants. The image implied is that Blacks were only concerned about amusement instead of the serious aspects of the war. A listing of the casualties sustained by Black Military organization would vividly emphasize their horrendous losses.

COMMENT

We are planning to add a permanent exhibit to the visitor center on Black History at Petersburg. In late August Al Swift, Deputy Director of Harpers Ferry Center will be at Petersburg to discuss this and other matters concerning the Visitor Center at Petersburg. We concur that a more positive exhibit of Black

participation at Petersburg would enhance the interpretive presentation at the site. Hopefully, a commitment from Harpers Ferry, will be obtained that will add a professional exhibit of high quality to the visitor center. For several years we have presented a temporary exhibit on Black History at Petersburg in the visitor center.

RECOMMENDATION

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.

COMMENT

This recommendation on Sergeant Decatur Dorsey and casualty listing are good ideas that will be discussed with Al Swift.

RECOMMENDATION

The audio presentation in the center presents very little about Black participation in the Battle of Petersburg, nor was it mentioned by the individual who introduced the presentation. The regimental record of each regiment involved in this campaign as well as the study written by Brewer should be used in revising the audio visual presentation.

COMMENT

The AV program tape for the map program is difficult to change at this time but it will be discussed with Al Swift. The program is synchronized with a set of number of images used on the map. A 10-238 was developed several years ago that would completely redo this program. It has not been funded to this date. This is not a local effort and must be completed at Harper Ferry.

SUMMARY

Some Petersburg staff members believe the Howard University report to be biased and unreasonable as it relates to the park. The superintendent, who was not at the park when the study was done, appears to be committed to improving the interpretive program as it relates to minorities.

A concern, however, is that some staff members feel that identifying or placing emphasis on Black participation in the history of the site would be discriminatory to other minority groups, i.e., Germans, Irish, and Canadians who also were an important part of the history of the site.

This belief could have a negative effect on Black history interpretation at the site, inasmuch as the Civil War was fought over the issue of the freedom of Black Americans; thus, Black participation in Civil War battles was unique and should be emphasized to the visiting public.

Because much of Black history was left out of history books, many Americans, Black or white, know little about the subject. They may assume, therefore, that Blacks had no active part in the history of the site. We recommend that Blacks be identified by race whenever it is practical in interpreting the park.

The Black presence was little in evidence in the visitor center exhibit. To correct this deficiency, the permanent Black history exhibit should be completed and in place as soon as possible.

Progress has been made in improving relationships with the minority community in the Petersburg area. Lecture programs on the history of Blacks in the vicinity, held during Black history month and co-sponsored with Richard Bland College, are excellent tools for this purpose and should be continued. Consideration should be given to expanding these lectures to include Virginia State University, a historically Black institution. Relationships with Virginia State University and with Virginia Union, in Richmond, should be developed and expanded.

Minority individuals, as employees in professional positions, are seriously underrepresented. Although the park does not control the list of applicants for positions, opportunity does exist for vigorous recruitment and hiring of seasonal or co-op students.

Finally, because there is little evidence of Black participation at Petersburg, a brochure should be developed to tell this story. It also could be related to Black participation in the Battle of Richmond and could be undertaken possibly as a joint project between Richmond National Battlefield Park and Petersburg. A joint endeavor would make both the effort and the eventual product more significant.

CONCLUSION

Each of the five parks visited has a different aspect of American Black history to tell. At some sites, this story is being told better than at others. At all parks, there are shortcomings, and a need for improvement. Park staffs are working toward necessary remedies, and the efforts seem sincere.

If there is a main conclusion to our work, it is that the National Park Service's talented team of interpreters is doing a good job of interpretation, if we focus upon a site's primary story, its main reason for being. Unfortunately, this cannot be said with regard to lesser themes, to secondary historical aspects of a site.

In the five parks, Black history falls into this secondary category. Yet Black history is an important aspect in all of them; it deserves not to be submerged by the big picture. Visitors to Harpers Ferry, for instance, should know not just that it was the place of John Brown's raid, but that the community has been central to black living and the civil rights struggle for a century. And if the Petersburg campaign was the beginning of the end of the Confederacy, it also was the beginning of the beginning of Black emancipation in our country. That Blacks fought heroically here is a significant fact of sociology.

Their roles in the War of 1812, on Lake Erie and at the Battle of New Orleans, were equally meritorious and noteworthy. At Fort Davis, in West Texas, Black units were employed in protecting travelers from Indians. All but those who want only the most cursory of histories must wonder how they got there, what they did.

It is to these additional stories that National Park Service interpreters need to give greater thrust. The effort should not succumb to the easy rationalization, e.g., that Blacks do not appear at the top of job registers, that there are budgetary constraints, that there might be trouble from the KKK and other anti-social groups-- we heard all of these on our visits.

Perhaps the most important common need is for more research into the role of Blacks. Some of the specifics of Black involvement at these sites is known, but beneath the surface one suspects that many more stories remain to be told. Historically Black colleges and universities are available and waiting in the wings to undertake this pursuit of knowledge.

The low visitation by Blacks at these areas should make all park managers uncomfortable. It indicates, as we have said, the need to tell the story of Blacks more prominently, but it also points to the need to improve relationships with Black communities and organizations to make them more aware of what the National Park Service has to offer.

Further research, increased community contacts, more emphasis on the Black role among park themes -- these are the principal strategies that should be pursued. If these goals are accomplished, the end result will be increased pride by Black Americans in their part of the nation's heritage. Furthermore, park managers can take pride that, at least at their unit, the full story of American history is being told.

AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY INTERPRETATION
AT
SELECTED NATIONAL PARKS

Prepared By

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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.

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INTERPRETING THE BLACK EXPERIENCE
AT
HISTORICAL SITES: CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

Arnold H. Taylor

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 burden of proof on scholars who contend that very few blacks were employed in the ordinance works at Harpers Ferry in the antebellum 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.

HARPERS FERRY NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Cassandra Smith-Parker

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.
3. Visitation of the park with the Anacostia Historical Society, April, 1978.
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 Virginus 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

JEFFERSON COUNTY:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SLAVE</u>	<u>FREE BLACK</u>	<u>WHITE</u>
1840	4,157	602	-
1850	4,341	538	10,480
1860	3,960	511	10,064
1870	-	3,499	-

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SLAVE</u>	<u>FREE BLACK</u>	<u>WHITE</u>
1880	-	4,145	-
1890	-	4,116 (26.5% of total)	11,437
1900	-	3,941 (24.7% of total)	11,994

49 Black farmers in 1900

31 owners

5 part owners

5 cash tenants

7 share tenants

6.2% of farms operated in the county

SEE: John Sheeler, "The Negro in West Virginia Before 1900",
Ph.D. dissertation, West Virginia University, 1954.

HARPERS FERRY (Including Bolivar and Virginus Island):

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SLAVE</u>	<u>FREE BLACK</u>	<u>WHITE</u>
1810	90	354	661
	21-males 69-females	no figure available	386-males 275-females
1820	98	24	1,255
	47-males 51-females	13-males 11-females	681-males 574-females
1830	176	80	1,487
	69-males 107-females	26-males 54-females	774-males 713-females
1840	141	141	2,034
	80-males 71-females	61-males 80-females	1,285-males 936-females

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SLAVE</u>	<u>FREE BLACK</u>	<u>WHITE</u>
1850	155	147	2,499
	54-males 101-females	79-males 68-females	1,285-males 1,214-females
Bolivar:	46	60	948
Harpers Ferry:	109	87	1,551
1860	not counted	113	2,241
		53-males 60-females	1,116-males 1,125-females
Bolivar:		74	1,029
		39	1,121

Adapted from: Charles Snell, "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:

<u>SLAVE</u>	<u>FREE BLACK</u>	<u>WHITE</u>
386	116	1,005
162-males 224-females	53-males 63-females	515-males 490-females

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

SHEPHERDSTOWN:

249	60	1,252
90-males 159-females	32-males 28-females	619-males 633-females

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 Insurance 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 Charlestown with the aim of ridding the county of the free blacks by transporting 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 Virginus 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".¹⁵ 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 Virginus 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.¹⁶ The number of black farmers and entrepreneurs in the county increased and blacks began to participate in the political process.¹⁷

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

1. Record Group 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census, National Archives, Seventh Population Census of the United States.
2. "A Checklist of West Virginia Imprints, 1791-1830", Chicago: WPA Historical Survey Program, 1940, p.9.
3. Forrest Talbott, "Some Legislative and Legal Aspects of the Negro Question in West Virginia During the Civil War and Reconstruction", West Virginia History 24:1 (October, 1962), p. 8.

4. Robert Skidmore, "A Social History of the Eastern Panhandle Counties of West Virginia to 1810", M.A. Thesis, West Virginia University, 1953, p. 23.
5. James C. Ballaugh, A History of Slavery in Virginia. Baltimore: 1902; John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom. New York: 1974; John C. Hurd, Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States. Boston: 1858; Luther P. Jackson, Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860. New York: 1942; Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth Century Virginia. New York: 1972.
6. J.E. Norris, ed., History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley. Chicago: A. Werner & Co., 1890, pp. 337-341.
7. Ibid., p.342.
8. Millard K. Bushong, Historic Jefferson County. Boyce, Virginia: Carr Publishing Co., Inc., 1972, p. 125.
One man was purchased for \$1,200; a woman and four children for \$1,950, etc.
9. Ibid., For a discussion of runaway slaves, free blacks and the Underground Railroad in Western Virginia see: John Sheeler, "The Negro in West Virginia Before 1900", Ph.D. Dissertation, West Virginia University, 1954, pp. 133-138, 151-171; Francis Monico, "The Negro and the Martinsburg Gazette, 1799-1833", M.A. Thesis, West Virginia University, 1959, pp. 114-127.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p. 125.
12. op. cit., p.8; op. cit., Chapters 5 and 6.
13. op. cit., p. 162.
14. Ibid., p. 181; Thorton T. Perry, "Charlestown's Most Famous Negro", Magazine of Jefferson County Historical Society 16 (December, 1950); Victor Ullman, Martin R. Delaney, The Beginnings of Black Nationalism. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.
Delaney's story would be an interesting addition to the interpretive program.
15. Merrit Roe Smith, Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977, pp. 34-35, 42-45, and 332-334.
16. Interview with Miss Charlotte Lovett, June 18, 1978; A. Mercer Daniel, "The Lovetts of Harpers Ferry, West Virginia", Negro History Bulletin 32 (February, 1969), pp. 14-19; Sheeler, Chapter 9.
17. Sheeler, Chapters 7 and 9.

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THEMES OF HARPERS FERRY

BLACKS AND JOHN BROWN

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.
3. Blacks and the Raid.

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.

4. The Aftermath of the Raid.

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.

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- 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.
2. W.E.B. DuBois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois. New York: International Publishers, 1968, p. 251.
3. Brochure, Document #1752, Henry T. McDonald Papers, HFNHP.

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- _____, "The Growth of the Niagara Movement", Voice of the Negro III (January, 1906), pp. 43-45.
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- Puttkammer, C.W. and Worthy, R., "William Monroe Trotter", Journal of Negro History 43:4 (October, 1958), pp. 298-316.
- * Quarles, Benjamin, Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. Chapter I, "John

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.

_____, W.E.B. Dubois, Propagandist of the Negro Protest.
New York: Antheneum, 1968.

*Indicates higher priority.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR HFNHP BOOKSTORE

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Printed for the Author, 1861.

Franklin, John Hope, From Slavery to Freedom. 4th ed., New York:
Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.

Quarles, Benjamin, The Negro in the Civil War. Boston: Little,
Brown and Co., 1953.

_____, ed., Blacks on John Brown. Urbana: University of
Illinois Press, 1972.

- ** _____, Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown. New
York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

- ** Stavis, Barrie, John Brown: The Sword and the Word. New York:
A.S. Barnes & Co., 1970.

Toogood, Anna, The Lockwood House: Birthplace of Storer College.
Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park
Service, 1969.

**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.

Mr. Carroll Dennis, Filmore St., Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

Miss Charlotte Lovett, Filmore St., Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

Mr. and Mrs. John Newcomer, Cliffside Motel, Charlestown, 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 accute 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 Secessia: 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 discussion 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 immediate 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 an 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.

Bullock, Henry A., A History of Negro Education in the South.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

*Gordon, Vivian, "A Short History of Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia". Journal of Negro Education 30 (Fall, 1961), pp. 445-449.

Holmes, Dwight O.W., The Evolution of the Negro College. reprint ed. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969.

*Mongin, Alfred, "A College in Seccessia: The Early Years of Storer College". West Virginia History 23:4 (July, 1962), pp. 263-284.

Secrist, Betty Jean, "The Buildings of the Harpers Ferry National Monument and the Original Storer College Campus, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia". M.A. Thesis, West Virginia University, 1961.

*Toogood, Anna C., The Lockwood House; Birthplace of Storer College. Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, 1969.

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.³ 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.

It is therefore strongly recommended that the basement of the Curtis Free Will Baptist Church be converted into a repository for materials relating to Storer College. The collection should include:

- 1). The records currently housed at the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, West Virginia University Library, particularly the forty-five manuscript boxes on indefinite loan.
- 2). The substantial photographic collection now housed at the West Virginia University Library.
- 3). The Storer materials that are scattered in the various branches of the National Park Service, i.e. Harpers Ferry Visitor's Center, the Morrell and Lockwood Houses and the Mather Training Center.
- 4). Oral history tapes.
- 5). Secondary material on the history of black education and education in West Virginia.

It is believed that the establishment of a permanent repository would attract materials that are currently either in private collections or at other universities. I have encountered countless pictures and documents that could be donated, or loaned for exhibit and reproduction. This center should be staffed by a historian/archivist, who is also trained in black history and oral history.

The repository need not be limited to Storer history. While the entire field of black history is too large, it is feasible that it could become a center for:

- 1). The study of the history of black education and Storer College.
- 2). The study of local Jefferson County and West Virginia history.
- 3). The study of the black civil rights movement.
- 4). The development of black history programs for the National Park Service. A black history component has been identified for at least thirty-one parks, and the need for the institutionalization of the black presence has been recognized.

This use of the church is consistent with the educational mission of the college.

The main floor of the church can be used as the beginning point for tours of the campus and as a meeting place for community groups.

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.
2. Benjamin Quarles, Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. Chapters I and 8.
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 (O.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:

<u>BINDER #</u>	<u>CONTENTS</u>
1	Correspondence, January-March, 1866.
2	Deeds, incorporation papers, correspondence, January-December, 1867.
3	Correspondence, January-December, 1868.
4	Correspondence, December, 1856-December, 1865.
5	Correspondence, January-December, 1880 (index).

- 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).
- 16 Reports, June 1944-January, 1947.
- 17 Correspondence, January 1947-1948.
- 18 Correspondence, May, 1948-January, 1950 (index).
- 19 Correspondence, March, 1950-1954 (index).
- 20 Fourth Annual Report of the U.S. Christian Commission, January 1, 1866.
- 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. McDonald 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:

BOX #

CONTENTS

1-70

General Correspondence-filed chronologically

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.
123-157	Financial 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, for 1892-1931, and The Storer College Bulletin, 1882-1949.

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 recommended 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.

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STORER COLLEGE AND THE HISTORY OF BLACK EDUCATION

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- HFB 29A Brochures & maps found in Brackett House.
- MUSEUM "John Brown" (an address) by Frederick Douglass, Dover,
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TION
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- HFB 7 "John Brown's Men" by Thomas Featherstonehaugh, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1889.
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- HFD 58 Lockwood House Hotel, Rate Cards (2) from A. Mercer Daniel Collection.
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- HFD 287 Shepherd, Heyward, "Notes on Memorial Plaque placed by United Daughters of the Confederacy and Sons of the Confederacy.
- HFD 216 Autographed notes made by Booker T. Washington, 1909.
- 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

- HFD 138 Some details concerning transcript of letter from McDonald Collection, copied by permission of Mrs. McDonald. N.E. Brackett to Mrs. Mosher 3/37/78. Research of A. Mongin, Historian, HFNH, 1960.
- HFD 201 Letter from A. Mercer Daniel re: L.H.
- HFD 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.
- HFB 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

Original Deed. Copy filed HFD-119. Original Deed filed in office safe, HFNHP. Mu. Catalogue No. 2903. Also have typewritten copy filed, presuming it came from the Jefferson County Courthouse. Found in Mr. Prentice's desk after his departure from H.F. 4/67.

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.

Folded leaflet, "Storer College-Gives You Welcome" requesting endowments and donations. Signed by Pres. Henry T. McDonald. n.d. Mu. Cat. #61 to Mus. Collect. Cat.--Shelf 12/75.

"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 (clk. 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.
7. News Release, March 1943 (2 pages).
8. Exhibition of Storer Normal School, Fri., May 30, 8 PM, 1879.
9. Pamphlet "Education for Service" Development Program.
10. Reports on Allen M. Daniel, May 30, 1901, May 29, 1902 and May 28, 1903.

*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.

1. Letter to Mr. H.H. Winter from Alford Anthony dated 6/6/1913. Re: deed.
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.

Local Blacks and their contribution in the tri-state area. Information compiled by Professor Dandridge of Charles Town, W. Va. 3½ pages. Given to park 1975.

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

by W. Va. Legislature. Rec'd machine copy of Act from W. Va. State Archives, July, 1976.

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

"A College in Secessia: The Early Years of Storer College" by Alfred Mongin, HFNM. Reprint West Virginia History, Vol. XXIII No. 4, July, 1962, + copy of Mongin Research Rpt.

A circulated letter published by Jeff. Co. His. Society telling about Storer College, May 21, 1927. (4 copies) also Free Brochure.

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).
3. Storer College Catalogue 1912-1913 (1 Gray bound cardboard & 1-paperback-condition of cover poor).
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).

Storer Catalogues for Years: 1870, 1882-84, 1889-91, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1901-1944, 1945-1953. Note: 1945-1953 called "Storer College Bulletins Filed on 3rd flr. of Bldg. 45.

Prominent Men in West Virginia excerpt Re: Joseph T. Hoke who secured the first charter for Storer College, Harpers Ferry, 1866. Machine copy of excerpt.

Storer College Alumni Book of Memories, Heritage Days: The Black Perspective, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia Friday, Saturday, and Sunday June 18, 19, 20, 1976 by: Publications Committee of National Alumni One copy.

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FORT DAVIS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
FORT DAVIS, TEXAS

Cassandra Smith-Parker

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 Crieron 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

1. William Loren Katz, The Black West. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971, p. 20.
2. William H. Leckie, Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967, p. 84; Record Group 98, Records of the United States Army Commands (Army Posts), National Archives, Washington, D.C.
3. Erwin Thompson, "The Negro Soldier on the Frontier: A Fort Davis Case Study", Journal of the West 7 (April, 1968), p. 234.

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 Davis 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.

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

* Downey, Fairfax, The Buffalo Soldiers in the Indian Wars. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1969. A juvenile version of the history of the black frontier regiments. This item could possibly be adopted for sale in the Fort Davis Bookstore.

* 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-martialled at Fort Davis.

_____, Negro Frontiersmen. Theodore Harris, ed., El Paso: Texas Western College Press, 1963. The western memoirs of Flipper, written in 1916 in El Paso, Texas.

Foner, Jack D., Blacks and the Military in American History. New York: Praeger Co., 1974.

_____, The United States Soldier Between Two Wars: Army Life and Reform, 1865-1898. New York: Humanities Press, 1970. 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.

Franklin, John Hope, ed., From Slavery to Freedom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974. A basic reference work for Afro-American History.

Glass, Edward L.N., The History of the Tenth Cavalry, 1866-1921. Tucson, Arizona: Old Army Press, 1921.

Greene, Robert E., Black Defenders of America, 1775-1973. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 1974. A pictorial history, Chapter 5, pp. 109-122, contains biographical sketches of a few of the soldiers of the 9th and 10th Cavalry and 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments.

- * 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).
- Herr, Major General John K., and Wallace, Edward S., The Story of the United States Cavalry. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1953. Contains a short discussion of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry Regiments.
- Hunter, John W., "A Negro Trooper of the Ninth Cavalry", Frontier Times 7 (April, 1927). A racist rewrite of the memoirs of Jacob Wilks.
- Hutcheson, Grote, "A Register of the Commissioned Officers Belonging to the Ninth U.S. Cavalry, From Its Organization, July 28, 1866 to July 28, 1893", Fort Robinson, 1893.
- _____, "The Ninth Regiment of Cavalry", The Army of the United States. Theodore F. Rodenbough and William L. Haskins, eds., New York: Maynard, Merrill & Co., 1896. The official history of the Ninth Regiment.
- Journal of the United States Cavalry Association. (also entitled Armor), December, 1897.
- Katz, William Loren, Eyewitness: The Negro in American History. New York: Pitman Publishing Co., 1967. Chapter 13, "The Last Frontier" contains documents suitable for display.
- _____, 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.

- * Lee, Irwin, Negro Medal of Honor Men. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1969.
- Logan, Rayford W., The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson. New York: Collier Books, 1965. A classical book on Afro-American history in that era.
- * McClung, Donald R., "Henry O. Flipper: The First Negro Officer in the United States Army, 1878-1882", M.A. Thesis, East Texas State University, 1970.
- Meier, August, Negro Thought in America 1880-1915. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963.
- Mills, Anson, My Story. Washington, D.C., 1918.
- Muller, William G., "The Twenty-fourth Infantry Past and Present, 1869-1922", 1923. A copy may be available through the Buffalo Soldiers Historical Society, 3923 N. Geneva Circle, Flagstaff, Arizona, 86001.
- Nankivell, John H., ed., History of the Twenty-fifth Regiment United States Infantry, 1869-1926. Denver: The Smith-Brooks Printing Co., 1927.
- Niles, John J., Singing Soldiers. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1927.
- Nunn, Curtis W., "Eighty-six Hours Without Water on the Texas Plains", Southwestern Historical Quarterly 43 (January, 1940).
- Nye, Colonel W.S., Carbine and Lance. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942.
- * 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 Negro on the American Frontier. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times., 1971. A collection of his most important articles with an emphasis of Negro-Indian relations. The southwestern frontier during the second half of the 19th century is discussed on pp. 383-529.

- * Prebble, John, The Buffalo Soldiers. London: Secker & Warburg, 1972. Historical fiction based loosely on the history of the Buffalo Soldiers.

- Reddick, L.D., "The Negro Policy of the United States Army, 1775-1945", Journal of Negro History 34 (January, 1949). A slightly dated but well-done discussion of the evolution of the Army's policy towards the black soldier.

- Remington, Frederic, Frederic Remington's Own West. New York: Dial Press, 1960. Contains a good selection of graphics.

- _____, "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).

- Rice, Lawrence, "The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900", Ph.D. Thesis, Texas Tech University, 1967.

- Rickey, Don Jr., "The Negro Regulars: A Combat Record, 1866-1891", Unpublished paper delivered at the Western History Association meeting at Helena, Montana, October, 1965. A copy is available at Fort Davis.

- Rodenbough, Theodore F., and Haskins, William L., eds., The Army of the United States. New York: Maynard, Merrill, and Co., 1896.

- Ross, Joseph B., compiler, "Tabular Analysis of the Records of the United States Colored Troops and their Predecessor Units in the National Archives of the United States", Special List #33. National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration: Washington, D.C., 1973.

- * Savage, W. Sherman, Blacks in the West. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976. An easy to read introduction to the subject.

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

- * Schoenberger, Dale T., "The Black Man in the American West", Negro History Bulletin 32 (March, 1969). A concise, solid introduction to the subject that places the Buffalo Soldier in context.
- * Schubert, Frank, "Black Soldiers on the White Frontier: Some Factors Influencing Race Relations", Phylon I (December, 1971).
- * 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).
- * Slonaker, John, The U.S. Army and the Negro, A Military History Research Collection Bibliography. Special Bibliography #2, U.S. Army Military History Research Collection. Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, January 1971.
- Sonnichsen, C.L., The Mescalero Apaches. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.
- Steward, Theophilus G., The Colored Regulars in the United States Army. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968. (reprint of a 1904 edition).
- 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.
- _____, "Private Bentley's Buzzard", in John Carroll's, The Black Military Experience in the American West. New York: Liveright, Co., 1971.
- Unit Members, "Historical and Pictorial Review, 9th Cavalry Regiment, Second Cavalry Division of the United States Army", Baton Rouge: 1941.
- * Wallace, Edward S., "General John Lapham Bullis, Thunderbolt of the Texas Frontier", Southwestern Historical Quarterly 55 (July, 1951). A discussion of the commander of the Seminole Negro Indian Scouts.
- Wharfield, H.B., 10th Cavalry and Border Fights. El Cajon, California: H.B. Wharfield, 1965.

Woodward, Elton, The Negro in the Military Service of the United States, 1639-1886. Washington: 1888. A compilation of official records, state papers, historical extracts, etc., of his introduction of the British North American colonies. Prepared under the direction of Brigadier General Richard C. Drum, Adjutant General, U.S. Army, 1888. Microfilm Reels: 1-1639-1862; 2-1863; 3-1864; 4-1865-1877; 5-1862-1865 and 1866-1886.

- * Woolfolk, George R., "Sources of the History of the Negro in Texas, with Special References to Their Implications for Research in Slavery", Journal of Negro History 42 (January, 1957).

Wormser, Richard, The Yellowlegs, The Story of the United Cavalry. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966.

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 Merritt, 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.³ 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.

INTERPRETIVE PERSONNEL

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.

Carroll, John M., ed., The Black Military Experience in the American West. New York: Liveright, Co., 1971.

Cromwell, Arthur, The Black Frontier. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Television, 1970.

Foner, Jack, The United States Soldier Between Wars: Army Life and Reforms, 1865-1898. New York: Humanities Press, 1970.
*Chapter 7, "The Negro in the Post Civil War Army".

Fowler, Arlen, The Black Infantry in the West 1869-1891. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corp., 1971.

* Chapter 2, "The Texas Years".

* Chapter 5, "Education in the Army".

* Chapter 6, "The Attitude of the Army Towards Black Infantrymen".
Chapter 7, "Hope for a Better Day".

Katz, William L., The Black West. Garden City: Doubleday, 1971.

Leckie, William, Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.

* Chapter 1, "The Early Years".

Chapter 4, "The Ninth in Texas".

Chapter 6, "The Tenth in West Texas".

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.

* 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:

Arlen L. Fowler, The Black Infantry in the West, 1869-1891,
Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1971.

Preston Amos, Above and Beyond in the West: Black Medal of Honor
Winners, 1870-1890, Washington, D.C.: Potomac Corral, The Wes-
terners, 1974.

John M. Carroll, ed., The Black Military Experience in the American
West, New York: Liveright, Co., 1971.

Fairfax, Downey, The Buffalo Soldiers in the Indian Wars, New York:
McGraw-Hill Co., 1969.

William Katz, Black People Who Made the Old West, New York: Thomas
Y. Crowell Co., 1977.

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 under-
stand 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, inclu-
ding 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

The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry Assoc.
Mr. Charles A. Gates, President
5538 Agnes Street
Kansas City, Missouri

Mrs. Dorothy R. Robinson
Post Office Box 1212
Palestine, Texas 75801

Dr. Harry Robinson
Director of Zale Library
Bishop College
3837 Simpson-Stuart Road
Dallas, Texas 75241

Mr. Melvin Sance, Jr.
Institute of Texan Cultures
University of Texas at San Antonio
San Antonio, Texas 78284

Dr. J. Reuben Sheeler
Professor of History
Texas Southern University
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Mr. John P. Sherrod
11239 Borden Avenue
Pacoima, California 91331

Mrs. Ada Simon
Post Office Box 612A
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Mrs. Pearl Suel
Instructor of History
Houston Public Schools
Houston, Texas

Mr. Lonn Taylor
Dallas Historical Society
Dallas, Texas

Tenth Cavalry Buffalo Soldiers, I
Box 1773
Hollywood, California 90028

Mrs. Charles E. Wilson, Secretary
Seminole Indian Scout Cemetery
Association
c/o Post Office
Bracketville, Texas

Dr. George Woolfork, Professor
Department of History
Prairie View A & M College
Prairie View, Texas

FOOTNOTES

1. William H. Leckie, Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 70.
2. Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones, The Negro Cowboys. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1965, p. 9.
3. U.S. Congress, House Executive Documents, Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1889-1890, 51st Congress, First Session, 11,8.
4. Arlen L. Fowler, The Black Infantry in the West, 1869-1891. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corp., 1971, p. 79.
5. U.S. Congress, Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1889-1890, p. 799.
6. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

CHALMETTE NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

Leroy Davis

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 cemetery 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. Boudeaux 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 relationship.

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 nations'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 Napoleon 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 Indes (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 Havanna 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 country side, 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 ran away 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. Unfortun-

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 Claiborne 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 Jordon'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 Rodriguez 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.³ 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.⁴ 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 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 revolutionaries 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.⁵

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.

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PERRY'S VICTORY AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE MEMORIAL

Leroy Davis

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.³ 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 Uva 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.⁵

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.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.

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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 Taylor's Farm. They also captured several of the retreating Confederates in the process.² Assistant Adjutant General William Russel, 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.⁴

The mine dug to destroy a portion of the enemy's line exploded ac-

cording 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.⁵

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-

fronted war that black soldiers always had to confront.⁶

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.⁷

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.⁸

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.¹⁰

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.¹¹

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, Greenville, 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.¹² 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 Interpretive 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.

AUDIO 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

1. Frederick H. Dyer, A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, Des Moines: Dyer Publishing Co., 1908, III, 1702, 1722-1731, 1738-1740.
2. U.S. War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 128 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901. 40:1, 216, 721-26; Joseph T. Wilson, The Black Phalanx: A History of the Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775-1812, 1861-1865. Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1892, pp. 401-406. OR will be used for War of the Rebellion.
3. O.R., 40:1, 706.
4. Ibid., p. 525; Henry Pleasants, Jr., and George H. Straley, Inferno at Petersburg. Philadelphia: Chilton Co., 1961, pp. 104-113; Dudley T. Cornish, The Sable Arm. New York: Norton & Co., Inc., 1966, pp. 273-74; Henry G. Thomas, "The Colored Troops at Petersburg", Century Magazine 12 (September, 1887), pp. 777-78.
5. O.R., 40:1, 528.

6. Cornish, Dudley T., The Sable Arm, p. 276. See also George L. Kilmer, "The Dash into the Crater", Century Magazine 12 (September, 1887), pp. 775-776; Wilson, The Black Phalanx, pp. 415-420.
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.
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Regiment; 28th Infantry Regiment; 29th Infantry Regiment; 30th Infantry Regiment; 31st 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; 127th Infantry Regiment, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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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 F. 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 Councaxello, 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 1963, 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 1828, 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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CONSTRUCTION OF THE COASTAL DEFENSES

FORT JEFFERSON, FLORIDA

The utilization of black freedmen and slaves in the construction of fortifications was a common practice before the Civil War. One such fortification where black workers were used was Fort Jefferson, Florida. Materials in the National Archives are available and they reflect the contributions of hired slaves. Although most of them were listed as laborers and earned wages of \$1.12½ per day, Masons were employed at \$1.75 per day and cooks at \$28.50 per month. The Slave Rolls also listed the names of each hired slave the slave owners who received their pay. In some instances, owners lived in northern states and authorized their attorney or other individuals to receive the monies due to them. Freed-

men of course received their own earnings for each pay period. On occasion, twenty hired slaves at Fort Jefferson were transferred to Fort Pickens, Florida by the Army Corps of Engineers. Upon protest by one slave owner, the Corps of Engineers maintained that slaves could be employed anywhere and wherever the army required them. Thus, hired slaves may have been employed on several military or navy projects.

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FORT MASSACHUSETTS, LOUISIANA

Construction of fortifications on Ship Island had begun before the Civil War, and black personnel must have been employed in some capacities since their services had been used on similar forts along the Gulf area. When the confederate forces evacuated the island in 1861, union forces under General D.E. Twiggs were instructed to use slaves offered by planters if they were needed to work on the defensive works on the island. The

2nd Regiment, Louisiana Native Guards, was stationed at Ship Island, a designated military prison, in January 1863. It is possible that the regiment performed maintenance tasks at Fort Massachusetts.

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FORT PICKENS, FLORIDA

The employment of freedmen and especially slaves in the construction and maintenance of Fort Pickens was practiced by Captain William H. Chase. Assigned to the Pensacola area by the Army Corps of Engineers in 1829, Captain Chase was not only responsible for the construction of Fort Pickens but also for several other forts near Pensacola. Since hired slaves were usually acquired by gentlemen's agreements, he quickly learned the system and acquired slave labor from such firms as Underhill and Strong from New Orleans. Originally requesting twenty slaves to work on the public works on Santa Rosa Island, he continued to employ slaves for construction purposes during his twenty-five years of service in the Pensacola area. He favored Underhill and Strong because they had skilled slaves for hire and some of those slaves were among the workers who constructed Fort Pickens, Fort McRee, and Fort Barrancas. Black craftsmen and laborers also constructed redoubts and barracks and were employed as barge crewmen

at Fosters Island.

Captain Chase was not the only federal officer in the area who employed black workers; Captain Lewis Warrington was assigned to the Pensacola Navy Yard in 1826 and one of his primary concerns was the lack of skilled and unskilled labor. He therefore hired approximately eighty slaves from Tallahassee, Florida. His successor, Lieutenant W.L. Cunningham, continued hiring slaves to fill the positions of masons, joiners, bricklayers and other skilled positions. Stone contractors who supplied the federal installations also employed hired slaves. However, it must be stated that the naval officers in Pensacola followed a system which already had been instituted in Mobile, Alabama. A survey of a payroll of mechanics and of contingent services submitted for October 1841 revealed that all of their hired slaves were owned by Jasper Strong. All of the blacksmiths (3) and masons (17) were hired slaves while four of seven carpenters were slaves. All of the blacksmiths received \$1.50 per day; the mason received \$2.50 except Lewis Morton; and the carpenters received from \$1.50 to \$2.50. The three carpenters not identified as slaves may have been freedmen since their wages ranged from \$2.50 to \$3.00 per day. The painter, Louis Ganet, also received \$2.50 and may have been a freedman since his wage was the same as the skilled slaves. Thus, black workers in the Pensacola area not only were employed to help build Fort Pickens; they also were instrumental in the construction of other military and naval installations.

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FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

During the Civil War, blacks were utilized in the defense of Charleston by the southerners. Legislation enacted by the South Carolina legislature declared that it was a misdemeanor for anyone to refuse or to neglect to send impressed slaves to work on fortifications. For each impressed slave that an owner refused to send, a fine of \$200.00 was levied. By 1864, a system was organized for slaves working on the defenses of Charleston which required black foremen or drivers for crews of 25 slaves, with white overseers, managers, superintendents and directors over crews of 50, 100, 800, and 2,400 respectively. Working frequently in water to build or repair trenches or breastworks, workers on Morris Island had a

very high illness rate. Of 400 workers on the island during the summer of 1863, 150 were ill at any given time.

Also in 1863, Lieutenant Colonel Roman in his capacity as Inspector General for the Charleston area inspected the defensive works of the First Military District of South Carolina on Sullivan's and James Islands. He reported that 1,500 blacks were employed on James island; of that number, 400 were employed at Battery Haskell and the remainder at Battery Ryan. The latter were not fully organized to make repairs because of the lack of overseers. The chief engineer for the district was displeased because his labor force had been reduced from 3,900 to 2,500. This reduction was due to the owners who claimed that their slaves had served the required thirty days and that many slaves were given forged passes to work for unknown parties. Others simply deserted or were ill. The engineer claimed that a labor force of 5,000 was required to maintain the Charleston defense which included Fort Sumter.

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MILITARY AND CIVILIAN SERVICE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

BRICE'S CROSSROADS, MISSISSIPPI

When Union forces were ordered to wreck the Mobile and Ohio Railroad between Corinth and Tupelo, the command of General Samuel D. Sturgis included the 55th and 59th Colored Infantry Regiments and Battery F of the 2nd Colored Light Infantry. For the black soldiers, this was a very serious campaign. They were extremely aware of the massacre of black soldiers at Fort Pillow and had taken an oath to avenge the death of their slain comrades by showing the Confederate troops no "quarter". Indeed, they fought during the battle of Brice's Crossroads as if they had no idea of surrendering. Although the battle was a disaster for the Union forces, Lieutenant John Merrilies, an Illinois Artillery officer, claimed that if it had not been for the actions of the Colored Brigade, the Confederate forces of General Nathan B. Forrest would have been more successful.

Deployed on a flank, the black soldiers checked the Confederate advance until the Union artillery had passed. The brigade then covered the rear of the artillery and ammunition train. As the Union forces made a disorderly retreat, the 59th Regiment was detailed with some cavalry to cover the rear. The black soldiers kept firing until their ammunition was expended; they fought with bayonets and clubbed muskets. Some even

picked up new weapons and ammunition from the road along which the rest of the Union forces had fled. This was the first battle experience for many of the soldiers but they fought with coolness and confidence worthy of experienced troops. Lieutenant Merrillies stated that he had seen numbers of black soldiers wounded in the arms, hands, and legs and with their clothes soaked with blood. However, they marched along with the rest of the men in their regiments without any signs of pain.

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FORT GILMER, VIRGINIA

The engagement at Fort Gilmer on September 29, 1864 was one of a series of battles which accompanied the fighting at Chaffin's Farm, Fort Harrison, New Market Heights and Laurel Hill. Among the Union forces were several black regiments; these were the 1st and 2nd Colored Cavalry and the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 22nd, 36th, 37th, 38th, 45th,

115th Infantry and the 29th Connecticut Infantry Regiments, all of which were composed of black soldiers. All of these were assigned to the Tenth Army Corps under the command of Major General David B. Birney. Only the 7th Infantry Regiment was deployed against the enemy position at Fort Gilmer. When the attacking Union regiments approached New Market Heights, they were confronted with artillery fire from Fort Gilmer. Therefore, Companies C, D, G and K were deployed at attack and take position. Under the command of Captain Julius A. Weiss, the four companies advanced under fierce fire from Fort Gilmer and even more murderous enfilade fire from a fort near Gilmer. Worst of all, before their objective was a ditch which was approximately seven to ten feet deep and twice as wide; this obstacle proved to be a death trap for the approaching soldiers who were fired upon at close range by the Confederates. Of the soldiers who participated in the assault, all but three of 238 were killed, wounded, or captured. However, their assault undoubtedly relieved the pressure upon the other attacking Union forces. Prior to this offensive, Confederates were working captured black soldiers under fire in trenches near Fort Gilmer. In retaliation, General Ulysses Grant ordered an equal number of Confederate prisoners be put to work on trenches for the Union forces. This action by Grant compelled the Confederates to remove black soldiers from hazardous and illegal activities at Fort Gilmer.

While none of the black men engaged at Fort Gilmer was decorated for bravery, several were subsequently presented the Congressional Medal of Honor for activities at Chaffin's Farm, Deep Bottom and New Market Heights. These were William H. Barnes, Powhatan Beaty, James H. Bronson, James Bronson, Christian A. Fleetwood, James Gardiner, James Harris, Thomas Hawkins, Alfred B. Hilton, Alexander Kelly and Robert Pinn. Their

valor is indicative of the bravery displayed by black personnel in their efforts to capture Petersburg.

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GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

Gettysburg was one of two major battles fought in early July 1863. It was similar to other battles in the Civil War in that several other skirmishes or actions were connected to it. However, Harrisburg was the principle objective of the Confederates and not Gettysburg. Therefore, residents of Harrisburg and other communities in Pennsylvania prepared themselves for an attack. In those areas where many blacks lived, owned or rented their homes and were employees of merchants, factories, railroads, taverns or in private homes, the invading Confederate soldiers were seen chasing and capturing some of them. However, some of the officers who received a share of the distribution of captured people before they were sent to the south released them.

Five thousand blacks lived in the five counties immediately threatened by General Robert E. Lee's forces, and in the cities of Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Pittsburg, there were 24,660 more residents, many of whom had submitted requests to raise black units although the Adjutant General of Pennsylvania reported to the Secretary of War that their enlistment was opposed in several localities. The Pennsylvania governor also issued a

proclamation forbidding their enlistment except by the authority of the War Department. This proclamation was not observed by everyone because in Hollidaysburg one of three militia companies raised was black and in Philadelphia a company was raised by police Captain William Babe. When the Philadelphian troops arrived in Harrisburg, they were rejected by state officials. Returning to their city where the major had sought redress from the War Department, they were subsequently informed that General Couch was authorized to raise volunteer units, regardless of color.

While blacks found it difficult to join the state volunteers, their labor was used for construction. Recognizing the need for fortifications in the Harrisburg area, railroad crews consisting of some blacks were employed. In addition, black Harrisburg residents and contrabands were hired for seventy-five cents instead of the daily wage of \$1.25. They worked on a structure, which was eventually called Fort Washington, and also Fort Couch because the white militia men refused to construct their defenses which included breastworks and trenches. The black volunteer companies with the 26th and 27th Pennsylvania Regiments also constructed defensive works for Wrightville along with a company of black soldiers from the District of Columbia. In the event of an attack, they were prepared to defend themselves with muskets. Drafted black laborers also performed similar tasks at Carlisle.

Since blacks were body servants, some were present during the battle of Gettysburg. One of these men was William Mack Lee who also served as a cook for General Robert E. Lee. Born on June 12, 1835 in Westmoreland County, Virginia, he was raised at Lee's home in Arlington Heights. Accompanying General Lee into war, he was present at several battles and was included at Manassas, Sharpsburg, Cold Harbor, New Market and Gettysburg. He was also present during the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox.

William M. Lee stayed with General Lee until the former officer died. Later, he became very active in the affairs of blacks. He organized the State Benevolent Association of Virginia for Colored People at Charlottesville in 1887 and the Supreme Grande Lodge, United States Benevolent Association of the District of Columbia in the following year. On June 12, 1881, he was ordained a Missionary Baptist minister. Thus, blacks were involved in the Battle of Gettysburg and in defending Harrisburg and several other cities in Pennsylvania.

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MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

From the beginning of the Civil War, it was obvious that the southern forces would employ labor of slaves and freedmen in the construction of defensive fortifications. During the first battle of Bull Run, slave-built batteries repulsed the Union forces. General McDowell's soldiers had to thread their way through roads and defiles constructed by blacks before they were confronted by a honey comb of batteries. Thus, these obstacles erected by slaves were instrumental in the defeat of McDowell which subsequently caused him the loss of his command. Therefore, there was no doubt about the value of the slave's labor and skill to the war

potential of the Confederacy.

Recognizing that the defeat at Bull Run was attributed in part to the military defenses constructed by slaves, a House of Representatives resolution declared that federal soldiers were not responsible for capturing and returning fugitives. On August 6, 1861, legislation was passed which declared that slave owners forfeited any slave who was employed for military or naval service for the Confederacy. Although these slaves were not emancipated under the legislation, Congress was concerned about the potential of slaves in the south and it tried to encourage the administration to enact measures concerning fugitives and contrabands.

Blacks were used by commissary and quartermaster officers in various capacities such as warehouse workers, teamsters and cooks. During the early months of the war, they were committed to the maintenance and repair of railroads which included the Orange and Alexander and the Manassas Gap railroad lines. In fact, the governor of Virginia was so sensitive concerning the importance of these railroads that he felt that if the railroads were permitted to deteriorate, military operations in the field would have been seriously impaired or paralyzed. Even the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, which employed a black, depended upon receiving iron from the Shenandoah blast furnaces by rail until the Manassas Railroad was destroyed. The metal from the railroad was hauled away to Staunton by black teamsters.

Black men and women were used in Confederate hospitals. When the Moore Hospital was established in Manassas, it was the largest medical facility in northern Virginia. Determined to have black attendants, Medical Director Thomas H. Williams notified Major Thomas G. Rhett, Acting Adjutant General of the Army of the Potomac, that nurses were urgently required. He also reported that Surgeon W.O. Anderson had been prevented

from leaving Winchester with fifteen black nurses he had hired. The reason was that regulations required black nurses to be hired from within each hospital's district. In December 1861, Medical Director Williams notified Surgeon W.O. Owen, commander of the Lynchburg hospital complex, that he had requested male and not female nurses because men could perform duties that women could not and that women were required as cooks and laundresses. However, he did accept the six black nurses already hired. During the four months of the existence of Moore's hospital, efforts were maintained to secure black attendants from other parts of Virginia and on occasion they were successful. When the hospital site was abandoned in March, 1862, it was reestablished in Gordonsville, Virginia near the Receiving and Wayside Hospital and most of the black attendants were transferred from Manassas to the Gordonsville institution.

Some blacks served as body servants during the battle of Manassas. One of these was William Dabney in the service of Captain Tom Hage. Another was William Mack Lee who served as cook and body servant to General Robert E. Lee. Therefore, he not only was present at the battles of Manassas but also at the battles which included Chancellorsville, Cold Harbor, Gettysburg, Sharpsburg and New Market. According to Lee, he never saw the general weep, even after the death of General "Stonewall" Jackson. Lee was also present at the surrender at Appomatox. After the war, William M. Lee stayed with General Lee until his death. James Jones was also in the service of Virginia. He was assigned to Company C of the 1st Virginia Infantry Regiment.

It is ironic that the Union forces were not as eager to organize and deploy black personnel. However, William Henry Johnson enlisted as a volunteer in a Connecticut regiment and served in the battles of Bull Run, Roanoke and Newbern. Born in Alexandria, Virginia on March 4,

1833 to free parents, he went to Philadelphia in 1850 where he became a hairdresser. Inspired by the plight of fugitives as a result of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, he moved to Albany , New York to engage in underground railroad activities. Returning to Philadelphia in 1857, Johnson was forced to move to Norwich, Connecticut because of the assistance rendered to fugitives. After his military service, he became a recruiting agent for the Fourteenth Congressional District. Thus, black soldiers participated in the Manassas Battle for both the Union and the Confederacy. Years later, some of the battle field was owned or rented by black farmers. However, their lands were obtained by the National Park Service.

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TUPELO, MISSISSIPPI

In the battle of Tupelo near Harrisburg, Mississippi, the Union forces included Battery I of the 2nd Colored Light Artillery Regiment and the 59th, 61st and 68th Colored Infantry Regiments. Of these soldiers, the men of the 59th Infantry had participated in the battle of Brice's Crossroads. They recalled the humiliating route of the Union forces and the casualties inflicted upon the black regiments that were deployed in the battle. These men were also acutely aware of the atrocities committed upon black soldiers at Fort Pillow and were eager to avenge not only that incident, but also the abuses that many of them had suffered in slavery. When the fighting began General Edward Bouton stated that the black soldiers were eager to charge the enemy with fixed bayonets and physically, "...they were stronger than the other soldiers...."

Incensed by the deployment of black soldiers against them, the Confederates concentrated their efforts on Bouton's black brigade. However, the black soldiers were equally successful in their activities. For a portion of the battle, the 61st Infantry supported the artillerymen. When the battles were concluded, there was praise for each regiment. One of the officers who recognized their value was General A.J. Smith. He was so impressed by their service that he requested that they be included in the force to capture Mobile, Alabama. Rejected by General Cadwallader C. Wash-

burn as well as the department commander, General Smith appealed to the Secretary of War. The matter was resolved by compromise, only the 61st and 68th Regiments were assigned to the support mission. Thus, black soldiers had demonstrated that with each assignment their service was significant in the completion of a mission.

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VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI

As laborers, intelligence informants and soldiers, blacks were significant in the Vicksburg campaign. Federal officers had recognized the necessity of having a labor force for erecting defenses early in war. In the Mississippi area in 1862, General Thomas Williams impressed a force of 1200 to construct a canal one and a half miles long across the peninsula opposite Vicksburg. It was anticipated that a complete canal would divert the course of the Mississippi River away from the Confederate batteries. The work commenced during the height of the fever season and many laborers died of disease.

After two attempts failed, the black workers from areas below Vicks-

burg were returned to slavery although they had been promised freedom if the project was successful. Those from areas about the city were given several days rations and were told to return to their masters. While the Vicksburg campaign was the first wide-scale utilization of slave labor by the Union army in the southwest, it was the final time that the Union army engaged in the practice of systematically returning slaves to their owners in the Mississippi River area. This was evident in August 1862 when the Union army used slaves to prepare the breastworks and rifle pits at Baton Rouge and after the battle, they were carried to New Orleans when the city was abandoned. Of course, the Confederates also used slaves in the defense of Vicksburg and at Jackson, a city which was considered as a vital position to the defense of Vicksburg. They were also used in the repair of railroads.

Blacks supplied valuable information to the Union army throughout the Civil War. One of these occasions was during the Yazoo Pass Expedition. While Union forces saw nothing to indicate that the Confederates had made efforts to impede their progress, blacks informed them that the Confederates were awaiting them. When the Chillicothe moved near the opposing forces, it was discovered that the Confederates had an excellent defensive position, thus substantiating the reports. Blacks probably informed Admiral David Porter near Rolling Fork that the Confederates were using slaves to fell trees near Deer Creek between him and a fork in the river. Union sailors and blacks were used under fire to clear the obstacle. After leaving the Yazoo River, blacks again informed David Porter that his rear was blocked by Confederates to prevent his escape. Porter's position was indeed precarious since cannons were firing on his force from a higher elevation and there was no sign of General William Sherman's relief force. However, blacks brought news through enemy fire that the relief column

was approaching by land. A returning black messenger carried a request urging General Sherman to arrive as soon as possible. On the following morning the relief column arrived led by a black guide.

Militarily, black soldiers were involved in two major battles in the Vicksburg campaigns. During the first battle at Port Hudson, Mississippi, the attacking brigade of General Christopher C. Auger, included the First and Third Louisiana Native Guards and five regiments of Corps D'Afrique Engineers who were assigned to trench duty. Since Port Hudson was the last remaining Confederate fortification on the lower Mississippi River, it was assumed that a victory there would enhance the surrender of Vicksburg. However, Port Hudson which had been built by slaves was a formidable position which stretched three miles on an eighty foot bluff, and it contained twenty siege guns and thirty field artillery pieces. After several hours of bombardment, on May 27, 1863 the Native Guards, which numbered 1080, charged in the first assault but were repulsed by the Confederate artillery fire. Two similar assaults were also unsuccessful, but the behavior of the black regiments was significant. Their conduct had been under special scrutiny since Port Hudson was the first real battle in which some black soldiers were engaged. Had they flinched under fire, the future of black soldiers would have been seriously jeopardized. The casualties sustained by the black regiments gave evidence of their role. They suffered 37 killed, 155 wounded and 116 missing. Comprising one-twelfth of the Union soldiers engaged, they bore one-eighth of the loss in numbers killed, one tenth in numbers wounded and three-fourths in numbers missing.

Milliken's Bend which is approximately twenty miles above Vicksburg was another site of black involvement. Defended for former slaves who

were organized into the Ninth and Eleventh Louisiana Regiments and the First Mississippi Regiment, these 1250 contrabands, along with 160 white soldiers in the twenty-third Iowa Regiment, were mustered on May 22, 1863 and were destined to enter battle sixteen days later. Attacked by forces under General J.C. Pemberton, the blacks initially repulsed them but they had difficulty in reloading their old muskets because of inexperience. This enabled the Confederates to gain entrance to their position where fierce hand-to-hand combat ensued. Both sides also fought with bayonets and musket butts which was a rare occurrence in battle since one side usually gave up before the use of steel was required, according to General Lorenzo Thomas.

The battle at Milliken's Bend proved to be the longest bayonet-charge engagement of the Civil War. If the record of casualties is the best gauge of severe and gallant action, the black soldiers truly distinguished themselves. Of a regimental total of 285, the Ninth Louisiana sustained 66 killed and 62 mortally wounded. This was 45 percent of its strength, the highest percentage killed and wounded suffered by any unit in a single engagement during the course of the war. Milliken's Bend was therefore one of the hardest fought encounters in the annals of American military history.

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BLACK MILITARY AND CIVILIAN SERVICE
DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Thomas J. Davis

Black people played crucial roles in the War of the American Revolution. Standing as a paradox to the Patriots' own protestations for the Rights of Man, the slaves also became arms-bearers for the newly declared, independent United States of America. They fell in the front lines of battle as Cripus Attucks had on the fateful Sunday of the renowned Boston Massacre on March 5, 1770. They manned guns almost everywhere, and where they did not stand directly behind the guns, they stood "behind the man behind the gun", as Benjamin Quarles aptly describes in the best monograph on the subject - The Negro in the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, 1961). In a book with exactly the same title, The Negro in the American Revolution (New York, 1940), Herbert Aptheker also discussed the general contribution by blacks in the war.

The patriots recognized the value of black support although they hesitated to grasp it formally. But the British spurred them by offering freedom to slaves who would reject their patriot owners and shoulder arms for His Majesty. No document better illustrates the British beaconing to blacks than the Earl of Dunmore's proclamation of November 7, 1775. In his capacity as royal governor of Virginia, Dunmore proclaimed in part that, "I do hereby further declare all indented servants, Negroes, or others, (appertaining to Rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining His Majesty's Troops, as soon as maybe, for the more speedily reducing the Colony to a proper sense of their duty, to His Majesty's crown and dignity."

The original of that proclamation remains in the University of Virginia library, and the best book explaining it remains Dunmore's Proclamation of Emancipation (Charlottesville, 1941) by Francis L. Berkely, Jr. But a brief and pithy article is Benjamin Quarles' "Lord Dunmore as Liberator", William and Mary Quarterly 15 (1958).

Minutemen companies in Massachusetts had black soldiers fighting as early as the initial weeks of the war. New York's state militia was filled with blacks. So was Rhode Island's. Indeed, Baron von Closen, an aide-de-camp to the French General Jean Baptiste Rochambeau, commented at Yorktown, Virginia on July 9, 1781 while watching the Continental Army pass in review, "three quarters of the Rhode Island regiment consists of negroes". And he complimented those blacks by adding, "that regiment is the most neatly dressed, the best underarms, and the most precise in its manuevers". The best brief treatment of the topic is Benjamin Quarles', "The Colonial Militia and Negro Manpower", Mississippi Valley Historical Review 45 (1959).

As a result of their service and shifting fortune, after the war the New Jersey legislature freed slaves owned by Tories. So did New York. Pennsylvania went farther than any other state, abolishing the slave trade and slavery itself. These moves are explained by Jeffrey R. Brackett, "The States of the Slave, 1775-1789", in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States (Boston, 1889); Henry S. Cooley, A Study of Slavery in New Jersey (Baltimore, 1896); "Historical Notes on Slavery in the Northern Colonies and States", Historical Magazine 10 (1866); A.H. Payne, "The Negro in New York Prior to 1860", Howard Review I (1923); Edward R. Turner, The Negro in Pennsylvania, 1639-1861 (Washington, 1911); and most recently and best by Arthur Silversmit, The

First Emancipation: The Abolition of Negro Slavery in the North
(Chicago, 1967).

The focus of heroism falls certainly on the battlefields of the war where their contributions were conspicuous. They also participated importantly at the Battle of Saratoga in New York during 1778, often considered the auspicious turning point of the war, and they were involved in the climatic battle of the War at Yorktown in 1781. Throughout New York, they were important as they made up about one-seventh of the state's population. Perhaps the best description of that now in print is Thomas J. Davis, "New York's Long Black Line: A Note on Growing Slave Population", Afro-Americans in New York Life and History 2 (1978). In New Jersey, they were comparably significant in number. They were more concentrated in Pennsylvania, but they suffered in the bitter winter at Valley forge.

The military and civilian service of black people during the Revolutionary War as presented by Independence National Historical Park in Pennsylvania, by Morristown National Historical Park in New Jersey, by Saratoga National Historical Park in New York and by Valley Forge Historical Park in Pennsylvania reflects the general involvement by blacks during the war in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. The literature on them in those states is pertinent for general background and for specific focus.

INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, PENNSYLVANIA

Independence National Historical Park, Pennsylvania, encompasses an area central to the early life of the United States. Located in downtown Philadelphia, the second capital under the Constitution of 1787, the park houses memorials vibrant with the founding themes of the nation. Independence Hall, for example, and the Liberty Bell ring with echoes of the Declaration of Independence, and that document itself offers an excellent entry to the military and civilian role of blacks in the American Revolution. For although blacks are not specifically mentioned in the document, they are alluded to. Furthermore, the draft of the document did discuss them. The Continental Congress certainly discussed them. That topic can be pursued in Carl Becker's Declaration of Independence (New York, 1922); Julian P. Boyd's Declaration of Independence, Evolution of Text (New York, 1945); and Dumas Malone's Story of the Declaration of Independence (New York, 1976).

For the decisions of the Congress and its outcome with respect to blacks, again, the best monograph is Benjamin Quarles' The Negro in the American Revolution. Supplementing Quarles' book, particularly on the military role of the 5,000 blacks who fought, are Wallace Brown's "Negro and the American Revolution", History Today 14 (1964) and William C. Nell's Colored Patriots of the Revolution (Boston, 1855).

Independence Park might reflect the fact also that its home city, Philadelphia, was home too in 1776 for about 2,500 blacks--about half the black population of Pennsylvania. That theme can be developed particularly from Edward R. Turner's The Negro in Pennsylvania, 1639-1861 (Washington, 1911), which while long overdue for revision and updating, remains the best survey of blacks in Pennsylvania.

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MORRISTOWN HISTORICAL NATIONAL PARK, NEW JERSEY

Morristown National Historical Park, New Jersey, in the middle of the upper part of the state survives as a site of the Continental Army's winter encampment in 1777, 1779 and 1780. It sits amidst an area where a large part of New Jersey's three thousand slaves lived. The name Morristown itself brings to mind the name of Lewis Morris, the colonial governor and original patron of the area, who also owned one of the Northern colonies' largest slaveholdings. As a site of George Washington's itinerant headquarters, the Morristown Park might well reflect aspects of the decisions made by the commander-in-chief about the military use of blacks. The detail to develop that theme might begin with Benjamin Quarles' article, "The Colonial Militia and Negro Manpower", Mississippi Valley Historical Review 45 (1959), and Walter H. Mazyck's George Washington and the Negro (Washington, 1932). Also, in treating the conditioning and training of continental troops, the role of blacks might have a place, as described again by Benjamin Quarles in The Negro in the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, 1958). As for the larger scene of blacks in New Jersey, the

appropriate monograph is Henry S. Cooley's A Study of Slavery in New Jersey (Baltimore, 1896).

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Saratoga National Historical Park, off the Hudson River in east central New York state, sits as a monument to the decisive victory of the rebellious Americans over British forces commanded by General "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne. The victory proved to be a turning point in the war. It bolstered American confidence and helped to induce France to send assistance through the Franco-American Alliance sealed in 1778. The park provides an excellent location for discussion of the black contributions to the Revolution. For New York had the most sizeable number of Negroes in the North. More than 20,000 blacks were in the state, and they provided considerable military backing in the war. New York used blacks extensively before the Revolution as can be seen by the names of Negroes serving in New York companies. Those names and descriptions including items such as age, birthplace, date of enlistment, occupation and status can be found in the "Master Rolls of New York Provincial Troops, 1755-1764", New York Historical Society Collections, Publications Fund Ser. 24 (New York, 1892). The state's militia act of April 1, 1775 (found in The Colonial Laws of New York: 1664 to the Revolution V 738 (Albany, 1894-1896), 5 vols.), further encouraged black enlistment in New York's patriot forces. Land bounties were offered in 1781 to induce slaveowners to release blacks for service (see Laws of the State of New York 179, Poughkeepsie, 1782). In terms of civilian service by blacks, they were drafted as laborers particularly following March 14, 1776, when the Provincial Congress gave commanding officers in New York City, and the County, power to summon all male blacks in each district to assemble at the Common with "all the shovels, spades, pick-axes and hoes they can provide themselves with". The details may be found in Thomas Jones' History of New York

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VALLEY FORGE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, PENNSYLVANIA

Valley Forge National Historical Park in southeastern Pennsylvania where George Washington and his troops camped in the winter of 1777-1778 offers a site similar to Independence National Historical Park where the general elements of the black contribution may be accented. The sources to study would be much the same. In particular, however, an easily read account is Carole Charles' Survival at Valley Forge (Chicago, 1975). Two more studied accounts are Noel Fairchild's Winter Quarters (New York, 1974) and Reinhold Wiermar's Valley Forge Rebel (Philadelphia, 1974).

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THE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
AT
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

The literature available for inspection on the federally owned forty acre National Historic Site at San Juan in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico pays tribute to the oldest fortifications - Castillo de San Cristobal - within the limits of United States territory, but it substantially neglects the historic contributions to the area by its indigenous people, the Arawak Indians, and by blacks first introduced in 1515 as slaves on plantations to produce sugar, long the most important product in the island where agriculture was long the economic mainstay and still provides a large portion of the island's income.

Black people contributed importantly to the development of Puerto Rico, especially in their long service as slaves. Indeed, they proved

crucial in the island's history. So, having their story in slavery reflected at the National Historic Site at San Juan is needed to represent the island's development accurately. It is more than a simple issue of broader perspective. For example, during the Nineteenth Century, slaving blacks made Puerto Rico what it was.

Their labor produced the sugar on which the island grew and prospered. Particularly in the half-century from 1800 to 1850 Puerto Rico developed a sugar plantation economy that nearly repeated the historical experience of Jamiaca, starting about 1700. Sidney W. Mintz illustrates those facts in his article, "Labor and Sugar in Puerto Rico and In Jamaica, 1800-1850", found in Comparative Studies in Society and History I (1959), pp. 273-280.

The rise of the sugar industry prompted Puerto Rico's economic development, set the character of its settlement and gave it importance on the colonial scene. Before then, during a span of two and a half centuries, from about 1555 to 1800, the island had lain underdeveloped. The people subsisted principally by squatter farming. It was devoted almost entirely to peasant agriculture. It had a substantial European population descending from deserters of military services, survivors of shipwreck and stranded settlers. When the British subjects in their thirteen colonies on North America began to revolt in 1776, 9.2 per cent - 6,487 of 70,260 - of Puerto Rico's population were slaves. By 1800 the percentage enslaved among the whole population had fallen to 7.6, although the number had risen to 13,333 of the islands 174,192 people. The import of these figures are shown clearly in N. Deerr's The History of Sugar (London, 1949).

The Cedula of Gracias in 1815 marked the turning point for the island. It facilitated sugar production and expanded the economy. Deerr chronicles that in his book, but the black story is told more completely by Soler L. Diaz in Historia de la Esclavitud Negra en Puerto Rico (Madrid, 1953). Other important pieces to be noted on this point are: R. Crist, "Sugar Cane and Coffee in Puerto Rico", American Journal of Economics and Sociology 7 (1948); D. Hall, "The Social and Economic Background to Sugar in Slave Days", Caribbean Historical Review 3:4 (1954); F.A. Lopez Dominguez, "Origen y desarrollo de la industrial azucarera de Puerto Rico", Revista de Agricultura de Puerto Rico 19 (1927). In addition to his article referred to above, Sidney Mintz has a couple more to note in this connection: "The Role of Forced Labor in Nineteenth Century Puerto Rico", Caribbean Historical Review 2 (1951) and the "The Culture History of a Puerto Rican Sugar Cane Plantation, 1876-1949", Hispanic American Historical Review 33 (1953). D. Turnbull's Travels on the West: Cuba; With Notices of Puerto Rico and the Slave Trade (London, 1840) contains useful observations. On the overall impact of the black population, the following figures on the slave population in Puerto Rico are instructive:

THE SLAVE POPULATIONS OF PUERTO RICO, 1765-1867

DATE	SLAVE POPULATION	RATE OF INCREASE p.a. OVER PERIOD INDICATED
1765	5,000	2.7 (1765-1811)
1794	17,500	4.3 (1765-1793)
1802	13,300	-3.4 (1794-1801)
1812	17,500	
1820	21,700	2.7 (1802-1819)
1827	31,900	
1830	32,200	3.9 (1830-1845)

1834	41,800	
1846	51,300	2.9 (1830-1845)
1854	46,900	-
1860	41,700	-1.5 (1846-1859)
1867	47,000	1.7 (1860-1866)

Source: Population data from Aimes, Slavery in Cuba, pp. 37-89; Díaz Soler, Esclavitud in Puerto Rico, passim; Deerr, History of Sugar 2:280; R. Guerra y Sanchez and others, Historia de la nación cubana 4 (Havanna, 1952), pp. 170-71.

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VIRGIN ISLANDS NATIONAL PARK

Virgin Islands National Park, established in 1956, includes 9,485 acres on St. John and 15 acres on St. Thomas. It is noted for its special characteristics of unusual scenery, plant life, coral gardens and marine life. Also, the National Historic Site at Christiansted (755 acres) although not federally owned, is an important connection

with its waterfront commemorating colonial development of the Virgin Islands. The park literature available for inspection emphasizes the natural history but neglects the human history. Yet with its Carib-Indian relics and remains of colonial sugar plantations, the park has rich potential to project the contribution made by blacks during slavery.

The hundred small islands in the West Indies group known as the Virgin Islands sit east of Puerto Rico. Christopher Columbus came upon them in 1493, and their importance during the European Colonization of America lay in their strategic location athwart the Caribbean and Atlantic. The United States possessions include sixty-eight islands, although only three--St. Croix, St. John and St. Thomas--usually are considered to be important. The Danish West India Company began its settlement of St. Thomas in 1672. It claimed St. John in 1683, and purchased St. Croix from France in 1773.

The islands' population is predominately black, and their story is essentially one of Afro-American development. They functioned more as parts in a system of trading posts than as elements among the true sugar islands. Their story is probably best told in print by Waldeman Westerguard in The Danish West Indies Under Company Rule 1671-1754 (New York, 1917) and by J.A. Jarvin in The Virgin Islands and Their People (New York, 1945). Also, N. Deerr's The History of Sugar (London, 1949) discusses them. Before 1800, somewhere between 28,000 and 75,000 Africans were imported for slavery in the islands.

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GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Joseph E. Harris

Each of the preceding sections of this Report has presented old and new data pertaining to the several park sites under study. While there has been some variation in the format of the presentations, each presenter has included a narrative account, bibliography, evaluation of the data and park programs.

While we realize that no study of this nature, conducted within the same time-frame, could be exhaustive, we also believe that our basic objectives have been achieved. Where questions remain, one may consult a source or an authority we have identified. The Study itself uncovered a number of areas that need further research, and we have indicated such in the appropriate sections. Each Fellow and Supervisory Professor has made recommendations for specific park sites; what follows is a series of general recommendations which we believe would enhance the appeal and quality of NPS programs relating to the heritage of Afro-Americans.

A. THE COLLECTION, ORGANIZATION, AND INTERPRETATION OF MATERIALS

In most instances the Team found that the availability of materials at the park sites visited is adequate or better, and where additional materials are needed, their accessibility can be easily facilitated. In some cases, for example, records may be obtained or copied at the National Archives. Several of these have been identified in this Study. The problems we observed, however, relate

to organization, presentation, and interpretation of materials.

Members of the Team found that park site personnel frequently were unaware of materials on their premises. In some cases, such materials were listed in the catalogues. It therefore seems necessary that specific assignments be made for a detailed examination of park site resources--news clippings, photographs, letters, as well as books and articles. Knowledgeable persons in the communities should be identified, interviewed on tape, videotaped where appropriate; and attempts should be made to collect not only records, but articles as well.

After the resources have been collected and evaluated, an organizational plan should be established. A point to consider for such a plan is where and how to assure visibility of Afro-Americans without distorting the authenticity of the event. Resolving this issue requires not only the concern for presenting historical reality, insofar as that is possible; it also requires recognition of the fact that most black Americans have not received special commemoration, especially in events where racial matters were not regarded as central by the majority population or leaders. Throughout most of America's history, the black contribution has been regarded as peripheral. Consequently, recognition of a regiment for meritorious service in battle would not ordinarily be interpreted to include blacks; certainly it would not be assumed the unit was predominately black, as in the case of the Buffalo Soldiers, unless the point is stressed or pictures strategically exhibited. In short, the black participation and achievement need emphasis and support throughout a given program.

The follow-up support is very important. Because most white

Americans are not sensitized to include blacks in events where they are not specifically identified, it becomes necessary that the exhibit and narrative be mutually reinforcing. One should not assume that a picture of a black unit in the museum will automatically be related by the public to a tour guide's narrative which does not identify the black presence. And when living history programs are presented, one should be careful to include blacks in a range of activities supported by the evidence. This latter point should not be underestimated, given the legacy of stereotypic roles for blacks. Living history should portray blacks as soldiers as well as cooks, at Fort Davis for example. When blacks are unavailable to play those roles, the narrative should clarify their roles.

Several of us noted the emphasis placed on the structure which presently houses the Visitor's Center at Chalmette. The tour guide emphasized that the structure was formerly General Beauregard's mansion; she should also have indicated that the land, prior to Beauregard's time, was owned by blacks. Such a juxtaposition of facts would not only give blacks due recognition but also underscore a critical and long enduring American dichotomy; blacks as slaves, blacks as owners of valuable property.

Similar examples could be given for the other parks studied, but these are sufficient to illustrate the problem the Team found in its evaluation of the several sites.

B. LINKS WITH NEIGHBORING COMMUNITIES

National park sites are a natural resource for all Americans, and are available for others to obtain knowledge about and a sense of spirit of the American past. Authentic reconstruction of that past is therefore crucial.

In addition to points raised in item A above, park superintendents could secure a wealth of support from black communities who share concerns for a realistic portrayal of the black and American experience. This Team believes that parks should rely on historical authenticity without concern for how a given community may react. Fear of possible black reaction against their roles as slaves should not prevent the presentation of activities clearly supported by the educational as well as recreational resources. It is therefore important that all sources of knowledge be tapped.

A vital source of data on black Americans are black communities. Not only do residents have a wealth of oral data, many of them retain various kinds of documents which could be consulted. In addition, black organizations--churches, colleges, lodges, etc.--are invaluable resources. Several of the predominantly black colleges house important archival and other collections. Contact with these and other sources of data could very likely uncover useful evidence and cultivate a loyal constituency. We have also included a copy of a letter from Chalmette indicating one kind of relationship which has already resulted from our efforts (Appendix G).

Links may also be established with individuals and organizations outside the community. Descendants of persons honored by a park should be invited to a park event and a list could be made and posted to give

greater contemporary meaning to the past. Such a list would be useful for researchers as well.

The Buffalo Soldiers Historical Museum in Arizona and the 10th Cavalry in California are examples of organizations that could be brought into a more integral relationship with Fort Davis. Similar groups may exist for other parks. Organizations of veterans may be interested in aspects of particular parks. Interested descendants and other individuals may wish to organize groups supportive of special park events.

In short, we believe the potential is strong for building and maintaining a constituency of blacks to support park activities. Indeed, while local communities should be the focus of particular parks, the legacy of race relations in the United States has established strong links among black communities throughout the country. Thus NPS publicity of efforts along the lines recommended here could have great appeal among Afro-Americans generally; and to the extent that these measures are fairly and soundly developed and implemented, to that same degree, one could expect all Americans and others to assess the nation's past more realistically which would be a major step towards greater harmony and strength among the American people.

C. TRAINING PROGRAMS

Many of the problems identified by this Team could be solved by effective training programs. To be effective, such programs need careful and thoughtful planning. The issues are too fundamental to be resolved simply by an insertion of a black in living history or the addition of a paragraph on black history. There should be a general rethinking of total programs where blacks are

more than marginally involved.

This general revision of program activities--brochures, exhibits, films/slides, markers, tours, living history, etc.--should be a coordinated effort involving the relevant local and regional park personnel in consultation with the national interpretive center and non-park specialists as consultants. The national center could conduct training programs in line with its present schedule; but the content, procedures, and possibly teachers and trainees should be re-evaluated in light of revised aims.

The non-park consultants would be available as needed at all levels, to advise, lecture, provide materials, make audio-visual aids, etc. While the core consultants should be centrally located, regional and local experts could be available as needed for specific tasks. This latter arrangement would facilitate the involvement of local consultants (professors, teachers, etc.), further strengthening local park-community links.

The Federal Cooperative Education Agreement could serve as one vehicle for approaching solutions to problems of materials, community links, and training. Moreover, in addition to assisting with the development of park programs along lines presented in this Report, NPS would have the opportunity to evaluate a student's performance and potential for employment in the agency. This approach offers the possibility of bringing into the service persons familiar with and committed to the types of programs outlined; it also provides an opportunity for attracting minority candidates for employment in NPS.

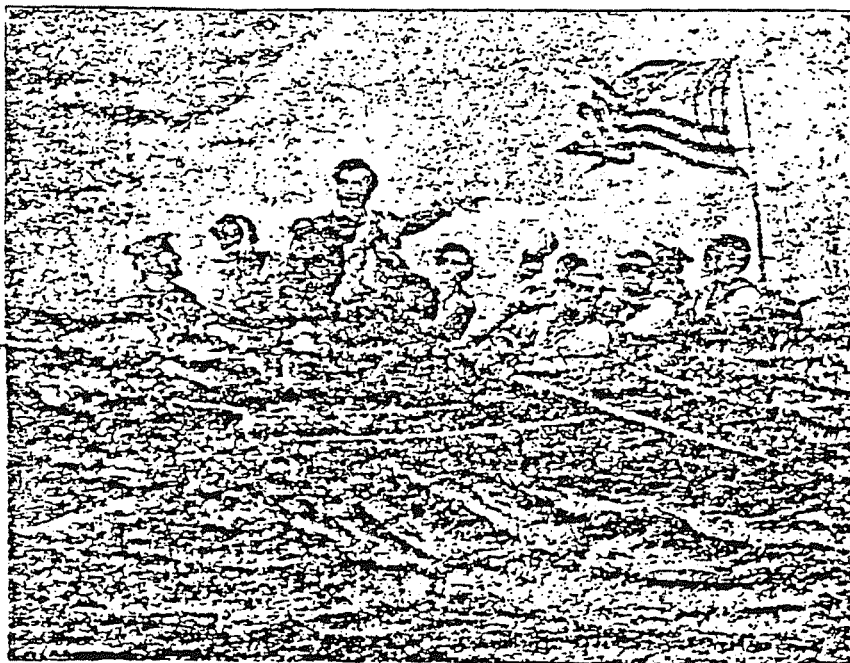
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APPENDIX

PENNSYLVANIA.

COLORED HERO OF THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

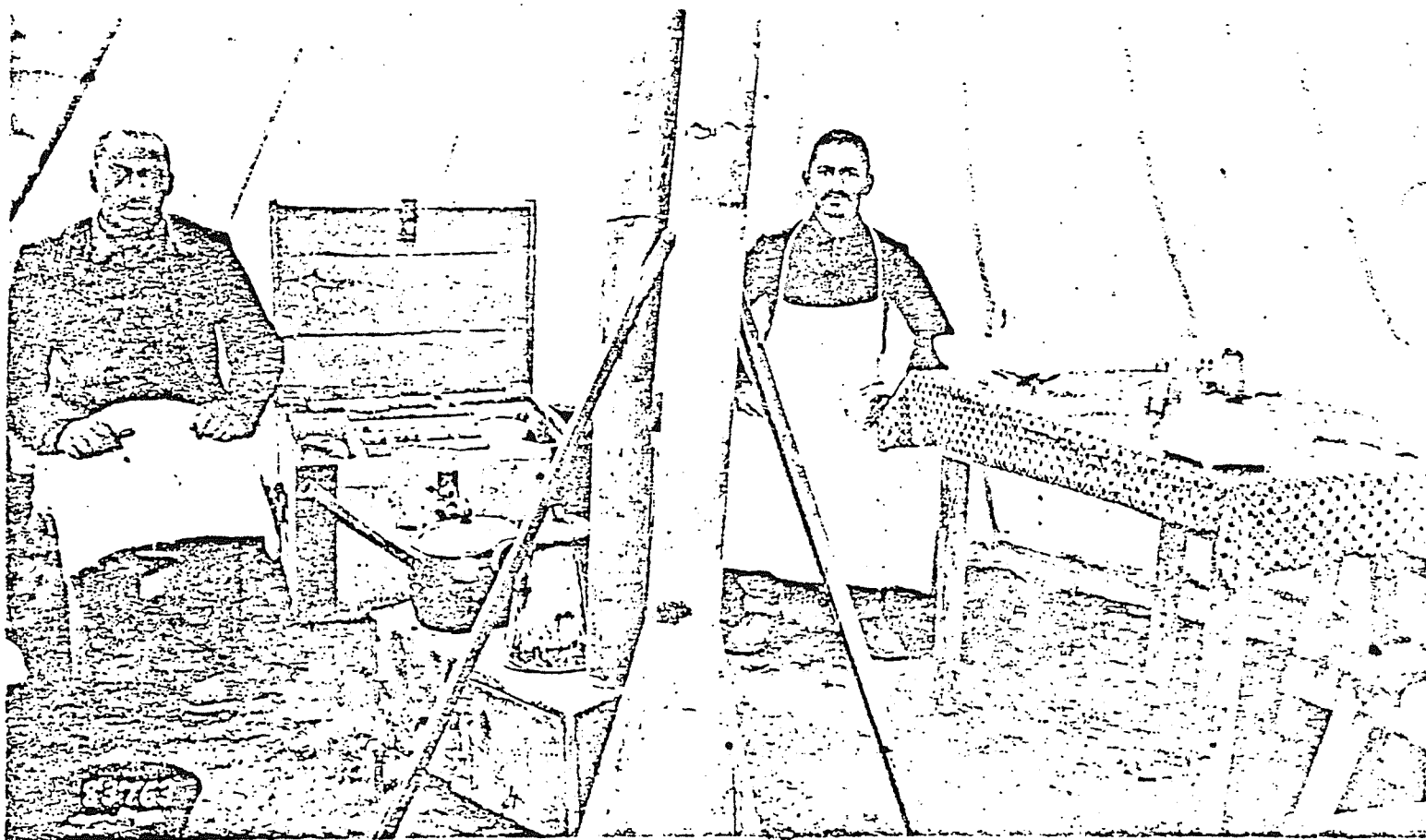
Anthony Williams, Who May Be Seen in the Open Boat, Stood by
His Gun While Thirty Men Were Killed.



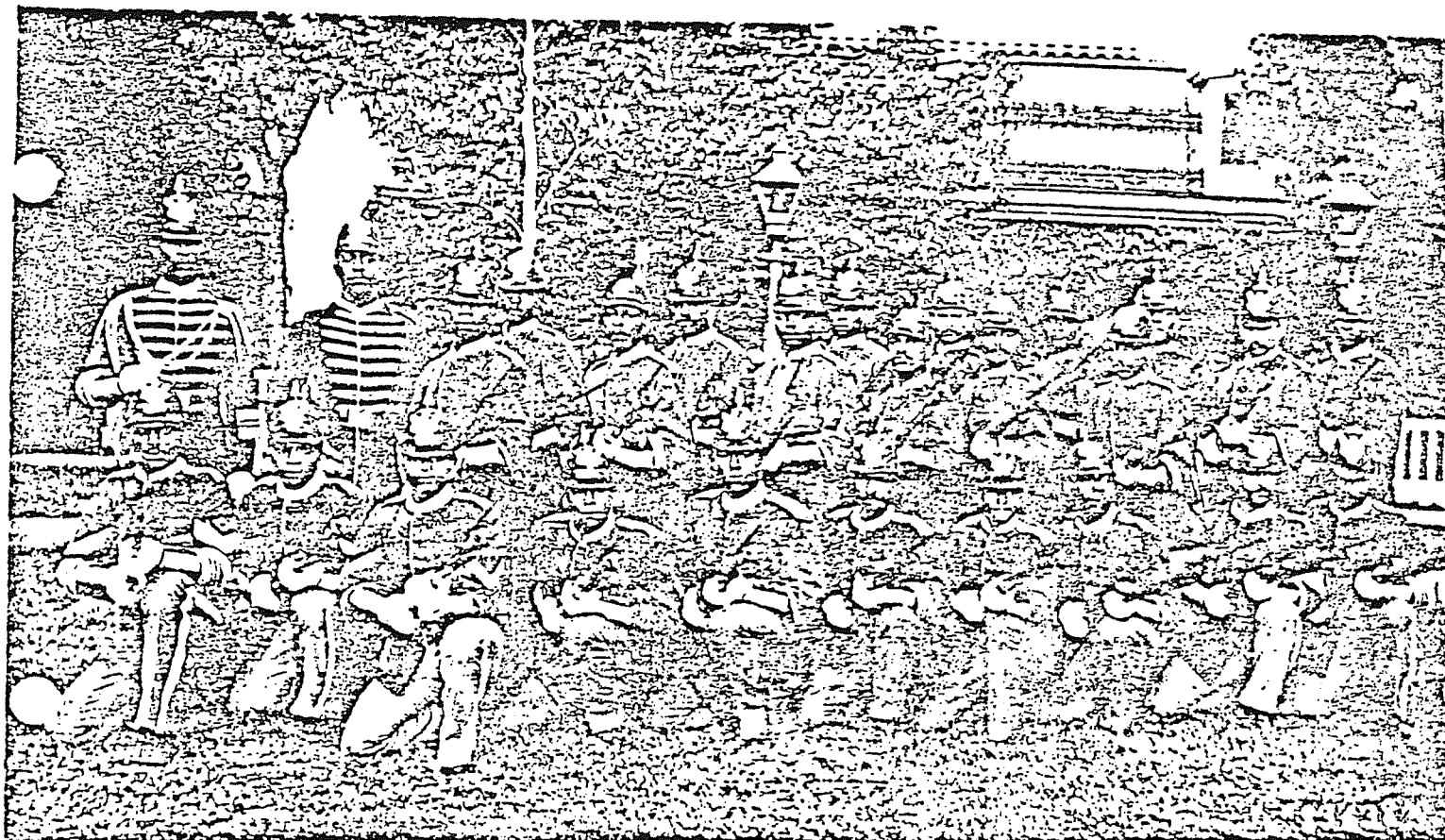
ROWING TO THE SHIP NIAGARA.
American squadron consisted of nine boats and some of the crew.



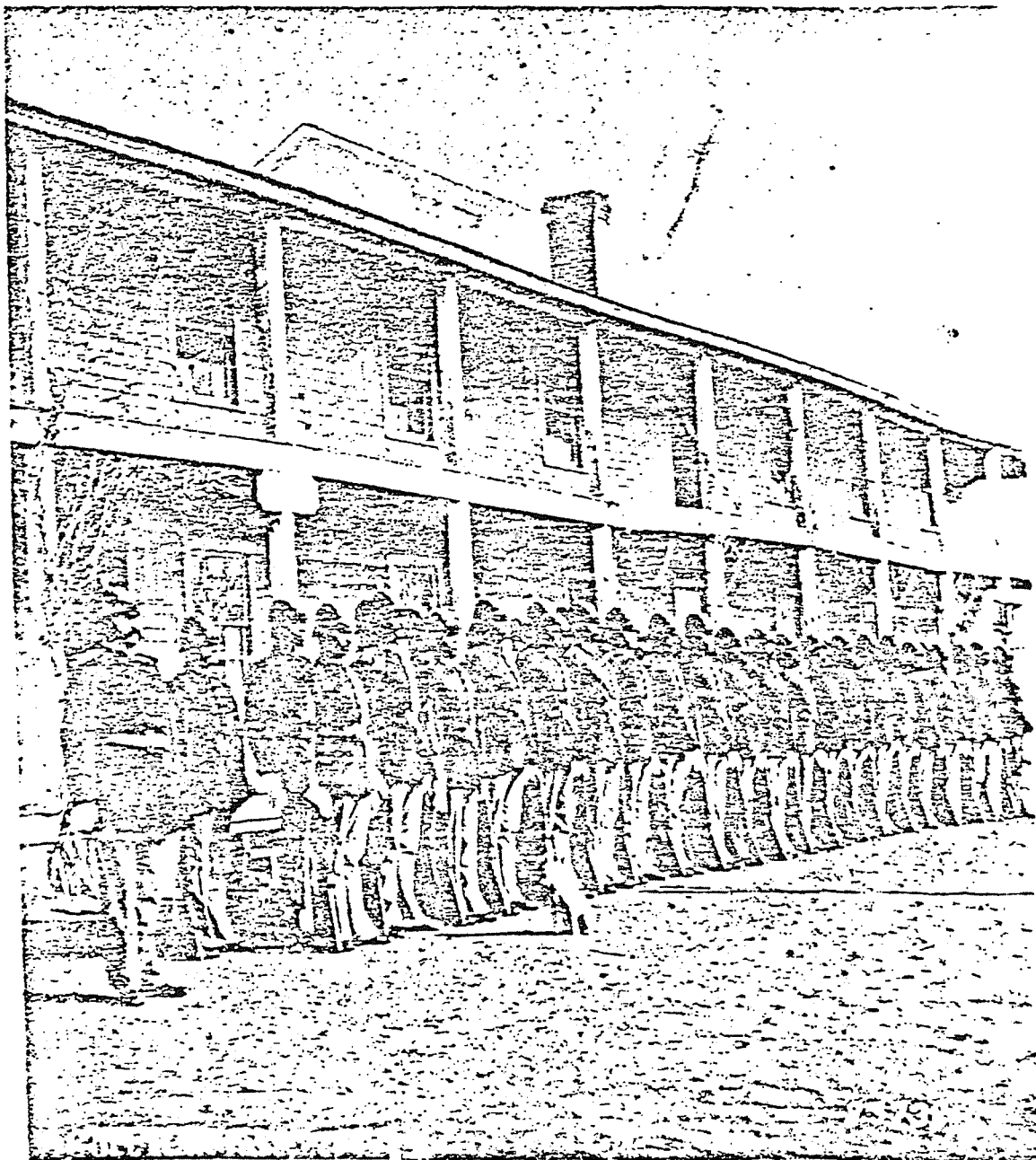
BATTALION 25th INFANTRY; FORT RANDALL, D.T.



CAMP OUTSIDE FORT KEOGH, MONTANA. WINTER CAMPAIGN 1890; 25th INFANTRY BATTALION

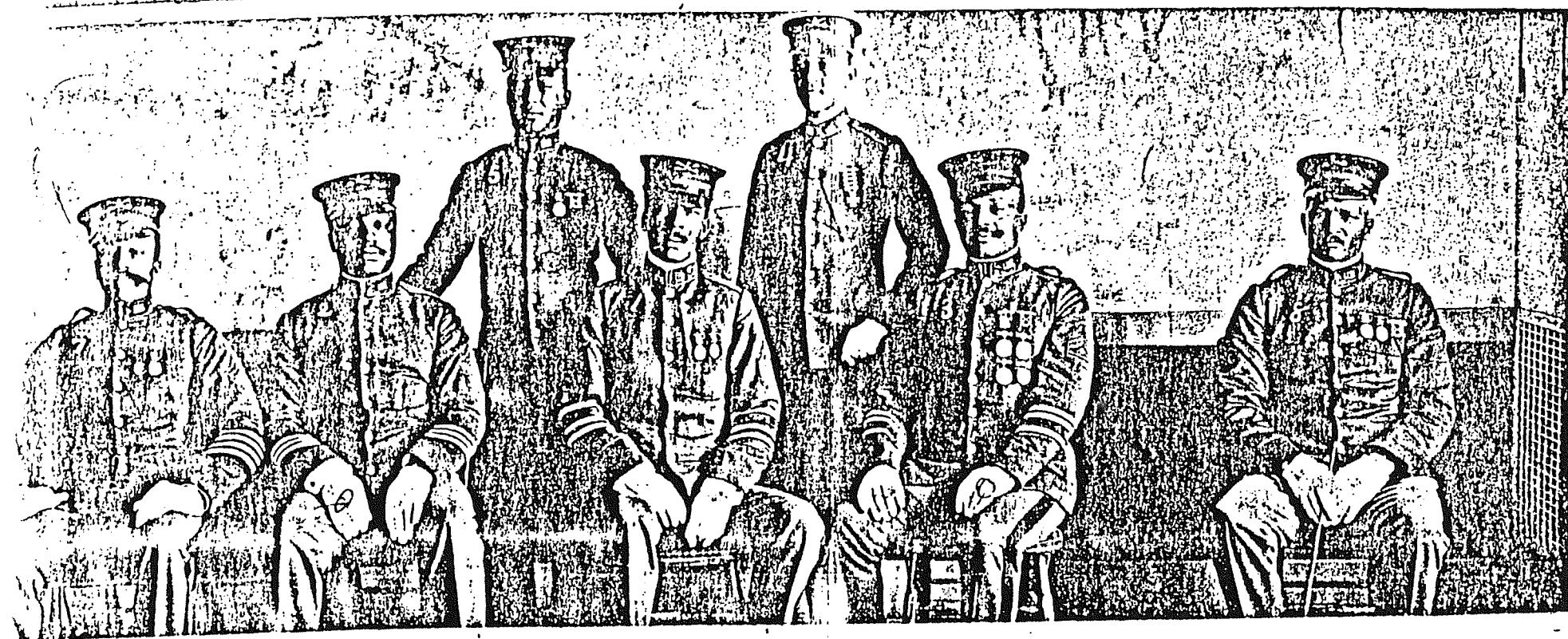


COMPANY I, 25th INFANTRY; FORT SNELLING, MINNESOTA 1883-1880.



COMPANY B, 25th INFANTRY; FORT RANDALL, D.T. 1882.

391-CAS-1161X



NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF, NINTH CAVALRY

- 1- JOHN A. LOGAN, Sergt. Major
- 2- RICHARD PORTER, Comdy. Sergt.
- 3- WILLIAM A. VROOMAN, Q. M. Sergt.
- 4- WILLIAM WASHINGTON, Sqdn. Sergt. Major
- 5- FRANK W. LOVE, Sqdn. Sergt. Major.
- 6- LINCOLN WASHINGTON, Sqdn. Sergt. Mabr (10n DS)
- 7- WILLIAM SLAUTER, Color Sergt.
- 8- ROBERT W. ROBINSON, Color Sergt.

391-CAS-1161C



United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Chalmette National Historical Park
Box 429, Arabi, Louisiana 70032

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IN REPLY REFER TO 1817

June 15, 1978

Dr. Joseph E. Harris, Professor of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C. 20059

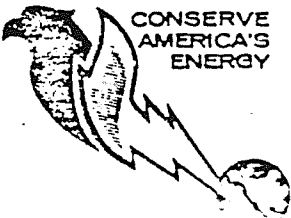
Dear Dr. Harris:

In following up on your visit and that of Leroy Davis during the week of May 22 to Chalmette National Historical Park, we are happy to let you know of the cooperative plans discussed June 7 with Mr. John A. Jones, Jr., Social Studies Director, New Orleans Public Schools.

During the coming 1978-79 school year, approximately 8,000 Eighth Grade New Orleans public school students enrolled in Louisiana Studies will be scheduled to visit Chalmette National Historical Park. A half-hour interpretive program will include a 6 minute audio-visual program and tour of the park's Battle of New Orleans museum. Minority involvement in this historic area will be a primary theme during this program. Groups of 30 to 40 students will be scheduled for the half-hour programs with 2 to 3 hours altogether allowed for the total park experience.

We also hope to communicate with the groups through teacher preparation and follow-up material integrating the highlights of the school lesson plans with the park visits. Interpretive materials proposed to augment the visits include (1) an illustrated 16 page pamphlet entitled, "Notes on Negro Soldiers in the Battle of New Orleans" and (2) a brief illustrated walking tour pamphlet of Chalmette National Cemetery identifying various burials including some of the United States Colored Troops of Louisiana's Civil War Union soldiers.

Assistance is needed in obtaining the necessary funds for printing these pamphlets. Upon suggestion from Mr. Jones, Jr. that this was the kind of interpretive material needed now by



Save Energy and You Serve America!

- 2 -

students, we obtained the following unit cost for the offset printing of the pamphlet described as "Notes on Negro Soldiers":

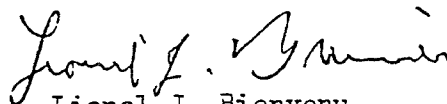
Number of Copies	Unit Cost of 1 pamphlet
1,000	\$0.242
5,000	0.1162
10,000	0.0951.

The enclosed copy of the proposed Lafitte Park Hearing also reflects the possible timeliness of enlarging the scope of the park's interpretation.

Perhaps future development of this cooperative program with the Orleans Parish School System will include school service museum loan kits for teacher preparation and follow-up. Beyond this information, we look forward to working further with you in this project to evaluate historical site preservation and the opportunity to establish closer and more harmonious relationships between this park site and Afro-Americans. We hope you will feel free to offer suggestions and comments on our work thus far, especially with this interpretive school program.

We are pleased to be involved in the National Park Service-Howard University Project and look forward to hearing from you on the progress thus far.

Sincerely yours,



Lionel J. Bienvenu
Superintendent

Enclosures:

- (1) Xerox copy of "Notes on Negro Soldiers"
- (2) Lafitte Park Hearing Report

Copies Sent To:

Dr. Boudreaux
Mr. Davis
Dr. Geisert
Mr. Jones
Mr. Lewis

APPENDIX.

(A.)

NEGROES IN THE NAVY.

THE suggestion made by Mr. Everett at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society when this paper was read, in regard to the history of the employment of negroes in our navy, is worthy of a more careful consideration than the limits of this paper would allow. But I am happy to be able to present the testimony, on this subject, of one of our Honorary Members, Usher Parsons, M.D., whose character and experience give authority to his statements. Negroes in the Navy.

"PROVIDENCE, October 18, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR, — In reply to your inquiries about the employing of blacks in our navy in the war of 1812, and particularly in the battle of Lake Erie, I refer you to documents in Mackenzie's 'Life of Commodore Perry,' vol. i. pp. 166 and 187.

"In 1814, our fleet sailed to the Upper Lakes to co-operate with Colonel Croghan at Mackinac. About one in ten or twelve of the crews were blacks.

"In 1816, I was surgeon of the 'Java,' under Commodore Perry. The white and colored seamen messed together. About one in six or eight were colored.

"In 1819, I was surgeon of the 'Guerrière,' under Commodore Macdonough; and the proportion of blacks was about the same in her

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Check Source

Negroes in the Navy. crew. There seemed to be an entire absence of prejudice against the blacks as messmates among the crew. What I have said applies to the crews of the other ships that sailed in squadrons.

"Yours very respectfully,

"USHER PARSONS.

"GEORGE LIVERMORE, Esq."

The documents referred to by Dr. Parsons are two letters, — the first written to Commodore Chauncey, in the summer of 1813, by Captain (afterwards Commodore) Perry, expressing dissatisfaction with the appearance of the men who had been sent to him for his squadron on Lake Erie before his famous battle.

"Sir, — I have this moment received, by express, the enclosed letter from General Harrison. If I had officers and men, — and I have no doubt you will send them, — I could fight the enemy, and proceed up the lake; but, having no one to command the 'Niagara,' and only one commissioned lieutenant and two acting lieutenants, whatever my wishes may be, going out is out of the question. The men that came by Mr. Champlin are a motley set, — blacks, soldiers, and boys. I cannot think you saw them after they were selected. I am, however, pleased to see any thing in the shape of a man." — *Mackenzie's Life of Perry*, vol. i. pp. 165, 166.

This letter called forth from Commodore Chauncey the following sharp reply: —

"Sir, — I have been duly honored with your letters of the twenty-third and twenty-sixth ultimo, and notice your anxiety for men and officers. I am equally anxious to furnish you; and no time shall be lost in sending officers and men to you as soon as the public service will allow me to send them from this lake. I regret that you are not pleased with the men sent you by Messrs. Champlin and Forrest; for, to my knowledge, a part of them are not surpassed by any seamen we have in the fleet; and I have yet to learn that the color of the skin, or the cut and trimmings of the coat, can affect a man's qualifications or usefulness. I have nearly fifty blacks on board of this ship, and many of them are among my best men; and those people you call soldiers have been to sea from two to seventeen years; and I presume that you will find them as good and useful as any men on board of

your vessel; at least, if I can judge by comparison; for those which we have on board of this ship are attentive and obedient, and, as far as I can judge, many of them excellent seamen: at any rate, the men sent to Lake Erie have been selected with a view of sending a fair proportion of petty officers and seamen; and I presume, upon examination, it will be found that they are equal to those upon this lake." — *Mackenzie's Life of Perry*, vol. i. pp. 186, 187.

Perry found the negroes to be indeed all that Commodore Chauncey had represented them; and he did not hesitate afterwards to speak favorably of their services: —

"Perry speaks highly of the bravery and good conduct of the negroes, who formed a considerable part of his crew. They seemed to be absolutely insensible to danger. When Captain Barclay came on board the 'Niagara,' and beheld the sickly and party-colored beings around him, an expression of chagrin escaped him at having been conquered by such men. The fresh-water service had very much impaired the health of the sailors, and crowded the sick list with patients." — *Analectic Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 255.

To the same effect is the testimony of the following

"Extract of a Letter from Nathaniel Shaler, Commander of the private-armed Schooner Gov. Tompkins, to his Agent in New York, dated —

"AT SEA, Jan. 1, 1813.

"Before I could get our light sails in, and almost before I could turn round, I was under the guns, not of a transport, but of a large frigate! and not more than a quarter of a mile from her. . . . Her first broadside killed two men, and wounded six others. . . . My officers conducted themselves in a way that would have done honor to a more permanent service. . . . The name of one of my poor fellows who was killed ought to be registered in the book of fame, and remembered with reverence as long as bravery is considered a virtue. He was a black man, by the name of John Johnson. A twenty-four-pound shot struck him in the hip, and took away all the lower part of his body. In this state, the poor brave fellow lay on the deck, and several times exclaimed to his shipmates, 'Fire away, my boy; no haul a color down.' The other was also a black man, by the name of John Davis, and was struck in much the same way. He fell

near me, and several times requested to be thrown overboard, saying he was only in the way of others.

"When America has such tars, she has little to fear from the tyrants of the ocean." — *Niles's Weekly Register*, Saturday, Feb. 26, 1814.

(B.)

Flag of a
negro
company.

At the August meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, an interesting memorial of the last century was displayed. It was a silk flag, bearing the device of a Pine-tree and a Buck, with the initials "J. H." and "G. W." over a scroll, on which appear the words, "The Bucks of America." This relic had been carefully preserved as the flag presented by Governor Hancock to a company of colored soldiers bearing that name. It now belongs to Mr. William C. Nell, of Boston. Mr. Nell is the author of a volume entitled "The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, with Sketches of several Distinguished Colored Persons;" a book that contains a great number of interesting anecdotes on the subject. It was published in 1855, and is now out of print; but a new edition, considerably enlarged, is, I am happy to hear, soon to be issued.

(C.)

NEGRO REGIMENTS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Negro regi-
ments in
the State of
New York.

That the services of negroes, as soldiers, were solicited and welcomed by the civil and military authorities in various parts of the United States, during the war of 1812 with Great Britain, is too well known to need any illustration. It may not, however, be out of place here to reprint an act of the Legislature of the State of New York.

Negro regi- able-bodied slave, with the written assent of his master or mistress, to
ments in enlist into the said corps; and the master or mistress of such slave
the State of shall be entitled to the pay and bounty allowed him for his service:
New York. and, further, that the said slave, at the time of receiving his discharge,
shall be deemed and adjudged to have been legally manumitted from
that time, and his said master or mistress shall not thenceforward be
liable for his maintenance.

"SECT. 7. And be it further enacted, That every such enrolled person, who shall have become free by manumission or otherwise, if he shall thereafter become indigent, shall be deemed to be settled in the town in which the person who manumitted him was settled at the time of such manumission, or in such other town where he shall have gained a settlement subsequent to his discharge from the said service; and the former owner or owners of such manumitted person, and his legal representatives, shall be exonerated from his maintenance, any law to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

"SECT. 8. And be it further enacted, That, when the troops to be raised as aforesaid shall be in the service of the United States, they shall be subject to the rules and articles which have been or may be hereafter established by the By-laws of the United States for the government of the army of the United States; that, when the said troops shall be in the service of the State of New York, they shall be subject to the same rules and regulations: And the Governor of the said State shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to exercise all the power and authority which, by the said rules and articles, are required to be exercised by the President of the United States."—*Laws of the State of New York, passed at the Thirty-eighth Session of the Legislature*, chap. xviii.

(D.)

GENERAL JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION TO THE NEGROES.

HEADQUARTERS, SEVENTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
MOBILE, September 21, 1814.

To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana.

Negro sol- Through a mistaken policy, you have heretofore been deprived of a
diers under participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which our
General country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.
Jackson.

As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most Negro sol-
inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confi- diers under
dence to her adopted children for a valorous support, as a faithful General
return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable govern- Jackson.
ment. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally
around the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in exist-
ence.

Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause without amply remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. In the sincerity of a soldier and the language of truth I address you.

To every noble-hearted, generous freeman of color volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty, in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz. one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to the same monthly pay, and daily rations, and clothes, furnished to any American soldier.

On enrolling yourselves in companies, the Major-General Commanding will select officers for your government from your white fellow-citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from among yourselves.

Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen.

To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions, and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated my wishes to the Governor of Louisiana, who is fully informed as to the manner of enrolment, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

ANDREW JACKSON, *Major-General Commanding.*

(Niles's Register, vol. vii. p. 205.)

Three months after his proclamation was issued, on Sunday, the 18th of December, 1814, General Jackson reviewed

Negro soldiers under General Jackson.

the troops, white and colored, in New Orleans. "At the close of the review, Edward Livingston [one of his aids] advanced from the group that surrounded the General, and read in line, sonorous tones, and with an energy and emphasis worthy of the impassioned words he spoke, that famous address to the troops which contributed so powerfully to enhance their enthusiasm, and of which the survivors to this hour have the most vivid recollection. This address, like that previously quoted, was Jackson's spirit in Livingston's language."—*Parton's Life of Jackson*, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64.

The following is a portion of the address:—

"TO THE EMBODIED MILITIA.—*Fellow Citizens and Soldiers*: The General commanding in chief would not do justice to the noble ardor that has animated you in the hour of danger, he would not do justice to his own feeling, if he suffered the example you have shown to pass without public notice.

"Fellow-citizens, of every description, remember for what and against whom you contend. For all that can render life desirable—for a country blessed with every gift of nature—for property, for life—for those dearer than either, your wives and children—and for liberty, without which, country, life, property, are no longer worth possessing; as even the embraces of wives and children become a reproach to the wretch who could deprive them by his cowardice of those invaluable blessings.

"TO THE MEN OF COLOR.—Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms,—I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you; for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to these qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds.

"Soldiers! The President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct on the present occasion; and the voice of the Repre-

sentatives of the American nation shall applaud your valor, as your General now praises your ardor. The enemy is near. His sails cover the lakes. But the brave are united; and, if he finds us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valor, and fame its noblest reward."—*Niles's Register*, vol. vii. pp. 345, 346.

(E.)

The Hon. Charles B. Sedgwick, a member of Congress from the State of New York, read in the House of Representatives, during the last session, the following paper on the use of negro soldiers in other countries. It is understood to have been prepared by one of the librarians of the State Library at Albany.

Negro soldiers under monarchical governments.

NEGRO SOLDIERS UNDER MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENTS.

"The monarchical governments of Europe and America, those that tolerate slavery and those that do not, alike agree in employing negroes armed for the public defence. They find that the burdens of war, and the sacrifice of life it occasions, are too great to be borne by the white race alone. They call upon the colored races, therefore, to share in the burden, and to encounter, in common with the whites, the risks of loss of life.

"Thus we find, that in the Spanish colony of Cuba, with a population one-half slaves and one-sixth colored, a militia of free blacks and mulattoes was directed by Gen. Pezuela (Governor-General) to be organized in 1854 throughout the island; and it was put upon an equal footing, with regard to privilege, with the regular army. This measure was not rescinded by Governor-General Concha in 1855; but the black and mulatto troops have been made a permanent corps of the Spanish army. (Condensed in the very phrases of Thrasher's preface to his edition of Humboldt's 'Cuba'.)

"In the Portuguese colonies on the coast of Africa, the regiments are chiefly composed of black men. At Prince's Island, the garrison consists of a company of regular artillery of eighty, and a regiment of black militia of ten hundred and fifty-eight, rank and file, of which the

tle reached only 3,600, it will be seen that the 'men of color' were present in much larger proportion than their numbers in the country warranted.

"Neither was there colorphobia then. Major Planche's battalion of uniformed volunteer companies, and Major Lacoste's 'men of color,' wrought together; so, also, did Major Daquin's 'men of color,' and the 44th, under Captain Baker.

"Great Britain had her colored soldiers in that battle: the United States had hers. Great Britain's became freemen and citizens: those of the United States continued only half-free and slaves."

It has long been well known, that to the colored soldiers belonged the honor of first erecting the cotton-bale defences which so signally contributed to General Jackson's victory. We have no means now of confirming the statement, but the following letter contains some very significant historical reminiscences:—

WATLAND, Feb. 19, 1855.

MR. WILLIAM C. NELL:

MY DEAR SIR,—The fact to which I alluded in our brief conversation respecting the interesting memorials you have collected of the services of colored citizens in the Revolutionary War, and other wars, was, that some thirty years ago, I was informed by a colored man from Louisiana, that the idea of erecting a bulwark of cotton-bags at the battle of New Orleans, was suggested by a colored man, a native of Africa. Whether that statement is true, I am unable to say, and in all probability it would be very difficult to ascertain. The Commander on that occasion, a man of the fiercest prejudices, and all persons around him, would have an obvious

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interest and pride in concealing any agency which a poor and despised negro may have had in causing the adoption of that happy expedient. It was celebrated as a stroke of genius in Gen. Jackson. It strikes me as strange that no account of the first flash of the thought, whosoever it was, has been given. There cannot be a doubt that it saved the city of New Orleans and some thousands of lives, and raised the spirit of the whole country from the depression consequent upon a war of doubtful necessity and more than doubtful success; a war waged upon more plausible pretences than the Mexican, but, in reality, for objects no less sectional and criminal.

I think the story derives some countenance from a passage in an old Portuguese writer, of which the following is a literal translation:—

"On the following day, which was great Thursday of the year 1616, when morning came, it was found that a breastwork composed of earth, with its embrasures and heavy ornamance, had been raised near to our fortress, *having its walls topped by a great quantity of cotton-bags*, sheathed with rawhides to resist our fire. Our people were astonished at the silence and suddenness with which it had been erected. It was evidently no contrivance of a barbarous and disorderly multitude, for during the whole conflict, our enemies showed equal valor and discipline. Immediately they opened upon our fortress with decided effect, silencing four of our guns, which were doing them most harm.

"The good success of this day guided their conduct for succeeding ones, and during five nights, they built five forts, at proportionate distances, so as to be prepared for a general assault by several branches."

The army of the Sultan of Cambay, employed against the Portuguese in this, the siege of Diu, was composed of various races inhabiting the cotton-growing zone of Asia and Africa. Two Aby-

sinnians of high rank and distinguished valor are specially mentioned. It is probable that this mode of fortification was familiar to the natives of those countries, and has remained so to the present day. In the interior of Africa, it would be peculiarly convenient and important, subject, as the dwellers are, to sudden incursions for the capture of their wives and children, to supply the Christian and Arab markets of human flesh.

The work to which I have referred is "The Life of Don John de Castro, Fourth Vice-Roy of India, by Jacinto Freire de Andrade," first published at Lisbon, 1661. It has passed through several editions, and been translated into different languages.

I was also informed by the same person, a fugitive from Louisiana, that the slaves who took the field in compliance with Jackson's invitation, and fought for the country, were promised, before the battle, that they should have their freedom; that after it was over, they sent a committee to the General to claim the fulfilment of this promise, and that he made no reply, except to bid them "go home and mind their masters."

It is well known that a large number of slaves did fight bravely in that battle, and that they neither received their freedom nor any other mark of the gratitude of this false and degenerate republic. Two thousand years ago, when the opinion was universal, that *ninety-ninths* of the men, and *all* the women, were made for slaves, and the small remnant of males for masters, the Athenians, and even the Spartans, set at liberty the slaves who had helped them win their victories and shared their glorious daring and dangers. They seem to have thought thus much due to their honor and self-respect as gentlemen, the doctrines of equal rights and reciprocal duties being yet undeveloped in the dark void of ages. But we, a nation calling ourselves Christian as well as republican, have actually fallen below the low standard of humanity and magnanimity preached by Aristotle and practised by the cruel and treacherous Spartans two thou-

sand years ago. In the name of Heaven, how is it that we are cursed with a callousness as impenetrable as the Thugs of India or the father-eaters of Sumatra?

Wishing you success and satisfaction in your useful labors, I remain,

Yours, very truly,

D. LEE CHILD.

Among the colored veterans was JORDAN B. NOBLE, who was a drummer in the seventh regiment of infantry, which led on the attack of the British army on the night of December 23d, 1814. The two armies lay within gunshot of each other from that night until the 12th of January, 1815. It is Mr. Noble's custom to issue, every New Year's day, the following card:—

JORDAN B. NOBLE,

THE VETERAN DRUMMER,

Who had the pride and satisfaction of beating to arms the American Army, on the 23d of December, 1814, and on the 5th of January, 1815, and the members of his Band, ADOLPH BROOKS and WILLIAM SAVAGE, who served with him in Mexico, in the First Regiment of Louisiana Volunteers, Col. J. B. WALTON, Commander, under Gen. TAYLOR, in 1846, beg to present their congratulations of the season and best wishes to the officers of the regular and militia service, under whom they had the honor to serve; wishing them long lives, increased honors, and that the National Flag of our great country may ever be sustained by their faithful arms and gallant hearts.

And beg to remain ever,

Their obedient servants.

JORDAN B. NOBLE, DRUMMER.